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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR.....	7
BBC INTERVIEWS COL. SYAHNAKRI	7
RECENT INTERVIEW WITH BISHOP BELO	7
EIGHT KILLED IN EAST TIMOR CLASH, SOURCES SAY.....	7
REBEL DIES IN EAST TIMOR CLASH.....	8
SEVERAL CLASHES AND MANY CASUALTIES	8
CIDES SEMINAR ON EAST TIMOR SHOULD INVOLVE EAST TIMORESE.....	8
TIMOR GUERRILLAS DECLARE CEASEFIRE.....	9
INDONESIA REJECTS GUERRILLA CEASEFIRE.....	10
EAST TIMOR REBELS READY TO CONTINUE FIGHT AGAINST INDONESIA.....	10
NEW RELIGIOUS INCIDENT IN TIMOR	10
INDONESIA PREPARES TO QUELL EAST TIMOR UPRISING.....	10
SOLDIER JAILED FOR IRREVERENCE.....	10
JAKARTA SAID TO BE STERILIZING EAST TIMORESE.....	11
INFORMED VISIT TO EAST TIMOR.....	11
EAST TIMOR BISHOP ANNOUNCES 'SPECIAL STATUS' TALKS ON TERRITORY.....	12
GUERRILLA ARRESTED, CLAIMS ARMY	12
WAVE OF MIGRATION IS ALTERING EAST TIMOR	13
BISHOP BELO INVITED TO AUSTRALIA.....	13
EAST TIMOR DEVELOPMENT FAILS TO STEM DISCONTENT.....	13

EVENTS IN INDONESIA.....	14
MEDIA CENTRE TO TACKLE BIASED REPORTS.....	14
TIMORESE STUDENTS IN MALANG WARNED.....	15
EDI SUDRAJAT: SOME NGOS FOMENT ISSUES TO EXERT PRESSURE ON STATES.....	15
JOINT COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF EAST TIMORESE.....	15
CHANGE IN THE WIND: JAKARTA MAY BE RETHINKING ITS TIMOR POLICY.....	16
PRABOWO NEW DEPUTY COMMANDER OF KOPASSUS.....	17
TOTAL MEDIA CONTROL SOUGHT: EDITOR.....	17
INDONESIA EYEING EUROPE, NOT U.S., FOR WEAPONS.....	17
MORE OPEN TO DISCUSSIONS?.....	18
COLLABORATORS AT WORK.....	19
SECOND LONDON MEETING PLANNED.....	19
EAST TIMORESE GROUPS TO MEET AGAIN IN LONDON.....	19
RECONCILIATION II ON THE HORIZON.....	19
GOVERNOR OF TIMOR PREPARED TO TALK TO HORTA, BUT NOT WITH XANANA.....	20
EAST TIMORESE CALL FOR BROADER TALKS.....	20
SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE FORTHCOMING 'RECONCILIATION TALKS'.....	20
UPDATE: PEOPLE ATTENDING THE TALKS.....	21
SECRETARY-GENERAL IS SENDING OBSERVER.....	21
U.N. OFFICIAL SITS IN ON RECONCILIATION TALKS.....	21
ARAUJO WANTS TO EXTEND "RECONCILIATION".....	22
LONDON TIMORESE TALKS DECLARATION.....	22
MORE TIMOR MEETINGS THIS WEEK.....	23
MIXED RESULT TO TALKS ON TIMOR PEACE.....	23
SELF-DETERMINATION NOT YET DISCUSSED.....	23
SUHARTO WANTS TO MEET ABILIO ARAUJO.....	24
XANANA IS STILL IN CHARGE.....	24
XANANA WRITES U.S. ACTIVISTS.....	24
MESSAGE FROM XANANA TO HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP.....	25
INDONESIANS TALK TO XANANA OF REFERENDUM.....	26
XANANA: SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE.....	26
TIMORESE RESISTANCE MEETS ALATAS.....	27
JAWA POS ON NEW YORK TALKS.....	27
ALATAS AND CNRM MEET IN NY.....	27
CNRM STATEMENT ON MEETING WITH INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER.....	28
RESISTANCE HOLDS DIRECT TALKS WITH INDONESIAN ENVOY.....	28
EAST TIMOR: TALKS AMONG THE OPPOSING PARTIES.....	29
RECONCILIATION, HORTA STYLE.....	30
JAKARTA LOSING ITS CLOUT.....	30
(HORTA IN) LUANDA DISCUSSES TIMOR.....	30
ALKATIRI: JAKARTA, CANBERRA TRY TO CONTAIN OPPOSITION.....	30
STEP BY STEP POLICY.....	32
FLIRTING WITH THE ENEMY - FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS EAST TIMOR SEPARATISTS.....	32
THREE CONDITIONS IMPOSED ON JAKARTA.....	33
INDONESIA PREPARES FOR APEC.....	33
EAST TIMOR OPEN TO FOREIGNERS.....	33
INDONESIA TO PERMIT FOREIGN REPORTERS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR.....	33
NO ROOM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AT APEC.....	33
MORE BANS ON THE INDONESIAN MEDIA.....	34

INDONESIA: WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT EAST TIMOR, BUT SHOULD	34
EAST TIMOR BRACES FOR FOREIGN JOURNALISTS.....	35
REPRESSION TIGHTENS IN JAKARTA	36
TIGHTENING UP IN INDONESIA BEFORE THE APEC SUMMIT.....	36
INDONESIA CLAMPING TIGHT SECURITY ON APEC SUMMIT.....	40
SUHARTO'S FREE TRADE POLICY A DIPLOMATIC TRADEOFF?.....	40
INDONESIA'S PHONY CLEANUP	41
AI REPORT "OPERATION CLEANSING" AND HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE EVE OF APEC	41
AMNESTY SHINES SPOTLIGHT ON JAKARTA.....	42
GEORGE ADITJONDRO INTERROGATED	42
INDONESIA SUMMONS CONTROVERSIAL ACADEMIC.....	42
INDONESIAN ACADEMIC IN TROUBLE AGAIN OVER E.T.	43
INDONESIAN ACADEMIC FACES POLICE HARASSMENT	43
INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE ADITJONDRO	43
INDONESIAN ACADEMIC SAYS BEING MADE SCAPEGOAT	44
AI URGENT ACTION ON GEORGE ADITJONDRO	44
FOLLOW-UP FROM AI, OCTOBER 12. AI F1369/94	45
ADITJONDRO GETS SECOND POLICE SUMMONS.....	45
ACADEMICS BACK JAKARTA CRITIC	46
AAAS ALERT ON GEORGE ADITJONDRO.....	46
UPDATE ON ADITJONDRO.....	47
HE TOUCHED ON VERY CRITICAL MATTERS.....	47
CHRONOLOGY IN ADITJONDRO CASE.....	48
ADITJONDRO INTERROGATED FOR SIX HOURS.....	51
NINE HOURS MORE FOR ADITJONDRO.....	52
ARIEF BUDIMAN FIRED FROM UKSW.....	52
URGENT ACTION APPEAL FOR DR. ARIEF BUDIMAN	52
SUPPORT ARIEF, SUPPORT DEMOCRACY.....	53
INTERROGATION "PREVENTIVE"	53
JOSÉ ANTONIO NEVES GOES ON TRIAL	53
NEVES ON TRIAL IN MALANG.....	53
INDONESIA TRIES TIMORESE UNDERGROUND LEADER	53
DEFENCE REBUTTAL.....	54
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORTS	55
AMNESTY REPORT: INDONESIA & EAST TIMOR: POWER AND IMPUNITY	55
MARKED DETERIORATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN RECENT MONTHS	56
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL LAUNCHES NEW CAMPAIGN	57
ELECTRONIC PUBLISHING PILOT PROJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL GOES ON LINE.....	58
OPENNESS IS ILLUSION, SAYS AMNESTY.....	59
AI: POWER & IMPUNITY — EXCERPTS	59
PIERRE SANE SPEECH ON INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR.....	64
INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT COMMENTS ON AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN	65
AMNESTY REPORT GETS THUMBS DOWN	65
DEATHLY SILENCE OF THE DIPLOMATS.....	66
TIMOR GAP TREATY	68
100 MILLION BARREL OIL STRIKE IN TIMOR GAP	68
AUSTRALIA ON TRIAL.....	68
"BUS THE TIMOR GAP" PROTEST, DARWIN	68
OIL FIND RAISES STAKES IN COURT BATTLE.....	68

INDONESIA FLAUNTS EAST TIMOR'S RESOURCES	69
UNITED NATIONS ACTIVITIES	69
GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTS 158-ITEM AGENDA FOR FORTY-NINTH REGULAR SESSION	69
PERSONAL COMMITMENT FROM GHALI ON TIMOR	70
EVENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES	70
WHY DO THEY IGNORE THE TRUTH OF EAST TIMOR?	70
SOLIDARITY IN PHILIPPINES	71
EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA.....	71
WILL INDONESIA LISTEN?.....	71
IRISH P.M. IN AUSTRALIA.....	72
TIMOR TALKS.....	72
DILI PROTESTERS PICKET SUTRISNO.....	72
TIMOR APATHY A TRAGEDY, SAYS AUTHOR.....	72
AUSTRALIAN MPS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR.....	73
'TIMOR PROSPECTS GOOD' - ACTIVIST.....	73
TIMOR SOLIDARITY GROUPS MEET.....	73
CALL FOR TOUGHER LINE ON EAST TIMOR.....	73
CNRM ON THE A.L.P. NATIONAL RESOLUTION	73
GARETH EVANS INTERVIEWED ON E. TIMOR	74
YESTERDAY EAST TIMOR WAS ON THE AGENDA	74
EVANS BACKS TOUGH WORDS ON EAST TIMOR.....	75
WHITLAM ON EAST TIMOR: DISTORTING THE TRUTH.....	75
AUSTRALIAN DAY OF ACTION FOR EAST TIMOR	77
RALLIES FOCUS ON AUSTRALIAN COMPLICITY.....	77
WRITE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TO RAISE EAST TIMOR AT APEC	78
CHOMSKY TO CHAMPION TIMOR.....	78
UPCOMING A.N.U. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.....	78
EAST TIMORESE BARRED FROM CONSULATE	79
INDONESIA DENIES VISAS TO EAST TIMORESE.....	79
LABOR'S BETRAYAL OF EAST TIMOR	79
SURVIVOR OF DILI MASSACRE SEEKS REFUGE.....	80
EVENTS IN AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND).....	80
NEW ZEALAND MPS TO VISIT TIMOR.....	80
INFORMATION ON NZ MPS FACT-FINDING MISSION	81
MINISTER (ALATAS) DEFENDS EAST TIMOR SITUATION	81
NZ MPS SEE DILI PRISONERS	81
EVENTS IN JAPAN.....	81
JAPANESE TV DOCUMENTARY	81
AMNESTY PRODS JAPAN ON TIMOR.....	82
JAPAN MPS VISIT EAST TIMOR	82
EAST TIMOR: REPRESSION CONTINUES	83
WHAT'S HAPPENING IN INDONESIA, THE BIGGEST ODA RECIPIENT COUNTRY	84
ASAHI ON DIET ET VISIT "MISINTERPRETED"	85
JAPANESE MPS URGE MURAYAMA & KONO: RAISE EAST TIMOR ISSUE AT APEC	86
EAST TIMOR ON JAPANESE TV.....	87
EVENTS IN EUROPE.....	87
ASEAN SET TO BOOST ECONOMIC, POLITICAL TIES WITH E.U.	87
EU-ASEAN MEET TODAY IN KARLSRUHE.....	88

DEMONSTRATION AT EU-ASEAN MEETING BANNED.....	88
AMNESTY, IN BELGIUM, URGES CLOSE INSPECTION OF ISLAND.....	89
INT'L PARLIAMENT OF WRITERS TO SEND MISSION TO EAST TIMOR.....	89
RACHLAND NASHIDIK ADDRESSES PORTO CONFERENCE.....	90
SALEH ABDULLAH PORTO SPEECH.....	90
PORTUGUESE 12 NOVEMBER ASSOCIATION PLANS.....	91
CAVACO SILVA: "TALKS SHOULD INCLUDE TIMORESE".....	91
PRESIDENT (SOARES) SPEAKS OF TIMOR IN POLAND.....	91
ELIZABETH BAGLEY'S DEBUT (AS U.S. AMBASSADOR IN LISBON).....	91
NEW DIRTY LAUNDRY ON THE ARMS FRONT (IN SWEDEN).....	91
STOP OUR ARMS EXPORTS TO INDONESIA.....	92
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EVENTS IN THE U.K.....	92
BRITISH LEGISLATORS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR.....	92
BRITISH MPS PROBE HUMAN RIGHTS AND EAST TIMOR.....	92
MORE PRAISE FOR INDONESIA FROM BRITISH MPS.....	93
BRITISH MP PATRICK NICHOLLS ON TIMOR TRIP.....	93
BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIAN: ABRI SHOULD RECRUIT EAST TIMORESE.....	94
NICHOLLS: INDONESIAN RIGHTS.....	94
BCET AND AI RESPOND:.....	94
STOP EXCUSING TYRANNY.....	95
BRITISH TIMOR CAMPAIGNERS TARGET ARMS TRADE.....	96
MAGUIRE SLAMS UK GOVERNMENT.....	96
MAIREAD MAGUIRE SPEAKS UP AGAIN.....	97
BRITISH CAMPAIGN: FOUR WEEKS FOR EAST TIMOR.....	97
BRITAIN AIMS TO SELL HAWKS, SCORPIONS TO INDONESIA.....	97
TANJUNG CONFIRMS SCORPIONS DEAL.....	97
PROPOSED UK SCORPIONS SALE TO INDONESIA GIVES GREEN LIGHT TO AN AGGRESSOR STATE.....	97
HUMAN WRONGS IN INDONESIA.....	98
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EVENTS IN IRELAND.....	98
RIGHTS ACTIVISTS CASTIGATE UNIONISTS OVER TRADE MISSION.....	98
CONCERN ON EAST TIMOR EXPRESSED.....	99
ARMS SUPPLY TO INDONESIA "INTOLERABLE".....	99
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL LAUNCH IN DUBLIN.....	99
IRISH FM SPRING URGED TO ACT ON EAST TIMOR.....	100
IRISH MPS INVITED TO EAST TIMOR TALKS.....	100
SENATOR MEETS PORTUGUESE GROUP DESPITE ILLNESS.....	100
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EVENTS IN FRANCE.....	100
FRENCH "FOUR MONTHS FOR EAST TIMOR" CAMPAIGN REPORT.....	100
FRENCH "FORUM TIMOR" FORMED.....	101
NEWSBRIEFS IN FRENCH PRESS.....	101
<hr/>	
EVENTS IN CANADA.....	102
CANADA: SIX MONTHS FOR EAST TIMOR!.....	102
FALL ACTION CALENDAR (ONTARIO / QUEBEC).....	103
NOAM CHOMSKY, JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA TO SPEAK ON EAST TIMOR.....	103
OTTAWA EYES LINKING AID TO FOREIGN DEFENCE COSTS.....	104
CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE ON APEC.....	104
ETAN/CANADA MEDIA ADVISORY ON APEC.....	105

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.....	105
PORTUGUESE GOV'T HIRES LOBBY IN WASHINGTON	105
DURÃO BARROSO: U.S. ATTENTIVE TO SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR.....	105
URGE REPRESENTATIVES TO SIGN LETTERS	106
SUPPORT WORKERS' RIGHTS IN INDONESIA.....	107
HUFFINGTON AND THE TORTURERS	108
SIDEBAR: FEINSTEIN'S INDONESIA PROBLEM.....	110
SUHARTO'S CANDIDATE (HUFFINGTON).....	110
US 'DISMAYED' OVER MAGAZINE SUSPENSION	110
AMERICANS TO INVEST IN TUNA FISHERY INFRASTRUCTURE IN EAST TIMOR.....	111
CLINTON TO BRING EAST TIMOR TO SUHARTO	111
RESTART THE RIGHTS CLOCK IN INDONESIA	111
P.R. FIRM PUSHES INDONESIA	112
CALL CLINTON ON NOVEMBER 7: EAST TIMOR MUST BE FREE.....	112
NETWORK NEWS (ETAN/US NEWSLETTER), NOV. 1994.....	112
NOVEMBER 14-16: CLINTON HEADS TO INDONESIA.....	112
ETAN STEERING COMMITTEE MEETS	113
CONGRESS LIMITS ARMS SALES AND MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIA.....	113
INDONESIAN SCHOLAR EXPOSES OCCUPATION'S IMPACT.....	113
EAST TIMOR NETWORK URGES PRESIDENT CLINTON TO SPEAK OUT.....	114
CLINTON WILL RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS WITH SUHARTO	115
EAST TIMOR MAY BE RAISED AS SHAREHOLDER ISSUE.....	115
SENATORS WRITE CLINTON	117
GEN. SINTONG PANJAITAN OWES \$14 MILLION	117
FEDERAL COURT IN BOSTON TO HEAR TESTIMONY ON 1991 MASSACRE.....	117
HOLDING THE INDONESIA MILITARY ACCOUNTABLE	118
MOTHER TO COLLECT DAMAGES FOR EAST TIMOR MASSACRE.....	118
INDONESIAN SUED FOR ROLE IN EAST TIMOR MASSACRE.....	118
SPOTLIGHT ON 1991 EAST TIMOR MASSACRE	119
HELEN TODD'S SUIT HAS BROADER IMPLICATIONS.....	119
US COURT RULES \$14 MILLION AGAINST INDONESIAN GENERAL	120
INDONESIA GENERAL SAYS COURT VERDICT A "JOKE"	120
RESOURCES.....	121
<i>ALL IN THE FAMILY</i> AVAILABLE IN U.S.	121
TIMOR RAP	121
TIMORNET: INTERNET INFORMATION RESOURCE ON EAST TIMOR	121
TIMOR IN MAINSTREAM FILM.....	122
GEO ON EAST TIMOR.....	122
NEW BOOKLET: STOP ARMING INDONESIA.....	122
INNOVATIVE THEATRE TAKES UP EAST TIMOR	122
INT'L FEDERATION FOR EAST TIMOR.....	122

EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

BBC INTERVIEWS COL. SYAHNAKRI

BBC World Service, 27 September 1994. By Catherine Napier Abridged

Here are some points from an interview of the new military commander in East Timor, Colonel Syahnakri by the BBC World Service:

Responding to Bishop Belo's statements about the military being engaged in a deliberate attempt to Islamicise East Timor, Colonel Syahnakri flatly rejected these accusations. He added that any member of the military found guilty of abusing the Catholic religion would be severely punished. He said the two soldiers who committed an act of sacrilege at a village church in June would be brought before a military tribunal in Dili next month. He also promised to take firm action against a soldier accused of beating a Timorese to death for stealing.

Bishop Belo has argued strongly for the military to withdraw its troops in order to improve the situation in East Timor, but the army argues equally strongly that a withdrawal would lead to civil war.

He said the army was evaluating its operation in the territory but no decision has yet been made on when the next troop reductions would take place. He said five thousand three hundred troops were currently stationed in East Timor, including one battalion of eight hundred soldiers who were involved in frequent clashes with the guerrillas. But he estimated the rebel organisation's strength at less than one hundred and said it did not have enough weapons to equip all its men.

RECENT INTERVIEW WITH BISHOP BELO

by Edward Olsen-Hafstead, October 1.

The interview was conducted in English. The transcript has been slightly edited in the few instances where the Bishop's English would not be clear as text, but is evident from emphasis and intonation

— Jonathan Humphreys

Olsen-Hafstead (OH): Bishop Belo, in the last four or five days, while I've been in East Timor, a number of people have told me that the situation has marginally improved. What would your assessment be of the local situation here?

Bishop Belo (BB): Yes, more or less - if we go to the remote areas, the mission stations and talk to the people [they will talk of] the

same climate of fear, surveillance on the people, the population, so I think there is the same situation of difficulties.

OH: Just give me an example of the sort of surveillance that people experience.

BB: Four days ago I was in Bobinara and there, and in the villages that I visited there were elements of the Intelligence following us. They were taking pictures. So when the young people realised that these elements of the Intelligence were there and sent by the military from Maliana, they avoided contact. The parish priest of Bobinara reacted badly. He took the film and burned it because really they were causing problems and trouble among the young people.

OH: Now, recently you've established a Justice and Peace Commission in the diocese. Could you first tell me who is on this Commission and what do you hope it will be able to achieve?

BB: In the first place, we like to show to the authorities that justice and peace should have a place in our social and political life. In the second place, it is to help the people, to hear their complaints and to solve their problems and maybe they will come with every kind of complaint. We will hear these and take them to the different institutions, for the government, for the military to solve the problems.

OH: What has the response of the government been to the establishment of the commission?

BB: What I know is that the military commander from Bali and also from Jakarta, they don't agree with this commission. According to them this is a political movement of resistance. From the Governor and the people in the civil government, they told me this is an internal affair of the Church and they don't have a problem with this. So the problem is with the military.

OH: And who is on the commission; what sort of people?

BB: Everybody. People from here, Timorese, priests and lay and sisters; people from Flores; from Sumatra; from Java - those who understand the situation in East Timor. And really they have sympathy and some of them are pushing for a special status for East Timor. So I put these people to work.

OH: Now this idea of a special status - you sent a letter to various people at the end of July, first recommending that the United Nations still has a referendum in East Timor but also making a recommendation that Timor should immediately become a special, autonomous region. Can you tell me what sort of reaction you've had to those proposals?

BB: I already have the official reaction, a letter from Jakarta from the Ministry [inaudible], Political and Defence co-ordinator. They rejected all six points of the letter. They don't accept referendum. They don't accept special status. And also they don't accept me as intermediary for peace talks because, according to them, I am openly with Fretilin. This is unfortunate, but we are trying again. It is necessary to push the problem.

OH: The visit of some United Kingdom MPs has come to an end. They were in East Timor for two or three days. I think you were able to meet them very briefly. Is there anything you'd specifically like to say to them now, that you weren't able to say then or anything you'd like to say to the British public in general?

BB: It is sad that in three days they can state that they know the situation, they see the problem and that the people of East Timor are happy, they agree with integration. I think it is not very fair to say that. They need to stay more and know the people. And then, secondly, I also told them that it is necessary to ask the people, all the Timorese, what they want to be, like to be. So, it is not their matter [i.e. it is not the MPs business] to say that the best way for East Timor is special status or integration with Indonesia. The problem is to ask the people.

OH: The 12th of November is a very significant anniversary and is approaching. I know there are many groups around the world, with an interest in East Timor, that will make that a particularly significant day. Is there anything you would like to say, to those interested around the world.

BB: It is necessary to continue to assist on this event and to say clearly that it was really a massacre, not a simple incident. Now the common language is 'the incident' [but] it was really a massacre. So, I think it is necessary to keep alive this sad event of 12 November. Maybe here inside we can't do what we would like to do, an open celebration, but at least outside, in Europe, in Australia, in America, people can use this day to make open, how do you say, solidarity with East Timor.

OH: Well, I'm sure they will.

EIGHT KILLED IN EAST TIMOR CLASH, SOURCES SAY

28 Sept. 94. Excerpts

DILI, East Timor (Reuter) - Up to eight people were killed in a clash between Indonesian troops and East Timorese guerrillas

in the worst such incident in the troubled territory in several months, sources on both sides said Thursday.

A military source in Dili said four soldiers and four guerrillas were killed in the clash near the town of Viqueque, 130 miles east of here, late on Wednesday.

A guerrilla source said five soldiers were killed.

The region's army commander, Colonel Syahnakri, confirmed the incident but denied there were any military casualties. He said one guerrilla was killed.

TROOPS KILL 5 IN EAST TIMOR

29 Sept. 94

DILI, Indonesia (AP) – Indonesian troops clashed with rebels fighting for independence for East Timor, killing five, military officials said Thursday.

Maj. Simbolon said the troops confiscated two guns from the rebels in the clash, which took place Tuesday in the village of Lakita, about 125 miles east of the provincial capital of Dili.

About 200 East Timor rebels remain in the jungle, he said.

REBEL DIES IN EAST TIMOR CLASH

South China Morning Post (Hong Kong), 30 September 1994. AP & AFP

DILI: Indonesian troops clashed with a group of rebels fighting for independence for East Timor, killing one of the fighters, the region's military commander said today.

Colonel Syahnakri Kiki said troops also arrested another rebel and his wife in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that Indonesia annexed in 1976.

The clash took place when the troops were on a routine patrol in the village of Lakita in Viqueque regency, about 200 kilometres east of the provincial capital of Dili, Colonel Kiki said.

The arrests took place in the district of Maubara in Liquisa regency.

Indonesia annexed East Timor after intervening in a civil war after it was abandoned by Portugal, which had ruled the territory for more than four centuries.

Indonesia says East Timor chose to integrate with Indonesia, but the United Nations still recognises Portugal as the administering power there.

Meanwhile, an Indonesian human rights commission is conducting a three day visit to East Timor to investigate alleged human rights abuses, a press report said in Dili, today.

"We are here to find out whether or not rumours on human rights spread by foreign activists are true," the leading Kompas daily

quoted the commission's secretary-general, Baharudin Lopa, as saying.

From the data we collect, we will make efforts to.....tell the rest of the world that the information being used to protest against Indonesia is not totally true," Mr. Lopa added.

Mr. Lopa, who started the visit on Wednesday, along with an East Timor-born member of the commission, Clementino dos Reis Amaral, said that rumours of human rights violations in East Timor were designed to discredit Jakarta.

The commission, which claimed to be independent, despite being funded by the government, was set up last year to promote the observance and protection of human rights among government institutions.

The visit by the commission came after Amnesty International held a news conference in Bangkok on Wednesday for a campaign against human rights violations in Asia, especially East Timor.

Amnesty International secretary-general Pierre Sane said the body would campaign to raise human rights abuses by Jakarta with delegates to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in the capital in November.

The leaders of the 17 members of APEC are due to meet in Bogor, south of Jakarta in November.

The United States, which is a member of the regional grouping as well as Indonesia, has said that it would not raise the issue of human rights during the summit.

SEVERAL CLASHES AND MANY CASUALTIES

TAPOL Report, 2 October 1994

In connection with the report from Jakarta of eight deaths in recent combats in East Timor, the following information has just been received from the inside. This reveals that, as Colonel Syahnakri stated when he was being installed as commander, the army involved in a number of clashes with the guerrillas. The army is clearly taking a number of casualties.

1. In early September there was an armed clash in Lospalos. 2 Indonesian military were killed, and have been buried in Baucau cemetery. Five were wounded and are in Dili military hospital.
2. On 24/9 (or possibly 26/9), 3 Indonesian soldiers were killed in a clash. Indonesians say they killed 5 East Timorese guerrillas. [This may be the incident that led to the report of 'eight dead.']
3. A recent incident in Atsabe resulted in the capture of 2 guerrillas. The local people had asked them to dispose of the village head, a military person who was much

disliked. There are rumours that the Indonesians heard about it and ambushed them.

4. Last week in Viqueque a 17 year old youth, recruited as an 'army auxiliary' (TBO) by the Indonesian military was killed by Indonesian soldiers. There seems to have been a religious conflict.
5. Religious tensions and incidents continue to increase.
 - a. In Baucau last month a Muslim school teacher tried to force some of his East Timorese students to go to a mosque. Catholic students were outraged and beat him up.
 - b. In Ossu a number of local East Timorese recently returned from Hajj pilgrim and are causing conflicts with Catholic people. These are people that were taken as youths to Ujung Pandang in the early days after the invasion days and islamised.
 - c. The army continues to send youths, recruited as 'army auxiliaries' to Ujung Pandang for Islamic religious training.
6. About 100 Chinese traders from Baucau emigrated last month. They did so as they are being displaced by Macassarese (?Buginese) traders, protected unfairly by the military.
7. Military hospital staff in Baucau are busy treating wounded soldiers, casualties both of armed clashes as well as of beatings by East Timorese youth.
8. The local newspaper Suara Timor Timor was strongly warned and nearly lost its licence for its explicit reporting of the 14 July clash at the Dili University, including naming two deaths from the incident. A senior journalist working for the paper who came from Salatiga has been dismissed and returned to Java. More details on this will follow.

CIDES SEMINAR ON EAST TIMOR SHOULD INVOLVE EAST TIMORESE

From KBRI WASHINGTON, D.C. (Indonesian Government), 29 SEPTEMBER 1994

Dili - The seminar on East Timor which will be held in Indonesia should involve some East Timor's indigenous people as they know the actual situation of the province better.

This was expressed here Monday on separate occasions by at least two prominent East Timorese, namely Salvador Januario Ximines, who is a member of the Parliament and Armindo Maia, who is the Deputy Rector of Timor University (UNTIM).

The upcoming seminar is organised by the Center for Information and Development Studies (CIDES).

Salvador said that although it will be participated in by reputed experts, East Timor's local people should also be given the opportunity to express their views during the seminar.

He explained that an academic seminar has its own merits, especially if it is organised by a non-governmental organisation (NGO). "But the local people should be given some time to address the seminar which concerns them," he said.

It would be a positive step if compared to similar conferences held abroad which carries most likely some vested interests, he added.

"It would even be much better if the seminar will be held in East Timor," he stressed.

Meanwhile Armindo Maia expressed similar view, saying it is definitely positive to hold a discussion on East Timor that is organised by an NGO.

"But such a seminar should not be pulled down into the "trend" simply to counter similar activities organised abroad in certain countries in the ASEAN recently," he said.

"We should avoid doing so if we want better results," he added.

Earlier East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares and local military commander Colonel Syahnakri Y.K. have also expressed support to the holding of the seminar here.

They were quoted as saying that "the event could help find appropriate development pattern that is applicable to East Timor."

TIMOR GUERRILLAS DECLARE CEASEFIRE

by *Helena Pozniak, Reuter, abridged*

Lisbon, Oct. 10 – Guerrillas fighting for an independent East Timor have called a unilateral ceasefire and vowed to lay down their arms for good if Indonesia meets their demands, their leader said in a message broadcast on Monday.

In a message recorded on September 28 and broadcast by Portuguese state radio, Konis Santana, leader of a small band of East Timorese fighters, said his guerrillas had been observing a unilateral ceasefire since October 1.

"(East Timorese resistance fighters) will suspend all military activity...against the occupying army, except as demands of their legitimate defence," Santana said in a brief and faintly recorded message.

"The unilateral ceasefire could be prolonged and will become definitive if military authorities in Jakarta answer in a positive

way to the fresh olive branch extended by (East Timor resistance)," Santana declared.

In August Indonesia rejected an offer of a ceasefire by Santana in exchange for talks, arguing that a small group of poorly-equipped guerrillas presented little threat to its army.

In the new offer Santana pledged the unilateral cease-fire would become a permanent accord if Jakarta agreed to free jailed East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão and hold immediate face-to-face talks "at the highest level" with resistance fighters.

"The liberation of Gusmão...and his direct involvement in negotiations is indispensable," Santana said.

His message was recorded more than a week before Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and exiled East Timorese resistance leader José Ramos Horta held their first-ever meeting under U.N. auspices in New York.

GUERRILLAS ANNOUNCE CEASEFIRE AGAINST INDONESIA

By *Mario Dujisin*

LISBON, Oct. 11 (IPS) - The East Timor Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALINTIL) have ceased hostilities against the Indonesian army of occupation, it was announced here in the Portuguese capital Tuesday.

In a taped message broadcast over a Lisbon radio station the chief of the FALINTIL, Commander Konis Santana, announced that the anti-Indonesian guerrillas had issued "a unilateral ceasefire declaration" on Oct. 1.

Santana is asking for the immediate release of the top leader of the National Council of Resistance (CNRM) and the leader of FALINTIL, José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão, captured by Indonesia in November 1992 and condemned to 20 years imprisonment.

The guerrilla chief explained that the halt in hostilities took into account "the latest agreements" signed in May in Geneva by the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers, Ali Alatas and José Manuel Durão Barroso respectively.

Three of the leaders of East Timor's pro-independence resistance movement met face to face last Thursday with Indonesian Foreign Minister Alatas in a rare breakthrough for the Timorese.

Though neither side had expected much progress from the Thursday night talks in addressing Indonesia's 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese colony, the resistance leaders viewed them as an important step forward towards a ceasefire.

Under United Nations mediation, Indonesia and Portugal two years ago began half-

yearly negotiations intended to find a solution acceptable to the two parties on East Timor. Indonesia is demanding sovereignty over the territory, which it considers it "liberated from 450 years of Portuguese colonialism" when it invaded the island in the archipelago of Java.

Portugal is negotiating as the "administering power" of its former colony until the holding of a referendum for its independence, in conformity with a decision of the United Nations Security Council approved Dec. 22, 1975.

The resolution also imposed "the immediate withdrawal" of Indonesia, a decision which has not been respected by Jakarta, which has completed 19 years of occupation by the death of one third of the 650,000 Timorese inhabitants, according to the latest report of the humanitarian organisation Amnesty International.

According to Santana, the latest meeting between Alatas and Durão Barroso was "a significant step in search of a just, global and internationally acceptable solution for East Timor."

It guaranteed that starting Oct. 1 (the tape took 10 days to reach Lisbon through clandestine channels) some 1,000 guerrillas of FALINTIL would return fire "only in self-defence" in response to attacks by the Indonesian forces, estimated at around 22,000 men.

After his capture, Xanana Gusmão was replaced by Santana on the guerrilla front and by Prof. José Ramos-Horta on the CNRM.

The latter is coordinating the independentist parties and organisations, as well as directing the diplomacy of the Timorese resistance abroad from an Australian university.

The taped declaration urges an immediate start to "direct negotiations between the belligerents in a search for peace and dialogue."

These talks would constitute a phase of "exploratory dialogue" in which "Ramos-Horta would take part at the highest level with the Indonesian military command."

Last week in New York Ramos-Horta met with Alatas, an unprecedented fact which itself now constitutes a precedent, given that Indonesia has accepted for the first time in 19 years to take part in a direct dialogue with the resistance.

Santana warned, however, that "the liberation of Xanana Gusmão is essential" if a definite ceasefire is to be achieved, and if the negotiations sponsored by the United Nations are to continue."

According to Santana, a definitive solution could be reached through a wide-ranging dialogue between the Timorese, the United Nations and the Indonesians. He proposed

that such negotiations be moderated by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Timor, Msgr. José Ximenes Belo.

The Thursday talks did not include participation by the United Nations, at the request of both sides. U.N. spokesman Joe Sills said that U.N. officials would continue to help arranging meetings between the two sides, but would not be present.

Eager to refurbish its image abroad, Jakarta has accepted both the U.N.-mediated talks with Portugal over East Timor and the presence of more international missions – including from the Red Cross – to the occupied land than it previously allowed.

INDONESIA REJECTS GUERRILLA CEASEFIRE

Reuter, 11 October 1994. Byline K.T Arasu. Abridged

Jakarta – Indonesia's military rejected on Tuesday a unilateral ceasefire declared by guerrillas fighting for independence in East Timor, saying it would settle for nothing less than their surrender.

Guerrilla leader Konis Santana announced the ceasefire in a message on 28 September which was broadcast on Monday by Portuguese radio.

A guerrilla source said four soldiers were killed in a clash, the worst incident in several months. The military has denied the claim. 'It's good they have called for a ceasefire... They must now come down from the hills and surrender themselves and hand in their weapons,' spokesman Col. Simbolon told Reuters. 'We are prepared to grant them an amnesty but there will be no negotiations or dialogue with them.'

He said the only forum available for talks was that facilitated by the UN.

In his radio interview, Santana said the guerrillas would lay down arms for good if the Indonesians released jailed guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão and (agreed to) holding immediate face-to-face talks 'at the highest level' with the guerrillas.

Simbolon said:

'They are weak... numbering only 198, using weapons left behind by the Portuguese and running out of bullets... They are in no position to make demands.'

He said five guerrillas killed in the clash were given a proper burial by 'the people and the military.'

THE IRISH TIMES, 13 OCT. 1994. REUTER/AFP

Jakarta – Indonesia yesterday rejected a unilateral ceasefire announced by guerrillas fighting for the independence of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. A spokesman for the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Office said "They only repeat their old

game of disinformation about a ceasefire, as part of their political campaign."

EAST TIMOR REBELS READY TO CONTINUE FIGHT AGAINST INDONESIA

Portuguese radio, 11 October 1994

The East Timor rebel group said today it is ready to continue its fight against Indonesia following reports that the Indonesian authorities have rejected a ceasefire unilaterally declared by the Portuguese Catholic radio *Renascenca* reported.

José Gusmão, a Fretilin (sic) leader [in Darwin] told the radio the fight would continue because Jakarta had not accepted dialogue.

The guerrilla movement is willing to continue the campaign to show the world that it is still active. We have the capacity to continue to fight, to continue the armed struggle in the territory,' he said.

NEW RELIGIOUS INCIDENT IN TIMOR

Reuter, 13 October 1994. Abridged

Dili – East Timorese villagers in a remote part of this troubled territory have staged a rare protest against alleged religious harassment by Indonesian soldiers, a police intelligence officer said on Thursday.

The officer, Mariano, who had just returned from Kokalima, 210 km (150 miles) west of here, said about 100 residents had staged demonstrations outside the local military headquarters after Sunday's incident.

They demonstrated for three consecutive days after one soldier took a rosary and draped it over a cow. They called for the Indonesian military to withdraw from East Timor and accused them of trying to destroy the local Christian faith.

Officials said one soldier had been detained as a result of the original incident. They did not give details.

It was the latest spillover of religious tension between the predominantly Catholic population and their Indonesian overlords, who annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976 after an invasion in 1975.

INDONESIA PREPARES TO QUELL EAST TIMOR UPRISING

UPI [Abridged]

Jakarta, October 14, 1994 – An Indonesian general said in news reports Friday that the country has prepared a battalion of special combat troops to seek out and neutral-

ize the remaining guerrillas in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiatna, chief of the Bali-based Udayana military command, which oversees East Timor, told local media that the Indonesian military has no ceasefire with East Timorese Fretilin guerrillas, and the armed forces will continue to fight them.

Ruchiatna was responding to questions about reports from Lisbon early this week that East Timorese Fretilin guerrilla leader, Konis Santana, proposed a cease-fire if Indonesian authorities responded by meeting certain conditions.

The conditions include the release of jailed guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão, and immediate face-to-face talks with Indonesian government officials.

The cease-fire offer was broadcast by Portuguese state radio on Monday.

Indonesian military authorities have no intention to accept any ceasefire. If they "want to surrender, whatever the numbers are, we will certainly accept them but ... there will be no cease-fire," he said.

He added that the existing East Timorese guerrillas are only the remnants of a much larger force, and there is no possibility of those remaining guerrillas waging a successful campaign against Indonesian troops.

"(The army) has prepared one battalion of special combat troops with the duty of chasing and destroying the remaining guerrillas," Ruchiatna said, as quoted by East Java's *Jawa Pos* newspaper.

Indonesia currently maintains eight military battalions, each comprised of up to 650 men, in the troubled province of East Timor.

SOLDIER JAILED FOR IRREVERENCE

The Australian, Oct. 19, 1994, summarized

AP – 2nd Private Bakhrol Ulun has been sentenced to 28 months in jail for humiliating Catholics by joining a mass in Santo Josef church but then trampling on the communion wafer. The incident took place on the outskirts of Dili and prompted a protest by 500 students from the University of East Timor demanding firm action against Ulun & more religious freedom in East Timor.

In Monday's ruling the presiding judge, Lt. Colonel K Patpahan found Ulun guilty and expelled him from the army.

'As a Muslim his action was immoral .. and has led to days of violence and security disturbances in Dili,' said Lt. Col. Patpahan. East Timor sources said a second soldier, involved in the same offence, was also jailed and expelled.

Comment from David Webster, East Timor Alert Network/Toronto, Canada

Compare this to the much lighter sentences imposed on the soldiers who actually shot East Timorese in Dili on 12 November 1991.

Does the Indonesian justice system really place a higher value on communion wafers than on human life? Or does this just go to show how arbitrary the whole system is?

JAKARTA SAID TO BE STERILIZING EAST TIMORESE

October 18, 1994 UPI

LISBON - The Catholic Bishop of East Timor capital Dili said Tuesday that Indonesia is carrying out a "systematic sterilization program" of indigenous East Timorese women.

Ximenes Belo said in a telephone interview with Lisbon radio TSF that Jakarta's policy is to cut the birth rate and replace the local population with immigrant supporters of its annexation of the territory it disputes with Portugal.

"The campaign of forced sterilization has met with opposition in several areas of the territory," Belo said.

Responding to the claims, East Timor resistance spokesman José Ramos Horta urged the Portuguese government to "step up its international diplomatic campaign to isolate Jakarta and denounce its barbarities."

Horta also said Jakarta has recently increased its pressure on the Catholic Church in East Timor "in an effort to turn what is a political dispute into a religious one."

BISHOP REJECTS STERILISATION PLAN

AFP, 19 October 1994. Reproduced in Asian Age, London

Lisbon - A senior churchman from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor denounced on Tuesday a "systematic" plan by the Indonesian authorities to sterilize its population.

Bishop Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, told a Portuguese radio station that "sterilisation was something programmed, systematic." Its application had already caused conflicts "not only in the capital but also in several other towns such as Viqueque and Suai." "They are forcing people to follow their orders by telling them that if it is the state that feeds the population, it should obey the state and not the church," said Bishop Belo.

He claimed that the policy of limiting the birth rate among the Timorese "made no sense" since the Indonesians were "using

their migration plan to fill the territory with people from Java and Bali" and did not respect the beliefs of the local population

INFORMED VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

My wife and I recently completed a 2 month trip through the Eastern Indonesian Archipelago culminating in a month's visit to friends and relatives in East Timor. As frequent visitors to the Eastern provinces we have many long standing friendships and over the years have developed a sympathy and understanding for our Indonesian and East Timorese friends' sensitivities, particularly their religious concerns.

Although a Catholic, I have always regarded the religious insecurities and prejudices of my Timorese friends' as petty, childish, sometimes paranoid. The conviction of the East Nusa Tenggara Catholics, the Indonesian province adjoining East Timor, that they form a bulwark against Islam spreading further East and South is an eccentricity I have always understood as being inherited from their Portuguese and Dutch former colonial masters.

This Religious rivalry, unfortunately, is turning very nasty throughout much of Eastern Indonesia and East Timor. Although I am fluent in Indonesian and local dialects is still hard for me to differentiate fact from fiction in what is rapidly becoming a Religious Cold War. Fear and loathing is being sown by a number of underground publications purporting to represent the views of an Indonesian Islamic Intellectuals' organisation, others purportedly from the Middle-East.

These papers, usually two or three pages long though some are as long as 12 pages instruct the local Muslims to kidnap Priests, rape nuns, infiltrate the Churches and desecrate the Host, blow up Churches and Grotoes belonging to our Lady among other atrocities too numerous to mention here. In all probability these publications are forgeries, but ordinary people and those of little education tend to believe them and the atrocities listed above are eerily beginning to happen as predicted.

A Host was desecrated during Holy Communion in Ende on the Island of Flores, leading to demonstrations and the burning down of two judges residences in reprisal for not appropriately dealing with the desecrators. The Host was again desecrated by Indonesian soldiers in the Church of Saint Joseph Remexio in East Timor, Nuns abused and sexually taunted leading to a large but peaceful demonstration at the Catholic University in East Timor which resulted in the inevitable full frontal assault

by the military on the protesters and deaths of up to three students, with many still listed as missing by the International Red Cross.

The inescapable conclusion is that somebody is trying to start a Religious War in Eastern Indonesia, probably as part of political strategy leading up to the next election and connected with the rivalry of various military and civil factions and personalities all competing to succeed President Suharto. Not to be discounted is the possibility of clandestine secessionist movements deliberately fomenting religious discord to Balkanize Indonesia. None of this of course is news to the East Timorese, who for nearly 20 years have watched the Indonesian Army use aggressive Islamisation as part of its strategy to 'Integrate' East Timor, a homogenous Catholic people into Indonesia.

I met women who as children had been taken away by the invading Indonesian soldiers to Jakarta, Surabaya and Ujung Pandang and forcibly brought up as Muslims. Elements of the military still use T.B.O's {tenaga bantuan operasi or operational assistants} teenage East Timorese pressed into service and inducted into the Mosques in exchange for food, money and protection.

One TBO was recently murdered by a soldier in Vikeke, a town on the Southern coast of East Timor and centre of guerilla resistance to the Indonesian occupation. While we were visiting Baucau, 60 kilometers North of Vikeke local Catholic Youths beat up a Muslim schoolteacher in reprisal for forcing some of his catholic students to attend a Mosque. Catholic students from Dili, East Timor's Capital City have been sent to every church in the country side to provide extra protection against Military and Islamic intervention.

I must stress that there has always been a small Islamic trading community in both East and West Timor, generally living harmoniously with the native Christian inhabitants. The new aggressive Islam is so worrying to those East Timorese Catholics who previously supported the Indonesian Invasion that they now support the Resistance and bitterly regret their flirtations with their unpredictable giant neighbour.

Long time Catholic friends in neighbouring West Timor and Flores who once supported the peaceful integration of East Timor into Indonesia as a way of increasing the total strength of the Catholic lobby in Jakarta are now beginning to change their minds, seeing in East Timor a potential safe haven for Indonesian Catholic refugees should Indonesia eventually succumb to Islamic domination, but ever fearful of being labelled subversive cannot be expected to express their opinions openly in the media in the near future. Many Indonesian Priests

now living in East Timor or with previous pastoral experience there support the human rights struggle but are afraid to speak out the basic cause of the abuses, the occupation by a foreign power. I don't feel happy about revealing the contents of private conversations with friends and can only hope that they will forgive me in a spirit of Christian solidarity. After all I am better and more safely placed than they. I have freedom of speech and the luxury of the distance.

And what of our stay in East Timor in general? All I can say is that everything bad you have ever heard about East Timor is true. It is a Military occupation. We were followed everywhere by Indonesian Intelligence, many old Portuguese buildings in the countryside could not be photographed because they have become military installations, people were scared to talk in public with foreigners, paid informers were everywhere. East Timor is a country of emotionally and mentally disturbed people, sacrificed by the world community to 20 years of brutal Indonesian occupation, finding refuge only in their beloved Church. Yet they refuse to give in.

Students are willing to sacrifice their lives for freedom, they talk of beginning an 'intifada' at some strategic time in the future, they are fully aware that many more sacrifices and martyrs will be necessary before independence is achieved, old 'neneks,' grandmothers, still ask those well connected with the guerrillas in the mountains, "How's our struggle going?"

The Indonesian claim to have developed East Timor's economy and infrastructure is a palpable untruth. The only developments we saw were military bases and Churches, the funds for the Churches coming from overseas, not from within Indonesia. Apart from that a few roads, health clinics, schools and Government Office buildings in almost 20 years of occupation.

Early in 1994 an Economics student at the Catholic University in Kupang, the Capital City of Indonesian West Timor, was murdered by a group of up to 30 policemen. After a fight with a plain-clothed policeman he was taken to Hospital for treatment, only to be dragged from his bed by a group of 10 police and taken away to be tortured and killed. The normally placid West Timorese took to the streets an hour later in rolling protests that lasted 3 days and nights, the largest demonstration in Kupang's history. Students set up road-blocks looking for police and soldiers to take revenge upon.

My wife and I later talked to an East Timorese public servant from Oekusi who happened to be travelling to Kupang at the time. He told us that he and a group of fellow East Timorese civil servants had been stopped by a roadblock of students looking

for Police to beat up. Their public servants' uniforms made them suspicious to the students who asked for their KTP's [identity cards]. When the leader of the students saw that travelers were East Timorese he apologized and waved them on, saying that this was an 'Indonesian' internal matter. The students obviously know that 'Indonesia' and 'East Timor' are two separate Countries, even if the Indonesian Military are yet to accept this fact.

The East Timorese are worried time is running out, every month more transmigrants from Indonesian Islamic Provinces come to join their families who have established a business venture there. The Catholic East Timorese will not, cannot ever integrate with Indonesia. The Memory of their Holocaust, over 200, 000 dead, approximately one third of the pre-invasion population will be carried forward in the collective unconscious of every generation. The Indonesian Military openly admits another two generations will be hostile to integration with Indonesia. So why prolong the agony?

The Titular Head of the Church in East Timor Monsignor Carlos Filipe Belo has advised the Vatican that the best option for East Timor's future would be to hold a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations, so that the East Timorese people can freely choose Independence or integration. If the International Community supports Bishop Belo's solution, the extraordinary sufferings of the East Timorese will surely cease.

Allan Dermody, Sydney Australia.

EAST TIMOR BISHOP ANNOUNCES 'SPECIAL STATUS' TALKS ON TERRITORY

AFP, Oct. 28 1994. By Pascal Mallet. abridged

Jakarta – The Roman Catholic leader of East Timor, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, announced Friday that he was working with "all parties," including the Indonesian government, to define a "special status" for the former Portuguese enclave.

In a telephone interview with AFP, Msgr. Belo said: "I believe that for the moment a special status (for East Timor) is the best solution. We are all discussing it, the Indonesian government, the army, myself and other East Timorese leaders as well as ordinary citizens."

The bishop said it was too early to discuss details of the planned status for the territory.

"We are to meet and discuss it in greater depth," he said.

East Timor governor Abilio José Osorio Soares mentioned the possibility of creating a special status for the territory a few months ago but did not elaborate at the time.

Msgr. Belo said: "It is an idea that I have supported for some time and which is also making headway with the East Timorese and within government circles."

The prelate however emphasized that his support for the special status did not mean that he had abandoned the goal of self-determination for East Timor.

"What is important for us is finally to be able to breathe since Indonesia annexed us in 1976," he said.

The bishop said that he saw Indonesian army officers at a seminar on Thursday, which the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) also attended, where he explained "the Catholic church's point of view on East Timor."

The apostolic nuncio in Jakarta, Monsignor Pietro Sambi, told AFP: "The Church is stimulating dialogue between all sides, because it is from this dialogue that an improvement will emerge for the East Timorese people and for Indonesia."

But, he added, "it is primarily a political problem with has to be discussed in the first instance by politicians, because East Timorese Catholics have various views, which they have the right to hold."

Pope John Paul II voiced the hope, on October 5, that a "just and peaceful solution" would be found for East Timor after 20 years of suffering for the area's inhabitants.

GUERRILLA ARRESTED, CLAIMS ARMY

AP in Dili and AFP in Lisbon, 28 October. Abridged

Indonesian troops have arrested a pro-independence guerrilla in East Timor following a clash in the coastal town of Baucau, Col. Kiki Syahnakri, commander of the territory, said. Klementino was hospitalized for injuries suffered during the fighting.

Syahnakri said this arrest brought the number of guerrillas still roaming in the mountains to less than 200. No independent confirmation is available.

Klementino told reporters he was in a group of 12 guerrilla that were spotted by Indonesian troops in the jungle.

The clash occurred the same day that the Catholic Bishop, Carlos Filipe Belo accused Indonesian troops of terror tactics and urged greater freedom and democracy in East Timor.

Meanwhile another guerrilla surrendered to the army over the weekend, a military spokesman, Major L. Simbolon said. He

identified the guerrilla as da Cruz, 42, who gave himself up at Bogota village in Los Palos. He said that da Cruz, believed to be the leader of a small guerrilla band called 'Lere,' surrendered without any weapons.

In Lisbon, Domingos Oliveira, secretary-general of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), denied that the rebel leader, Humberto da Cruz surrendered to the Indonesian army as claimed by Jakarta. He said that he was captured by the army, according to LUSA agency.

'He was captured at Los Palos in the east, after Indonesian military operations intensified in the region,' he said.

Da Cruz, 42 was being detained at Baucau prison, he said

WAVE OF MIGRATION IS ALTERING EAST TIMOR

By BARBARA CROSSETTE, *The New York Times*, October 30, 1994.

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 29 - The exiled leader of an independence movement in East Timor, José Ramos-Horta, said on Friday that growing numbers of non-Timorese migrants were changing the character of the territory, which Indonesia annexed by force in 1975.

Mr. Ramos-Horta, the civilian face of the guerrilla movement Fretilin, which continues to wage a low-level war in East Timor, said that as many as 1,000 Indonesians from other islands in the huge archipelago are arriving each week. He said that the numbers are larger than at any time in the past.

"They have taken over the best land, the best jobs, even the small shops in the streets," Mr. Ramos-Horta said in an interview here, where he has been lobbying for nearly two decades from his base in Europe.

"In public service jobs only 3 out of 10 is Timorese. In the streets, selling in the markets, the average we estimate is one Timorese for nine Indonesians."

Indonesian officials say that the influx of settlers in East Timor is not part of the controlled program of "transmigration," which moves people from the most populated islands to less dense ones. They say that since East Timor was opened in 1989 to other Indonesians, people have flocked there for a better life.

Mr. Ramos-Horta said that trade in East Timor's resources - marble, coffee, sandalwood and oil - is dominated by non-Timorese.

East Timor, a Portuguese colony that was more or less abandoned by Lisbon after the 1974 revolution, has more than 800,000 people, a mix of indigenous people and descendants of Portuguese migrants and political prisoners banished there as punishment.

Timorese still outnumber other Indonesians by at least five to one, Mr. Ramos-Horta said.

"But if the trend continues for the next 10 years, the Timorese will be completely outnumbered," he said.

The status of East Timor is one of several issues being raised by international rights organizations in advance of a visit by President Clinton to the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, for an Asian-Pacific economic meeting beginning on Nov. 14.

Talks between Indonesians and Timorese at several levels have begun to make some headway, but rights groups want to sustain pressure on President Suharto.

"The Indonesians have tried to solve the problem by force and that hasn't worked," said John A. Bresnan, director of the East Asian Institute at Columbia University and the author of "Managing Indonesia." "Now the only solution left is a political one."

East Timor is largely a foreign policy problem for Indonesia, a country of about 200 million people trying to play a more prominent role in international affairs.

Mr. Bresnan said discussions on the future of East Timor were going on through a variety of channels in Indonesia, with the encouragement of the United States, which has urged the Indonesians to reduce their huge military presence in the disputed territory.

[The article was accompanied by a map, captioned "Timorese accuse Indonesia of flooding East Timor with settlers."]

BISHOP BELO INVITED TO AUSTRALIA

AP, 1 November 1994. Abridged

Catholic Bishop Ximenes Belo has been invited to a human rights conference this month in Australia, an activist said Tuesday.

Florentino Sarmiento, (former?) chairman of the local ETADEP foundation, said the Nov. 24-25 conference at the Australian National University in Canberra would focus on human rights in East Timor. It was not known whether Belo would attend the conference.

Last week, he accused the Indonesian military of terror tactics and urged greater freedom and democracy in East Timor. He also accused Indonesian soldiers of forcing birth control, desecration of the Catholic church and extortion, and urged their withdrawal from guarding the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. Belo said troops continued presence at the cemetery 'only creates anger and hatred among the people.'

[Compare this report of Belo's speech last week with a report in *The Jakarta Post* on

28 October, headed 'Outspoken Belo sees progress in East Timor' in which he "told a gathering of senior military and police officers that the government has successfully pulled the local people out of poverty, backwardness and ignorance." And: ".there are still many things in the ethnic, religious and cultural domains which need improvement."]

EAST TIMOR DEVELOPMENT FAILS TO STEM DISCONTENT

International Herald Tribune, Nov. 3, 1994.
By Michael Richardson

DILI, East Timor - In sweltering heat, several hundred students and staff from the East Timor University gathered the other day with friends, relatives and guests for a graduation ceremony under a makeshift plastic awning.

Before Indonesia invaded the Portuguese territory in 1975 and annexed it the following year, such a ceremony would not have been possible.

In 400 years of colonial rule, Portugal neglected to build a university or even develop a proper primary school system. Lisbon's legacy to East Timor was grinding poverty and underdevelopment.

Today, a reporter returning to the territory for the first time since Indonesia took over, finds impressive signs of development, not just in Dili but in small towns and part of the countryside.

A network of all-weather roads has been built, along with bridges, schools, health clinics, electricity, village housing, fresh water wells and other facilities.

While Indonesia's armed forces may have faced about 7,000 Timorese guerrillas fighting under the banner of the Fretilin independence movement in 1975, there are probably no more than a few hundred still active. They are largely confined to remote areas and short of arms and ammunitions.

Yet, even among Timorese who originally supported integration in Indonesia, there is disillusionment with what is seen as heavy-handed control by the Indonesian military and the central government in Jakarta.

"My first choice was Apodeti, the party of integration," said a Timorese professional. "But not this kind of integration." Like others who were interviewed and said they feared possible reprisals from Indonesian security agents, he requested anonymity.

There is also widespread resentment among Timorese at what they see as domination of East Timor's economic and political development by non-Timorese.

The Indonesian Army and police in the territory are commanded by, and largely comprise, non-Timorese. Although the governor and most of the senior officials in the local administration are Timorese, the real decision-making power is in the hands of Jakarta and non-Timorese bureaucrats who staff the upper echelons of the central government ministries in East Timor.

Out of a total population of around 800,000, between 100,000 and 200,000 are non-Timorese and their number continues to increase. Many are settlers from other parts of Indonesia who take jobs and start small businesses for which most Timorese lack training skills, motivation and money.

The tension and mistrust between Timorese and non-Timorese is aggravated by cultural differences, particularly religion. Nearly all Timorese are Catholics while an overwhelming majority of the non-Timorese are Muslim or Protestant Christians.

This latent tension burst into the open in Dili in June and July when Timorese protests over alleged religious insults led to a clash with riot police, in which about a dozen students and young people were injured.

The clash was the most serious since Indonesian troops opened fire on funeral marchers in Dili in November 1991, killing up to 200 people.

"There's a great feeling of disappointment," said a Timorese businessman. "Timorese used to be very divided. Today, they do not support the Fretilin but they do support independence."

Some commanders, including a number of senior officers in Jakarta, evidently realise that although the Indonesian security forces are close to winning the military war in East Timor, they have failed to win the more important battle for the hearts and minds of the Timorese.

As part of an effort to improve discipline among Indonesian troops in the territory, a military spokesman said Tuesday that two soldiers, both Muslim, had been discharged from the army after a military court found them guilty of desecrating a Catholic church in East Timor in June.

Colonel K. Syahnakri, the newly appointed East Timor military commander, said in an interview that such incidents, although rare, would not be tolerated.

He said that of the eight battalions in East Timor, seven were engaged in civic action to improve the welfare of people through a variety of construction and training programs.

However, Colonel Syahnakri, a Muslim who speaks fluent Tetum, the main East Timor language, and is married to a Christian, said that the success of the Indonesian

education program had created a different kind of security problem: unemployment.

About 4,000 Timorese who leave school each year end up jobless, according to East Timorese officials.

Abilio José Osorio Soares, the East Timor governor, said the "very severe" unemployment problem should be solved by opening the territory more widely to investment and economic development.

He said that Indonesian military forces should continue to be withdrawn gradually and East Timor given "special status" as a territory within Indonesia.

Analysts said that the "special status" or autonomy proposal was under consideration in both Jakarta and Dili.

They said that two Indonesian Army battalions had been withdrawn from East Timor since October and that another three might follow over the next 12 months, depending on the security situation.

That would leave four battalions, or roughly 2,750 troops, in the territory. An Indonesian province normally has two battalions.

While human rights groups in the West continue to issue highly critical reports on the situation in East Timor, Western officials familiar with the operations of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the territory said that there had been some overall improvement in the past year.

"I think we are on the right track, although we still have a long way to go," said one official.

However, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the outspoken Catholic bishop of Dili, said the Timorese had no freedom to speak or hold public meetings, and that there were still too many cases of arrests and beatings of Timorese by the military and police.

Although Indonesian officials strenuously deny such a plan, Bishop Belo said he suspected that Jakarta wanted to gradually "Indonesianize" East Timor.

Bishop Belo asserted that the most insidious aspect of Indonesian rule in East Timor was the creation of a network of paid informers among the Timorese themselves – in schools, villages, offices and even the Catholic church.

"We are not fighting against Indonesia but to preserve the dignity and identity of the East Timorese," he said.

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

MEDIA CENTRE TO TACKLE BIASED REPORTS

AFP, 18 September 1994

[This text is taken from the *New Straits Times*, 19.9.1994. Some words are illegible on the fax we received.]

Jakarta – The Indonesian government will open a media centre to counter unfavorable reports on the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and other bad news, the official news agency said here today.

"The media centre will be expected to be able to provide immediate and precise responses to issues with a negative tone against Indonesia from abroad such as on human rights, democratization, workers' rights, the environment, etc.," Antara quoted Foreign Minister Ali Alatas as saying.

Alatas told a parliamentary commission yesterday the centre would also deal with issues on East Timor abroad, to counter views spread by the East Timorese pro-independence movement Fretilin and its supporters.

"We hope that the media centre will be effective in countering their activities," he said, adding that the centre would provide accurate information on development in East Timor, which was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Alatas said that several incidents have marred and hindered Indonesia's efforts to develop East Timor. He cited incidents such as the Nov. 12 shootings in Dili in which scores of civilians died after Indonesian troops shot into a pro-independence demonstration, and the series of recent religious and ethnic unrests in East Timor.

The centre, Alatas said, will be (run) by workers from various government agencies and its output will be distributed to Indonesian missions overseas.

He said the Indonesian foreign ministry was also considering commissioning a film on Indonesia from Australian journalist Frank Palmos, which would present the government's side of the story. Alatas said that Palmos had shown "a positive attitude towards Indonesia." The Foreign Minister said that he hoped that the film would be shown by international television networks.

TIMORESE STUDENTS IN MALANG WARNED

Statement from students, 19 September 1994. (Faxed to TAPOL from Malang today), Summarised

In a letter dated 17 September, addressed to Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, East Timor students in Malang declared on 15 September at 10 pm, the East Timorese students in Malang were summoned to the Malang military command, KODIM 0833, where the KODIM military commander, Lieut.-Colonel Suprpto, together with the Malang police chief, subjected them to interrogation and threats.

They were warned not to engage in any activities whatsoever, without first informing the local security authorities.

In view of this the East Timorese students wish to state the following:

1. Lt.-Col. Suprpto said during this encounter that all East Timorese living in cities outside East Timor are regarded by the local people as alien and that if they fail to comply with the regulations established by the local security forces, they will be returned home.
2. The security forces are doing everything they can to motivate the local people to create a hostile environment between the local people and the East Timorese students.
3. All this has spread fear and panic among the East Timorese students in Malang, making it difficult for them to concentrate on their studies.

Copies of this letter have been sent to the Peace and Justice Commission in East Timor, the armed forces commander, the National Commission for Human Rights, the International Red Cross, Amnesty International and various human rights NGOs in Jakarta.

EDI SUDRAJAT: SOME NGOS FOMENT ISSUES TO EXERT PRESSURE ON STATES

Kompas, 30 September 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – Defence Minister (Ret'd General) Edi Sudrajat has warned that there are NGOs that are busy fomenting current issues at home in order to raise them with the international community. Issues such as democracy, human rights and workers' rights are being spread and are bringing pressure to bear on the developing countries.

"Although the Cold War is over and life should have become easier, the fact is that some developing countries are still facing

pressures, obstacles or veiled threats," the Minister said in Banda Aceh.

According to Edi, the NGOs can exert considerable influence in international relations. They are actively internationalizing current issues and are able to form public opinion. The minister said that the NGOs' organisational structures are relatively slender but their strength lies in the network of NGOs that is spread across the world, extending across national frontiers.

"Just as with multinationals today, these NGOs are capable of influencing the foreign and domestic policies of the countries where they are based," he said.

Minister Edi said that international NGOs are trying to make such issues as democratization, human rights and workers' rights part of the conditionality of international economic ties which are then fomented by the local NGOs.

In another part of his speech, the minister express amazement that there are Indonesian citizens who talk about "negative things" at home when they are overseas. "I don't need to mention names. They are able to speak about these issues from a scientific point of view. I am amazed that such things happen because this is like someone talking to the neighbours about the difficulties in their own home. If we have difficulties at home, we should resolve them at home," the Minister said

JOINT COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF EAST TIMORESE

Background Statement, October 2, 1994

The Joint Committee for the Defence of East Timorese was formed in response to the incident widely referred to as the "12 November 1991 Incident" and the subsequent march of student demonstrators on the embassies of Australia and Japan and the UN Representative Office in Jakarta on 19 November 1991. The two above-mentioned "incidents" resulted in the detention and trial of a large number of East Timorese (including university students) in both Dili and Jakarta. The accused in both Dili and Jakarta contacted the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta requesting its legal representation in the trials. On the basis of these developments and a belief in the defendants' need for serious legal assistance and defence (including humanitarian support), on 4 February 1992 the

Joint Committee for the Defence of East Timorese, comprising the Legal Aid Institute Foundation, Parpem PGI (Protestant) and the Institute for Social Research and Development + Indonesian Bishops' Con-

ference (LPPS + KWI + Catholic), was formed.

Membership of the Joint Committee has expanded with the involvement of the International Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy (ELSAM) and the Jakarta Chapter of the Legal Aid Institute.

Activities

- To provide free legal assistance to East Timorese convicted with political crimes in both Dili and Jakarta.
- To provide financial assistance to tertiary students whose political activities have resulted in the stopping of government scholarships and to young people whose parents are being tried or serving sentences in Dili.
- To provide humanitarian assistance in the form of food, medication and clothing
- To collect and disseminate information on the situation in East Timor as it relates to the Committee's advocacy work/activities.

In view of their importance, legal assistance and other forms of advocacy are the main focus of the Committee's activities.

Organisation

- Chairman: Abdul Hakim G. Nusantara SH, LL.M (ELSAM)
- Secretary: Asmara Nababan, SH (Parpem PGI)
- Treasurer: Ade Rostina Sitompul (Parpem PGI)
- Daily Coordinator: Luhut MP Pangaribuan SH, LL.M (LBH Jakarta)
- Members:
 - Mgr Hardaputranta SJ (LPPS KWI)
 - Mrs. Irma Immaculata (LPPS KWI)
 - Rev F.W. Raintung (Parpem PGI)
 - Hendardi (YLBHI)
 - Bambang Widjayanto, SH (YLBHI)
 - Dr. Iskandar (LPPS KWI)
 - Eko (LPPS KWI)
 - Gustav Dupe (Parpem PGI)

Secretariat Staff: Herbin M. Siahaan, SH

Secretariat Address:

ELSAM

Jalan Mesjid IV/4

Pejompongan

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CHANGE IN THE WIND: JAKARTA MAY BE RETHINKING ITS TIMOR POLICY

Far Eastern Economic Review, October 6, 1994. From John McBeth in Jakarta

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has called the problem of East Timor 'a stone in Indonesia's shoe.' It has certainly been a serious irritant for Alatas' boss, President Suharto. The President has been dogged by international concern over Indonesia's human-rights record in the province, most recently when South African President Nelson Mandela raised the issue during a visit to Jakarta.

With Jakarta due to host the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in November, there are signs Suharto has agreed to a renewed search for a solution to the 18-year-old Timor problem. For the moment, the debate is still little more than an undercurrent; even so, the indications are clear enough to suggest that a change in Timor policy is brewing.

Skeptics suggest renewed discussion of the Timor issue is part of a government plan to appear to engage the Timorese in dialogue and thereby head off possible criticism at the APEC summit. These critics see a link with the fact that the United States-based group Human Rights Watch is urging APEC delegates to raise human-rights issues in discussions with Indonesian officials.

But that's the minority view. Most sources feel the Timor debate goes beyond a ploy. "I believe it's something more than that," says Aristides Katoppo, a widely respected journalist and publisher. "But it does appear that APEC is providing at least an impetus for the debate we are seeing. I think the government feels it is on the defensive over East Timor."

Senior military sources confirm that an Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) study group has submitted a 25-page report on East Timor to ABRI commander-in-chief Gen. Feisal Tanjung. The sources say the report recommends modifications to existing practice, rather than a significant shift in policy that could lead to more self-governance for the former Portuguese enclave.

Nonetheless, there appears to be a greater willingness on the part of ABRI to come to terms with the Timor problem, even if the discussion is still conceptual. "We recognise we have to give special treatment to the province," says a ranking Indonesian officer. "But if they're talking about autonomy, what do they really mean?"

Foreign Minister Alatas, for one, has rejected speculation that Timor may be given more autonomy. "East Timor has autonomy in the substantive sense of the word, and

yet some people are pursuing the non-essential, such as the status of a special area," he told Parliament on September 15.

As the Timor debate continues, analysts have been intrigued by the role in it of Col. Prabowo Subianto, President Suharto's son-in-law. They are also curious about the circulation last May of a paper written by East Timor's governor, Abilio José Osorio Soares, proposing that the province be made a *daerah istimewa*, or special area. Weighing in as well has been the Catholic bishop of East Timor, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, who issued a pastoral letter in July suggesting 'autonomy' for the province.

Prabowo has served three tours in East Timor, starting in the 1980s. And the special-forces colonel has been a frequent visitor to Dili, the capital of East Timor province. Timorese sources say that in promising to deliver recent letters from Soares and Belo to Suharto, Prabowo seems to be acting as a channel to the presidential palace.

Prabowo's father, economist and presidential adviser Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, is honorary co-chairman of the U.S.-Indonesia Society, which arranged a visit to East Timor in August by American congressional staffers. In fact, Prabowo fielded the questions on national policy issues that the delegates lobbed at Col. Kiki Syahnakri, the newly appointed district commander of Dili.

The Suharto family connection also extends to the president's eldest daughter, Siti Hardijanti Rukmana, or Tutut, who helped broker last December's first intra-Timorese meeting in London. She later emerged as chairman of the new Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association. Diplomats believe the London meeting and heightened religious tensions earlier in the year has given impetus to renewed mediation efforts.

Governor Soares told the visiting U.S. delegation that the province's political situation is being reviewed "to ensure that integration meets the needs of the East Timorese." A delegation member interpreted Soares' remarks to mean that while independence is out of the question, the government must make unique concessions if it wants to meet the aspirations of East Timor's 800,000 people.

Another source with contacts in East Timor says a process of 'parallel diplomacy' is taking place that's clearly separate from the intermittent ministerial-level talks held between Indonesia and Portugal under United Nations auspices. "I think it is an attempt to solve the problem without the interference of the UN or anyone else," he says.

On yet another track, a second round of talks is being held in London between Indonesian Ambassador Francisco Xavier Lopez da Cruz and Europe-based Timorese exiles

led by Abilio Araujo. The contacts were legitimized in a memorandum signed by the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal in Geneva last May which called for more intra-Timorese dialogue. However, Xanana Gusmão, leader of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (known as Fretilin), who is now serving a 20-year jail sentence, and Ramos Horta, a Fretilin exile in Australia, disapprove of the talks.

Analysts say there doesn't appear to be any coordinated or over-arching pattern to these developments. "There is certainly a momentum in terms of all the various activities," says an East Timor watcher. "But while one may be feeding into another to some extent, its not really one great stream."

Official reluctance to acknowledge the possibility of new approaches is understandable, some observers say. "To admit that they're changing is to admit that they've done something wrong," notes a Western diplomat who follows the East Timor issue. "But it's also clear they don't want to create a dynamic that would be potentially difficult to manage. That strikes me as a legitimate concern."

While the UN would have to recognise any settlement, there is a widely held view that any real solution to the Timor problem must come from within. "If the Israelis and the PLO can sit down and talk, then there's no reason why we can't either," says rural sociologist Loekman Soetrisno, author of a critical 1989 study of East Timor. "But there has to be a forum where we can talk without the intervention of foreigners."

Governor Soares' paper, meanwhile, was the subject of considerable discussion during the August 26 launch of a new book, *Ekonomi Politik Pembangunan Timor Timur*, by João Mariano de Sousa Saldanha. The 360-page study by Saldanha, a Timorese who is a visiting lecturer at Australian National University and a former Fulbright scholar, is a publishing milestone for Indonesia, where talk of the international controversy over East Timor's annexation and often brutal treatment by Jakarta has been largely muted.

While he supports East Timor's integration into Indonesia, Saldanha describes the development strategy for the province as inappropriate and ineffective. The current top-down system, he says, has led to unemployment, broad dependence on the central government and other outside parties and unequal distribution of the fruits of development.

A surprise guest at the book launch was Region IX military commander Maj.-Gen. Adang Ruchiatna, the Bali-based general responsible for security in East Timor. Six to eight battalions of troops under his command are still deployed against a rag-tag collection of 200 Fretilin fighters and an

underground resistance organisation that local agencies say remains extremely viable.

Adang later attended a free-wheeling session with about 40 students at Jakarta's Institute of Science and Technology, where he was asked point-blank why Indonesia doesn't hold a referendum to allow the Timorese to determine their own future. The general responded that it was beyond his competence to comment, but he did say a special status for the province was one alternative solution.

In another development, author Saldanha was invited to ABRI headquarters for an unusual meeting with the six officers who comprise a new headquarters team that focuses on East Timor. Civilian sources say that apart from one obvious conservative, all the officers seemed interested in exploring different approaches to the East Timor question.

The leader of the group is Rear-Adm. A.A.Kustia, recently transferred from the foreign-affairs directorate of the military intelligence agency to head army chief Feisal's expert staff on people's welfare. The group has recommended action on everyday issues such as better housing and agricultural techniques. But source close to the group says that it also has proposed a mechanism to deal with local complaints. This might help to address complaints there is no consultative process by which Timorese can express opinions and grievances.

"The most important thing to come out of this," an Indonesian analyst says, "is that there is an understanding of the need for a political rather than a military solution. They're allowing more ideas to percolate. There is a recognition, I think, that the government's policies haven't worked and that international public opinion is shifting."

Sociologist Soetrisno, who holds a chair at Jogjakarta's Gadjah Mada University, says he would like to see a major reduction in military personnel in East Timor. He also suggests that speakers of Tetum, the native Timorese language, be allowed to take over all key bureaucratic slots. Already, the governor and 10 of the 13 *bupatis*, or district administrators of the province, are Timorese. But non-Timorese hold two of the four national parliamentary seats and fill 18 of the 45 seats in the provincial assembly.

Soetrisno says it would also be important for the church to play at least a temporary political role as a channel for people's aspirations. "Its role should not be modeled on the church-state relationship that exists in West Timor," he says. "They should change from being a servant of God to being a servant of the people."

Ruling Golkar parliamentarian Salvador Ximenes Soares, who earlier this year made

a public call for a more creative approach to East Timor, feels the provincial governor should be given authority to levy taxes and accept direct foreign aid. He also says the province should be allowed to adopt its own educational curriculum and forge a special relationship with Portugal.

Soares, publisher of East Timor's sole newspaper, *Suara Timor Timur* (circulation, 3500) is also less than convinced that military harassment of East Timorese is diminishing. At the height of the disturbances that followed the Remexio church incident in June, in which two Indonesian army privates defiled sacred items, Soares' car was destroyed by unidentified arsonists outside the newspaper's office.

While there may be some improvement of Indonesian soldiers, says Soares, the military has some way to go to improve discipline and cultural awareness. A diplomatic source agrees. "The military is acting against abuses that don't serve the maintenance of security," he says. "But there are still a lot of problems to solve. There is no real dialogue and no real community life between the soldiers and the villagers."

One interesting development has been the deployment to East Timor of army officers with UN peace-keeping experience. Among them has been Col. Ryamizard, the son-in-law of Vice-President Try Sutrisno, who commanded the Indonesian battalion in Cambodia's Kompong Thom province during the UN-sponsored elections in that country. Ryamizard recently took over the Jakarta-based 17th Airborne Brigade, but retains responsibility for *Sektor A*, which covers the eastern half of East Timor.

Although Indonesian troops won praise in Cambodia for their sensitive handling of the local population, critics say that doesn't necessarily mean the same will happen in East Timor. "In Cambodia, Indonesia's international prestige was at stake," legislator Soares notes. "In East Timor, they will be dealing with a whole different set of circumstances."

PRABOWO NEW DEPUTY COMMANDER OF KOPASSUS

Forum Keadilan, 13 October 1994. Translated from Indonesian, Abridged

Presidential son-in-law Col. (Inf.) Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusuma (42) has been appointed deputy commander of the elite red beret corps Kopassus. He serves under Brig-Gen. Subagyo HS (42), the youngest by far of a new crop of generals to lead the armed forces. Both men have had most of their careers in Kopassus, have extensive East Timor experience, and both are very close to President Suharto

(Prabowo is married to his youngest daughter, while Subagyo served as Presidential bodyguard 1986-93). Both have experienced rapid rises, and have been awarded extraordinary promotions for special acts - Prabowo for shooting dead Fretilin president Lobato in 1978, Subagyo for his role in putting down the Woyla aircraft hijacking in Bangkok in 1984 [sic - I thought it was 1981]. Subagyo also reputedly got an extraordinary promotion for another undisclosed action.

TOTAL MEDIA CONTROL SOUGHT: EDITOR

From The West Australian 15 Oct. 94 (abridged). By Norman Aisbett

The founding editor of the banned Indonesian news magazine *Tempo* says the recent sacking of a Jakarta radio broadcaster shows the Government is moving on all fronts the control the media.

Goenawan Mohamad said from Melbourne that the young broadcaster, Nor Pud Binarto, was sacked by the private radio station Trijaya because he had interviewed Goenawan about a suspended magazine, *Simponi*.

"This sacking is an indication of the power of the Government which, I think, is planning to eliminate all independent service information," he said.

Goenawan is in Australia to promote his new book *Sidelines*, the first English version of his essays, most of which were first printed in *Tempo*.

In a potential embarrassment for the Indonesian Government and an apparent show of support for Goenawan, Indonesian Ambassador Sabam Siagian attended the launch of the book in Melbourne yesterday.

Mr. Siagian, himself a former journalist, has known Goenawan for many years. They are the only Indonesians to have won Harvard University's exclusive Nieman scholarship.

Mr. Siagian attended the launch at the invitation of Goenawan but the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne turned down a similar offer.

INDONESIA EYEING EUROPE, NOT U.S., FOR WEAPONS

by John Owen-Davies. Reuter, 10/16/94

Jakarta - Indonesia is looking increasingly to Europe - and away from the United States - for weapons, including submarines, aircraft and light tanks, foreign military sources say.

The shift from Washington, a major supplier during the Cold War, follows moves by the U.S. Congress to link arms sales and training with human rights in troubled East Timor, which Jakarta invaded in 1975 and annexed in 1976.

Indonesia has said it will not accept any conditions for future sales from the United States.

The sources on Saturday said Indonesia had shown greater interest in the past year in buying from Europe – including Britain, France, Germany and The Netherlands – not only to expand existing arsenals, but to replace aging equipment, some of it up to 40 years old.

“We need to replace old equipment with new or second-hand equipment for our forces. This is partly because of the size of our country,” a senior Indonesian military source told Reuters.

Indonesia is an equatorial archipelago of some 14,000 islands stretching over 5,000 km (3,150 miles) from west of Malaysia to a line south of Japan – roughly the distance between New York and San Francisco.

Its priorities are fully equipping a quick-reaction force of 3,000 to 5,000 men for internal use, and a planned standby U.N. peacekeeping battalion of 800 men, the sources said.

The army also wants to put on a show of modern military might next August to mark Indonesia’s 50th anniversary of independence.

“It wants to show the nation its money is being well spent and that the people will be safeguarded with modern equipment,” one foreign military attaché said.

Indonesia’s estimated 185 million people makes it the world’s fourth most populous country after China, India and the United States. More than 100 million people live on its main Java island.

“The military’s logistic system has had weaknesses. They included a poor capital equipment programme, poor stock management and a lack of preventative maintenance,” he added.

Some artillery supplied by the former Soviet Union is now unserviceable. Indonesia has Soviet 122mm howitzers, 82mm- and 107mm anti-armour guns and amphibious reconnaissance vehicles.

The sources said the military was also emphasizing training for a force with a controversial security and socio-political role in Indonesia.

“Combat capability had been hampered by weaknesses in junior commanders, a lack of collective training and poor individual military skills among some soldiers,” another source said.

Britain and Australia, Indonesia’s southern neighbour, are believed to be offering

more training to fill some gaps left by the move away from the United States for the 212,000-strong army, 43,000-member navy and air force with 27,000 personnel.

Britain’s chief of defence staff, Field Marshal Peter Inge, said in Jakarta last week his country hoped to sell Scorpion light tanks and more Hawk jets to Indonesia.

Indonesia’s military commander General Feisal Tanjung, asked if such purchases were likely, told reporters: “The possibility is always there. ... It all depends on the state budget.”

Defence spending in 1994-95 is equivalent to about US\$550 million, roughly the previous year’s level in nominal terms.

Foreign military sources said Indonesia might want up to 100 Scorpions, including some next year at around \$750,000 each, and had requested British Aerospace to deliver the first 24 Hawks in 1995 instead of 1996.

The Hawk order, comprising eight 100-Series, two-seat trainers and 16 200-Series single-seat fighters, was for 500 million sterling (\$760 million). Indonesia’s air force was told this year it could proceed with talks for more Hawks.

France is likely to be in the race to sell Jakarta light tanks and other equipment. Indonesia already has 201 French AMX-13 light tanks with 105mm guns, and about 74 AMX-13s with 75mm guns.

Indonesia has shown interest in other jets, including L-39s produced by the former Czechoslovakia.

The sources said Indonesia, now taking delivery from Germany of 39 aging warships that belonged to the former East Germany, is weighing possible purchase of additional submarines from either Germany or The Netherlands.

MORE OPEN TO DISCUSSIONS?

Feature By Yuli Ismartono

JAKARTA, Oct. 13 (IPS) - The Indonesian armed forces continues to keep a hard-line stance regarding East Timor, but the debate on the future of what Indonesia calls its 27th province has at least become more open, say some political analysts here.

Resistance groups in East Timor have been fighting Jakarta ever since Indonesia took over the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and formally annexed it a year later.

The issue, which has been a thorn on Indonesia’s side in international fora, has been debated annually in the United Nations that has yet to recognise the South-east Asian nation’s claim on East Timor.

But analysts now say the Indonesian military, known by its Bahasa acronym

ABRI, has lately become more open to discussions regarding East Timor. They say it even seems receptive to proposals on approaches to end the long-standing issue.

This is despite the military’s recent rejection of a ceasefire recently proposed the resistance movement this month prior to talks with Indonesian authorities.

Insists an academic in Jakarta who monitors developments on the matter: “There seems to be more public debate on alternative approaches to solving the East Timor issue.”

Last August, for instance, a book titled *Economics, Politics and Development in East Timor* by Timorese academic João Mariano De Souza Saldanha was published and debated at the Jakarta-based Centre for Strategic International Studies.

Participating in the discussions along with scholars and government officials, including East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares, were the members of the military.

It is the first time such a comprehensive study on East Timor – written by a Timorese – has been published in Indonesia, where debates on the issue were usually confined to private conversations.

The book, which takes up social, economic and political issues regarding East Timor, includes a proposal on establishing a mechanism to allow East Timorese to air their complaints. It also proposes that the province be given a ‘special status,’ indicating greater autonomy from the central government in Jakarta.

Analysts say there are also hints that ABRI itself is taking steps to improve its approach toward the Timorese.

They cite reports by international organisations with representatives there that more and more of the troops being sent to East Timor have had peacekeeping experience overseas.

Many activists suspect that such developments have much to do with next month’s Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Bogor town, just outside Jakarta. They say the government is merely attempting to head off any criticism regarding Indonesia’s policy toward East Timor during the meeting.

But while some analysts concede that the summit has put Jakarta on guard especially on East Timor, they also say many of the changes seem meant for the long-term. Respected journalist Aristides Katoppo told the Far Eastern Economic Review magazine recently: “I believe it’s something more than (a ploy prior to APEC).”

The recent meetings of Foreign Minister Ali Alatas with exiled resistance leaders as well as Portuguese officials have also been seen as a positive sign by analysts.

Resistance leader Konis Santana even described the May talks in Geneva between Alatas and Portuguese Foreign Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso as “a significant step in search of a just, global and internationally acceptable solution for East Timor.”

Earlier this month, Alatas also met with exiled FRETILIN leader José Ramos Horta in New York. But Alatas himself has been quick to comment that the meeting bore little fruit.

“I don’t think there was anything new,” he said shortly after the meeting with Ramos Horta. “We’ve already heard all the ideas that he expressed.”

Alatas reiterated Indonesia’s firm stand against demilitarisation in East Timor, international verification of troop withdrawal and a permanent presence of U.N. representatives there – all of which were demanded by Ramos Horta.

In a speech in parliament last month, the Indonesian foreign minister had also said “people are pursuing the non-essential, such as the status of a special area.” He said East Timor already enjoyed autonomy “in a substantive sense of the word.”

Among Indonesia’s local administrations, only three are accorded special status. These include the capital city of Jakarta because of its size and status, the historical city of Yogyakarta in central Java for its exceptional contribution to the struggle for independence against the colonial Dutch government.

Aceh in northern Sumatra was also granted special status following years of guerrilla warfare by Muslim groups that demanded a separate Islamic state. Although a predominantly Muslim country, Indonesia’s state philosophy advocates freedom of religion among its 195 million people.

COLLABORATORS AT WORK

SECOND LONDON MEETING PLANNED

TAPOL Report, 16 September 1994

A second meeting between so-called pro- and anti-integrasi East Timorese is reportedly going to take place from 25-27 September in London. The two teams will again be headed by Lopez da Cruz and Abilio Araujo, former head of the Fretilin Overseas Delegation.

There are reports that Father Francisco Fernandes of Macao who attended last time on the ‘anti-integrasi’ side is not prepared to attend this time round. He was the only

person that, as it were, provided a church element.

The only feature that seems to distinguish this meeting from the last one, held last December at a secret location outside London, is that the conveners have invited a representative of the UN Secretary-General. Presumably, under the terms of the ongoing dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal, the UN would need to consult with the Portuguese government before decided whether to accept the invitation.

The meeting will come as the UN General Assembly gets under way. That will be the occasion for possible talks between Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and representatives of the East Timor resistance and between Portuguese Foreign Minister Durão Barroso and pro-integration East Timorese, under the terms of the communiqué issued after the Indonesia-Portugal talks in Geneva last May. It would appear that the second round of London talks is aimed at staking a claim to help to solve the issue of East Timor, in advance of those talks.

EAST TIMORESE GROUPS TO MEET AGAIN IN LONDON

JAKARTA, Sept. 19 (Reuter) - East Timorese groups living in Indonesia and in exile are due to meet later this month in London for a second round of talks sponsored by Jakarta, officials said on Monday.

They said that one group in favour of Indonesia’s 19-year old rule of the former Portuguese colony, led by ambassador at large Lopes da Cruz, would meet a number of exiles opposing the annexation of the tiny territory on September 29.

“This is a follow-up (to the last meeting in December 1993),” one official, who declined to be named, said.

Indonesia, keen to deflect international criticism of its role in East Timor, last year sponsored a similar meeting which was boycotted by many members of the divided exile community.

Military officers have in recent months met with several leading Timorese dissidents, including church leader Bishop Carlos Belo and jailed guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão.

It was not clear who would head the exile team to the talks, which last year was led by Abilio Araujo, the recently-sacked head of the main opposition grouping Fretilin.

Officials said that after concluding the talks on October 1, the two teams would fly to Rome for an audience with the Pope. Mainly Roman Catholic East Timor is directly administered by the Vatican, not by Indonesia’s Catholic church.

RECONCILIATION II ON THE HORIZON

Publico, 19 Sep. 1994. By J. Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon – Yesterday, Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Suharto’s adviser on East Timor related issues, announced that the second “reconciliation” meeting is to be held in London between 25 and 28 September.

Contacted by LUSA from Macau, Lopes da Cruz in Jakarta described this second contact between a group of Timorese living abroad and a delegation of pro-integration residents in the territory and in Indonesia, as “an informal meeting which does not aim to deal with the question of East Timor’s political statute, but to contribute towards better understanding among Timorese, in a spirit of reconciliation.” This definition is exactly the same as the one used to describe the first such meeting, which took place last year in December on the outskirts of London. The repetition of venue is due to the role played by the influential Indonesian ambassador in the handling of this “reconciliation” process.

Other similarities between the last and next “reconciliation” meetings include the presence of Lopes da Cruz himself, heading the delegation from the interior, the likely appearance of Abilio Araujo leading the group of Timorese living abroad, and the vehement repudiation of the meeting by the dominant faction of the Timorese resistance, for whom “reconciliation” was, and continues to be, no more than a maneuver by Jakarta to remove the issue of East Timor from the international sphere and reduce it to a mere internal squabble between the people of the “province.”

This time, Lopes da Cruz says he has invited a UN observer to be present at the meeting. Without suggesting who the observer might be, Suharto’s ambassador affirmed that the invitation had “been accepted in principle.” He did, however, make it clear that the presence of a high-ranking UN official in London would qualify the meeting as “talks” between Timorese, as provided for in the conclusions of the last round of negotiations between the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers, held last May in Geneva, with Boutros Boutros Ghali’s mediation.

This is what the faction of the Timorese resistance which opposes “reconciliation” does not accept. In the view of Ramos Horta, special representative of the CNRM (Maubere Resistance National Council), in order to be considered “talks,” as intended by the last Ministerial meeting, the London meeting would have to comply with one of the following requirements: to have been organised by the UN, jointly organised by

UN, Lisbon and Jakarta, or organised by Bishop Ximenes Belo with the help of the UN.

Ramos Horta described the meeting announced by Lopes da Cruz as a "non-event," and went on to issue a "warning" to the UN: "If the UN falls into the trap, and sends an observer to the meeting, which I simply cannot believe will happen, then they (the UN) will lose all credibility."

Durão takes Timor to CNN

Shortly before the news of a second "reconciliation" meeting was announced, the world was reminded of the situation in the territory by CNN.

For nearly six minutes, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, visiting the US, spoke about human rights violations and, while mentioning some recent "positive steps," made it clear that the Clinton Administration "could do more" to contribute towards finding a solution to the problem.

In the Frank Sesno interview, shown on International Hour, broadcast throughout the world on Wednesday evening, Durão Barroso actually pointed out a forthcoming opportunity when a greater effort by the US could be made on the Timor question: if Clinton were to raise the subject with Suharto, when they meet in Jakarta for the next APEC summit, "it would be a great help for the Timorese, and for the cause of human rights."

GOVERNOR OF TIMOR PREPARED TO TALK TO HORTA, BUT NOT WITH XANANA

Publico, 22 September 1994 Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Abilio Osorio Soares, the Jakarta-appointed Governor of East Timor, expressed his readiness to participate in negotiations on the future of the territory between Indonesian authorities and members of the resistance.

In his statements to RDP-Antena I, Osorio Soares said he would take part in talks at which Ramos Horta (special representative of the CNRM) were present, but he categorically rejected the idea of negotiating with Xanana Gusmão: "He is a prisoner – one does not negotiate with prisoners."

In the same interview, conducted by 'phone from Lisbon last Tuesday, the Governor, appointed by Indonesia, gave assurances that Portuguese journalists wishing to visit East Timor would be free to travel throughout the territory. This was said on the same day on which the Indonesian Ambassador to Wellington revealed that a parliamentary delegation from New Zealand, to

arrive in Timor in early October, will have a permanent military "escort"

Osorio Soares resuscitated the idea of a mission by Portuguese MPs, commenting that such a visit should already have taken place.

Ramos Horta responded quickly to the statements. The CNRM leader said it was unacceptable that someone should be prepared to negotiate with him while refusing to talk to Xanana Gusmão: "If I had been in East Timor all these years," Ramos Horta said yesterday, "I would have committed exactly the same "crimes" as Xanana Gusmão, and would probably be in the same prison in which he is now."

According to the BBC World Service Indonesian Language Section, (Wednesday 21 September 1994, at 11.05), the governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares, has acknowledged that he is waiting for the green light from Jakarta to go ahead with a meeting to discuss the status of East Timor. Fretilin/Xanana will be involved in these talks although they will not talk part directly.

Jakarta is said to be not very enthusiastic about this initiative by governor Soares.

EAST TIMORESE CALL FOR BROADER TALKS

Wires, 27 September 1994. Abridged

Jakarta, Reuter – An East Timorese delegate to planned reconciliation talks in London this week said on Tuesday that any such meeting should include exiles and other dissidents opposed to Indonesian rule.

Salvador Ximenes, a member of Indonesia's ruling party, told Reuters that while he had agreed to attend the Indonesian sponsored talks, due to begin on Thursday, he preferred not to participate as many significant figures had not been invited.

"In my opinion, if we want to make reconciliation we should decide to contact to anybody outside, not just one group. If we want results we should talk to all sides," he said by telephone shortly before leaving for London.

Ximenes said that at least 12 East Timorese officials and prominent figures would join the pro-Indonesian delegation, led by ambassador-at large Lopes da Cruz, to attend the talks.

The meeting is a follow-up to an earlier meeting held in secrecy last December. Ximenes said he had not seen a report of the earlier meeting, boycotted by many exiles.

An Antara report about Ximenes quotes him as saying:

"The talks would be better targeted if they were expanded to include other East

Timorese groups outside, said Ximenes. He said there were four groups outside that had some weight because they have international access. These are the Ramos-Horta group, the José Guterres group, the João Carrascalão group and the Abilio Araujo group. In addition to the Abilio Araujo group it was also necessary to embrace the other three so that the reconciliation talks could better achieve the objectives."

SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE FORTHCOMING 'RECONCILIATION TALKS'

TAPOL Report, 27 September 1994

1. The choice of venue, London, [in fact, South Wales, see below] strongly suggests that the role of the ambassador in London, J.E. Habibie, is crucial to the enterprise. In other words, it reinforces hints that this does not have the endorsement of Ali Alatas and the Foreign Ministry. The talks are being seen as the project of the Mbak Tutut-Lopes da Cruz axis who are seeking to be the ones to find a solution to the question of East Timor.
2. The only element that might distinguish this round of talks from the one in December would be the presence of a UN representative. Although the UN is likely to have been told by Portugal that if the talks are confined to the same unrepresentative collection of people on the so-called 'anti-integration' side, it should **not** attend the meeting, we have now been informed that Tamrat Samuel from the UN Secretariat in may attend.

It is important to remember the formulation used in point 8 of the Communiqué issued in May 1994 by the UN Secretary-General after the Geneva talks between Indonesia and Portugal:

"The Secretary-General believes that, as an important contribution to the ongoing efforts under his auspices, the dialogue among East Timorese should be encouraged. He will explore appropriate efforts to be undertaken towards facilitating an **all-inclusive** [our emphasis] intra-Timorese dialogue. The two Minister took note of this initiative."

3. There are signs that the Lopes da Cruz side has had difficulties getting its team together. This can be because of several factors:

Old rivalries between da Cruz who is from the UDT and people in the administration where, under governor Abilio

Soares, Apodeti people have been in the ascendant.

Rivalries have been exacerbated by the various initiatives taken regarding possible talks between the resistance and the army and/or Jakarta. Some initiatives have been hotly denied by other groups which have their own agendas.

We already know that a new stratum of East Timorese opinion is shifting towards opposing the occupation. This 'new resistance' has taken shape fast in the past few months. This would mean that some people who participated last time are now unwilling to take part, or are regarded as no longer acceptable. Someone likely to enter this category is Florentino Sarmento, at the time head of the development agency, ETADEP, who took part last time - although we understand that even then, he was not happy about attending.

4. There are reports that after the talks, all the participants will go to the Vatican to see the Pope. However we hear that the Vatican is not prepared to permit a private audience with the Pope as this would give the talks formal recognition. They will therefore 'meet the Pope' only as part of the mass gathering of people who see him.
5. As far as we know, the following people will attend from Indonesia:
 - Dr. José Goncalves, the son of Guilherme Goncalves, the second governor of East Timor, now head of the regional internal revenue service;
 - Mariano Lopes da Cruz, the brother of Francisco Lopes da Cruz, the roving ambassador;
 - Labut Melo, a man despised by the East Timorese because of his long history of active participation in killing East Timorese;
 - Afonso Pinto, nicknamed 'Jacare' meaning crocodile. Formerly of the militia, he too is seen as someone whose hands are 'soaked in Timorese blood';
 - Tito Baptista, former first assistant to the governor, an Apodeti member since 1974, now married to the widow of José Osorio, founder of Apodeti. However, he has recently become an outspoken critic of governor Abilio Soares and was sacked for this. Soon after, he published an article in Jawa Pos, tearing into the governor and his family;
 - Luis Gonzaga, member of the DPR (subsequent reports say that he has pulled out of attending);
 - Carlos Afat, has a law degree and now holds a minor position in the Dili district court.
 - Salvador Ximenes, also a DPR member, formerly of Apodeti, who said in an in-

terview with Reuter on 27 September, before departing for London that he would have preferred not to attend (there are rumours that Tutut asked Wahono, the speaker of the DPR, to exert pressure on Ximenes to attend).

- Xavier do Amaral, former president of Fretilin who has been under the tutelage of Indonesian generals since his capture in 1977.
6. Date and venue: According to the latest information, the talks will take place from 29 September till 2 October. The venue: Chepstow, Gwent in South Wales, 150 miles west of London.

UPDATE: PEOPLE ATTENDING THE TALKS

Abilio Araujo's team:

- Abilio Araujo and his wife Guilhermina
- Rogerio Lobato, ex-Fretilin
- Antonio Araujo, cousin of Abilio
- Pedro Barroso
- Abilio Serreno
- Mario Orlean
- Luis Costa, ex-priest, employed by Abilio
- Lourdes Soares
- Constâncio Gusmão
- Rogerio Pereira
- Jaimito Ximenes
- José Belo

Lopes da Cruz' team:

- Lopes da Cruz
 - Xavier do Amaral
 - José Goncalves
 - Salvador Ximenes
 - Avri dos Santos
 - Mariano Lopes da Cruz
 - Ahmad Alkatiri
 - Mario Quintao
 - Carlos Afat
 - Afonso Pinto
 - Alisium Ximenes
 - Jaime da Costa
 - José P do Melo (possibly Labut Melo in our earlier list)
 - Constantino Duga Magnum
- [Some names may be misspelt as they were given over the phone]*

SECRETARY-GENERAL IS SENDING OBSERVER

U.N. Press Release SG/SM/5227, 28 September 1994

The following statement was issued today by the Spokesman for Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali:

At the invitation of the organizers, the Secretary-General is sending Tamrat Samuel, Political Affairs Officer in the East Asia and Pacific Division, Department of Political Affairs, as an observer to attend a meeting among various East Timorese from inside

and outside East Timor to be held in Chepstow, from 29 September to 1 October.

Mr. Samuel's presence at the Chepstow meeting offers an opportunity to initiate the first in a series of consultations with East Timorese groups and personalities of differing political opinion, with a view to facilitating an all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue, as envisaged in paragraph 8 of the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the last round of talks between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal held in May in Geneva under the Secretary-General's auspices. The Secretary-General intends to pursue similar consultations with other East Timorese not participating in the Chepstow meeting in the belief that dialogue among East Timorese of different views could make a significant contribution to the main talks between Indonesia and Portugal held under his auspices.

U.N. OFFICIAL SITS IN ON RECONCILIATION TALKS

By Bob Mantiri

BRUSSELS, Sept. 29 (IPS) - East Timorese representatives - from Indonesia and from Portugal - continued reconciliation talks in London Thursday with a U.N. official attending for the first time as an informal observer, diplomatic sources here reported.

The East Timor delegation from Portugal is headed by former Fretilin-boss Abilio Araujo, while Indonesia is represented by Jakarta's roving ambassador, Francisco Lopes Da Cruz, a former vice governor of East Timor.

It is the third time that the two parties have met on an informal basis.

"This informal meeting is part of the confidence building measures, which Portugal and Indonesia have agreed upon in a series of talks under United Nations auspices," the Brussels-based diplomat said.

"However, a normalization of the relations between Jakarta and Lisbon is still far away," an official of the Portuguese foreign ministry said.

"Indonesia is still banning visits of Portuguese NGO's and Amnesty International to East Timor and has thus far also denied Portuguese demands to respect human rights in its former colony, which are also part of the confidence building measures," the Portuguese official added.

An Indonesian diplomat described the presence of a United Nations observer, Samuel Othmar, at the reconciliation meeting in London, as "significant."

"This could mean an official recognition of the talks by the United Nations," he said. The Portuguese government is monitoring

these talks, which it has not rejected nor approved.

East Timor was a Portuguese colony until 1975. In November 1975, following a brief civil war, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) declared East Timor's independence.

The following month, on the pretext of ending the civil war, Indonesian forces invaded the territory and have occupied it ever since. Indonesia declared East Timor its 27th province in July 1976, but its sovereignty has never been recognised by the United Nations.

The International Jurists for East Timor (IPJET) has organised a conference in Iserlohn, near Köln, from Sept. 30 till October to question Indonesia's claim of East Timor.

"Indonesia can never make a historical claim on that island," said Pedro Pinto Leite of the Dutch based IPJET.

"East Timor belongs to the remains of the former Portuguese Colonial Empire. The Portuguese arrived to the island in the second decade of the Sixteen Century.

"Until then, Timor had never been politically submitted to any of the empires, kingdoms and sultanates which developed from some of the islands that nowadays make up part of Indonesia," Pinto Leite said.

He said that the conference will make an appeal to the "European Union to call an arms embargo against Indonesia and forced that country to give the East Timorese self-determination."

"There has never been an act of self-determination in East Timor," he concluded.

Earlier this week Amnesty International in a report strongly criticised Indonesia's human rights record in the former Portuguese colony.

ARAUJO WANTS TO EXTEND "RECONCILIATION"

*Publico, 29 September 1994. By J.T.N.;
Translated from Portuguese. Summary*

Lisbon – Abilio Araujo has expressed his view that the "reconciliation" process should be extended to include sectors of the resistance. Would this extend to the group linked to Ramos Horta - "reconciliation's" fiercest critic, who sees Jakarta's manipulating hand behind these meetings? Araujo says these opponents "excluded themselves" from the process. These views are shared by Salvador Ximenes, one of the group from Jakarta led by Lopes da Cruz: "If it is reconciliation we are after, then we ought to talk to all the parties concerned."

Araujo rejects Ramos Horta's proposal that a future, broader meeting should be hosted by the Bishop of Dili with the backing of the UN, arguing that the Bishop had

turned down an invitation to join the first meeting last December, and that now the process was in the hands of the UN.

Araujo must have been relieved to hear that the UN had agreed to be represented at the meeting by an observer Ethiopian Amarat Samuel. The UN's decision has left critics of "reconciliation" with one less weapon. Ramos Horta, for example, based his objections on the view that "reconciliation" was merely a ploy by Indonesia to reduce the question of Timor to an internal squabble, thereby removing the international dimension which UN involvement would afford it.

LONDON TIMORESE TALKS DECLARATION

October 1

Full text of the Joint Declaration of the Second Reconciliation Meeting between the leaders of the East Timorese society living abroad and from Indonesia:

[Comment: What comment is needed for a document that speaks so clearly for itself? All I would say is that the two sides have now ceased to use the subterfuge of being 'pro-integrasi' and 'anti-integrasi.' Now it's (more honestly) the home and abroad teams, both pursuing the same policy of accepting integration. If, in the minds of some, Abilio Araujo has not till now already discredited himself and revealed himself as being totally in the clutches of the illegal Indonesian invaders and occupiers who have destroyed and despoiled his country, he has given us the ultimate proof. Carmel/TAPOL]

Leaders of the East Timorese society living abroad and from East Timor have met in London from 29 September till 1 October 1994 to hold a second Reconciliation Meeting. This meeting is the continuation of the First Reconciliation Meeting held from 14 to 17 December 1993 in London.

The First Reconciliation meeting successfully created an atmosphere of reconciliation known as the 'London Spirit.' The London Spirit itself constitutes in essence the will of both sides to amicably and constructively contribute in the general effort to develop East Timor in all fields.

Aware of their historical role over the past two decades and their responsibility to the East Timorese society, and

Recognising the profound division within the East Timorese society caused by the political confrontation which culminated in the tragic civil war in 1975, the abandonment of the territory by the Portuguese administration, the unilateral declaration of independence by one party and the proclamation of integration into the Republic of

Indonesia by the other four parties as well as the subsequent Indonesian involvement upon the request of the four parties,

The Leaders of the East Timorese society living abroad and from East Timor hereby declare:

1. ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS AND RECONCILIATION

1.1 Determination to implement the London Spirit and to develop a new chapter in their relationship in order to promote peace, stability and harmony within the East Timorese society;

1.2 Willingness to hold talks with others in an 'all-inclusive intra Timorese Dialogue' provided that all sides agree to the London Spirit as a basis of these talks and to promote mutual confidence in the interest of peace, stability and harmony within the East Timorese society;

1.3 Appreciation for the presence of the United Nations through the representative of the Secretary-General and his position of encouraging the continuing implementation of the Confidence Building Measures, namely those referred in the points 8 and 9 of the Declaration of the Spokesperson of the United Nations Secretary-General on 5 May 1994 on the occasion of the Meeting between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Portugal and Indonesia;

2. ABOUT THE GOVERNMENTS OF PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA

2.1 Support and encouragement of the Dialogue between the Governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General for the speedy solution of the question of East Timor in international fora;

2.2 Appeal to both Governments of Portugal and Indonesia to implement the agreement concerning Confidence Building Measures, among others, by allowing exchange of visits, and to refrain from activities contrary to the spirit of the agreement on Confidence Building Measures;

3. ABOUT FUTURE CO-OPERATION

3.1 Readiness to participate, either directly or indirectly, in the co-operation and development of East Timor in all its aspects;

3.2 Willingness to have new and broader meetings in the near future to review the developments of this reconciliation process;

The leaders of the East Timorese society living abroad request their counterparts from East Timor to convey to the government of Indonesia the following:

1. Appreciation and encouragement of the Government of Indonesia for its concrete efforts to bring about the development of East Timor as well as its efforts to take legal measures against human rights violation in East Timor;
2. Need for special consideration to be accorded to the administration of East Timor given its distinct historical background;
3. Need to consider the special situation of East Timorese in custody and to take further appropriate measures aimed at their release.
4. Continue to implement the gradual reduction of the troops in East Timor, and
5. Need to introduce in the schools all disciplines that can contribute for the safeguard of cultural heritage of the people of East Timor.

For the Group of East Timorese Leaders from East Timor, F.X. Lopes da Cruz
For the Group of Timorese Leaders living abroad, Dr. Abilio Araujo

MORE TIMOR MEETINGS THIS WEEK

TAPOL Report, 3 October 1994

Lopes da Cruz, Suharto's roving ambassador for East Timor, is due to meet the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Durão Barroso, tomorrow, Tuesday in Luxembourg, within the framework of the UN-sponsored consultations. The May 1994 Communiqué spoke about consultations between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers and the pro-integrasi and anti-integrasi East Timorese.

Later this week, Ali Alatas will reportedly meet José Ramos-Horta in New York.

It is also reported that Abilio Araujo will also be meeting Ali Alatas in New York, although one wonders why, considering the position he adopted at the latest London talks, he is not there with Lopez da Cruz meeting the Portuguese foreign minister!

Abilio Araujo, in an interview with Portuguese radio, TSF, said: "I have stopped being radical. I will wait to see whether the demands I made in London (sic) are implemented or not, and if they are not, I will start being radical again."

MIXED RESULT TO TALKS ON TIMOR PEACE

Irish Times, Oct. 4. By Hugh O'Shaughnessy

Amid intense politicking this week, Indonesia - pilloried internationally for the atrocities committed by its troops illegally occupying East Timor - is being pressed hard to improve its conduct.

Discussions between a group of exiled East Timorese and East Timorese based in the capital, Dili, who support the Indonesian occupation of their country ended in London at the weekend in a mixture of diplomatic congratulation and bitter recrimination.

The discussions have highlighted the labyrinthine politics which bedevil the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia invaded and occupied in 1975 in defiance of UN Security Council.

The talks started on Thursday in the unlikely setting of a hotel in the Welsh town of Chepstow between one team led by Mr. Francisco Lopes da Cruz, envoy at large of General Suharto, the Indonesian dictator, and another headed by Mr. Abilio Araujo. Mr. Araujo is a former member of the Timorese resistance who broke last year with Mr. Xanana Gusmão, at the time when the Timorese resistance forces were captured. He is now imprisoned by the Indonesians.

The final communiqué talks of the desire of the Araujo side for an end to the settlement of Indonesians in the territory, the release of prisoners, a "gradual reduction of the troops in East Timor and the need of schools to "safeguard the cultural heritage of the people of East Timor," a veiled reference to the teaching of Portuguese which the occupying forces have banned.

The document makes no mention of the self-determination for the territory that Timorese have been fighting for since 1975.

The talks were attended by Mr. Tamrat Samuel, a representative of the UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London, a strong backer of the Suharto regime which buys large quantities of British arms, welcomed the encounter.

Mr. Lopes da Cruz was due to meet the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr. João Durão Barroso, in Brussels yesterday, while Mr. Araujo will visit Vatican officials in Rome on Thursday. Both Timorese will then go to New York for a meeting with Ali Alatas, the Indonesian Foreign Minister on Friday.

There is some speculation that the Indonesian regime, needing to improve its image in advance of next month's visit to Jakarta

by President Clinton, will be forced to act on the Timorese question. Next year's 50th anniversary of Indonesia's declaration of independence from the Netherlands could give the regime the excuse to amnesty Mr. Xanana.

Meanwhile, the Araujo faction was denounced by Mr. José Ramos Horta, leader of the Timorese resistance in exile, who is based in Australia and recognises the continued leadership of the imprisoned Mr. Xanana. Mr. Ramos Horta, in the German town of Iserlohn for a conference on EU responses to the illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor, called Mr. Araujo "an Indonesian puppet" and the gathering "a low manoeuvre set up by the Indonesians for their own political ends."

The Timorese resistance is nevertheless concerned lest the gathering in Britain, the second in a series which started in Windsor last year, be promoted by the Suharto regime and its allies in Europe as genuine peace negotiations and be accepted as such by the UN and the outside world.

Mr. Araujo's visit to the Vatican is seen by some as giving ammunition to those in Rome who are impatient with the pro-Timorese stand of Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, apostolic administrator of Dili.

The Vatican is suspected of subordinating the overwhelming Catholic majority among 600,000 East Timorese to the wishes of the small but more powerful Catholic minority among 140 million Indonesians.

SELF-DETERMINATION NOT YET DISCUSSED

Diario de Noticias, 14 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese, Summary

Lisbon - Abilio Araujo said yesterday that Portugal made a mistake in 1975 when it did not recognise Timor's independence. Assessing his meeting with Alatas, he predicted that "anything could happen in 1995."

In a press conference yesterday Abilio Araujo suggested that the question of East Timor's self-determination is not being discussed "at this stage" purely for "methodological" reasons. Confronted with questions on Lopes da Cruz' total rejection of any possibility of self-determination, Araujo diplomatically answered that they were not "discussing the territory's statute for the time being."

Araujo and his pro-integration colleagues gave assurances that the word self-determination was never erased from the political vocabulary used during the hours of talks in London, and were unanimous about the

usefulness of the meetings as a means to relax and improve relations.

"Self-determination is our goal! But the way to achieve it is not through violence, but through diplomacy. And we are sure that Indonesia is on the way to a settlement," said Father Constâncio Gusmão.

Abilio Araujo said that during his meeting with Ali Alatas, the Minister had expressed concern about opposition to "reconciliation," and added that he himself remained loyal to the four objectives he had set out four years ago for his country: "pacification, demilitarisation, reconciliation and self-determination."

Smiling, and with an air of mystery, Araujo referred to the fact that next year Indonesia celebrates its 50th year of independence, and added that, therefore, for Timor "anything might happen in 1995."

The third "reconciliation meeting" is planned to take place late this year, somewhere in Southeast Asia.

SUHARTO WANTS TO MEET ABILIO ARAUJO

Reuter and UPI. 3 November 1994. Abridged

President Suharto is willing to meet exiled East Timorese for talks, said Lopez da Cruz, speaking to reporters after a meeting with the President.

'I am prepared to meet exiled East Timorese,' da Cruz quoted him as saying. 'President Suharto said reconciliation talks can be continued and that more East Timorese need to be involved,' said da Cruz.

Suharto's remarks come days before he hosts the second Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit meeting on 15 November. President Clinton will be among the leaders attending.

da Cruz quoted Suharto as saying East Timor could be granted autonomy but added it would be within the Indonesian context of being a part of the archipelago. 'East Timor is part of Indonesia so it must adjust to what exists in the Republic,' he quoted Suharto as saying. The Indonesian leader also said that the military had a right to be in East Timor. 'East Timor is a part of Indonesia and we can station the military there... according to needs.'

On the request to free political prisoners, Suharto was quoted as saying: 'It will depend on their awareness. We don't want them returning to society and disturbing it again.'

UPI adds: Da Cruz told reporters that Suharto may meet with East Timorese leaders Abilio Araujo, who is living in Portugal.

XANANA IS STILL IN CHARGE

XANANA WRITES U.S. ACTIVISTS

This is a message sent by Xanana Gusmão to the September 17-29 national conference of the East Timor Action Network US Conference. Translated from Portuguese.

Introduction from CNRM/Darwin:

We are very happy to be able to forward to you our translation from the original Portuguese of a message from our Leader Xanana Gusmão especially written for the forthcoming ETAN national meeting.

We add our own greetings and acknowledgments to Xanana's expressions of gratitude for the most valuable work solidarity movements are doing in general to support the diplomatic struggle, and the excellent and dedicated works of all of you at ETAN, in particular. We thank you very much for all the support you have given us during this significant last year.

Xanana's message points to the ongoing need, crucial at this important stage in our struggle, to ensure US leaders to keep pressure up on Jakarta. To encourage them to be true to basic principles and norms of justice in order to protect what ultimately is most valuable in human existence. Not to be swayed by short term considerations of material gain, with which the Suharto dictatorship buys foreign acquiescence and support for its outrageous violations of basic norms of justice and human rights.

As Xanana acknowledges, you are citizens of the most powerful state which is in a position to effect change in the tragic case of East Timor. We hope you will continue with your dedicated and generous service to defend the principles at stake. As members of a democracy, you have the means to play a key role in shaping the historical process of rectifying past wrongs in the case of East Timor.

The results of your past efforts are more than evident. We hope they will encourage you to persevere with added enthusiasm in the year to come.

Thank you once again.

A luta continua.

CNRM in Darwin, 15 September 1994

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MAUBERE
RESISTANCE EAST TIMOR
CNRM-FALINTIL

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dearest Friends of East Timor

I will not hide my great happiness to be able for the first time to be present today speaking to East Timor solidarity groups in the great American Nation.

I will not dwell on praising the thought of American statesmen who have turned the United States into a symbol of human rights and democracy. I will only ask the American citizens assembled on this occasion to remember in this meeting the existence of a people which aspire to those same standards which have become universal. They pray and implore that more be done to deliver it from its present situation.

If instead of Cuba or Haiti, East Timor were in the Caribbean, for the last 19 years the East Timorese would have sought refuge on American soil to escape from the atrocities of a war imposed by the colonial expansionism of Indonesia, and the persecutions, imprisonments, tortures, massacres, imposed on the population by the occupation forces.

Unfortunately, East Timor is a half-island inserted in an Indonesian ring of fire, which nowadays constitute the walls of its prison, its forced isolation and its being forgotten.

The United States condemned East Timor to the Indonesian invasion which Suharto unleashed on the 7 December 1975. The US condemned our people to extermination, when they chose to overlook the crimes committed by the occupation troops. During these long and very harsh years of occupation, Indonesian troops have been equipped with US arms.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was promptly punished, while the US continued to acknowledge Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. Haiti became a military objective for the US because of the existence there of a military dictatorship which killed democracy and freedom. In East Timor, the occupationists continue to capture and torture the local population which demands its freedom.

Human Rights only condition US aid to some countries. Indonesia has been an exception of principles in US policy. Recently a US delegation on workers rights visited Indonesia. It was expected that it would influence Jakarta to improve workers conditions.

The delegation positively appreciated the "efforts of the regime." It was just what Jakarta needed and desired. As an immediate result, the Indonesian government obtained a substantial increase of economic aid. After that, Suharto ordered the closure of three magazines, threatens newspapers and imprisons the leader of the non-governmental workers union. And in East Timor, they continue to capture and to torture the youth and other population.

All of this turns East Timor into a non-issue for Western politicians and governments. This is what provides impunity to the Indonesian rulers and condemns the Maubere people.

Dearest friends of the Maubere People,

We know that only the US are able to press the red button in Jakarta, like Ford pressed the green button a few hours before the brutal and shameful invasion of 7 December 1975.

We know that only the US can tilt the scales our way. It is true that both dishes of the scales have different contents and different. On our side is the blood of 200,000 East Timorese, the pain and suffering of a small defenceless people. On Indonesia's side are its credentials as the world's largest Islamic state, the 5th in population size in the world, a member of the UN and a co-founder of the Non Aligned Movement, which it currently presides, a member of OPEC and the host of APEC.

The East Timorese people gained new hopes when the Democratic Party won the elections in the US. The East Timorese people nurture the hope that President Bill Clinton does personify the spirit of liberty of the American people, and give a new dimension to the problems which only US attention may solve.

The East Timorese people, because they love their half-island as it is, still exuding the natural smells of jungles, are hopeful that Vice President Al Gore, whom I profoundly admire, on account of his unsurpassable humanism, for his courageous vision of a world destroying itself though a development which kills the intimate relationship which ought to exist between humanity and nature, will defend a small people. A people who love the freedom of their land, the charm and silence of their plains, and the right of their mountains to breathe only the sweat of its people, as they construct nests of love and justice, as a contribution to a regaining of the values which have been lost by the blind galloping civilization of economic interests.

The East Timorese people recognise that significant signs of a perception of the East Timor problem by the American organs of power are beginning to emerge.

The East Timorese people are profoundly grateful to the US members of Congress who for years have been concerned by the East Timor situation, and are actively seeking to defend its cause.

Nineteen years have passed since Indonesia invaded and occupies East Timor. We are nowadays in a time of dialogue conducted by the UN Secretary General. A dialogue which already has taken some years without much progress. The only aspect

which may be considered positive is the inclusion, even if it is only indirectly, of the East Timorese in this process. It is better than nothing, but it is insufficient, because the terms of this recognition are terribly imperfect, serving mostly the diplomatic manoeuvres of Ali Alatas than the actually intended dialogue.

This is a decisive phase in the struggle of our people. Jakarta continues with impunity to ignore resolutions and to minimize the agreements it signs. Jakarta continues to be insolent, because many Western countries do not wish to damage their economic relations with Indonesia.

As with all conflict, only the US possess the power to alter situations which, like that of East Timor, turn unacceptable in the face of universal standards of Law, Justice and Peace.

Dearest friends

As I said in the beginning, I can not hide my happiness to be able, for the first time to address US citizens. bring here the happiness of my people, a happiness product of the hope its deposits in President Bill Clinton, the members of the US Congress, and the hope it deposits in you, US citizens. The confidence that the East Timor solidarity groups in the US are aware that in order to intervene and influence the US Government, concrete actions are necessary which may lead the US Government to decisively contribute to a just solution to the problem.

Everyone knows the existence of the CNRM Peace Plan, which appears as the most certain path for a definite solution to the problem. It takes into account the current conditions surrounding East Timor, and particularly the universal principles and norms regarding the political and juridical statute of non-autonomous territories.

Everyone knows the essence of the problem, the central issue of the talks conducted by the UN Secretary General.

Everyone knows that Portugal is recognised by the UN as the administering power of the territory. Everyone also knows that Jakarta is trying to drag the process on, without wishing to discuss the essence of the problem.

This phase of the liberation struggle of the Maubere people, which they anxiously follow, as the Maubere people are conscious of the difficulties raised by the economic relations between Indonesia and the great centres of decision-making. The Maubere people, however, also have the hope that the US may take measures to stop the insolence of Jakarta.

There are still two long months to go before President Clinton's visit to Jakarta. We appeal to the American solidarity groups to gather as many signatures as possible, and

address an open letter to President Suharto on the occasion of his meeting with President Bill Clinton in Jakarta.

We also appeal to US members of Congress to once again make use of the meeting between President Bill Clinton with the Indonesian President, to demand that Jakarta withdraws their occupation forces, and that a referendum is held in East Timor.

The Maubere people do not ask for a US military intervention in East Timor, the Maubere people ask for a 'political invasion' by President Clinton's government in Jakarta, to save it from colonial repression and from extinction as a people and a nation.

This can only happen if President Bill Clinton reminds President Suharto that it is time to efface the blood which stains the great Indonesian nation.

Long live a free and independent East Timor.

Cipinang Prison, 7 September 1994

On behalf of CNRM

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, Commander of Falintil

MESSAGE FROM XANANA TO HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP

Publico, 19 September 1994. By J. Trigo de Negreiros Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – One of Xanana Gusmão's major concerns at the moment appears to be the development and effects of the so-called "reconciliation process." An indication of his concern is the attention he pays to the subject in the message he sent to Melbourne where, yesterday, the Timorese leader was symbolically distinguished by an Australian human rights organisation.

Referring to the two main protagonists of the process - Abilio Araujo on the side of the Timorese living outside Timor, and Lopes da Cruz on the side of those integrated with the Indonesian administrative apparatus - as a "little group" created "on the basis of racist feudalism," Xanana goes on to describe them as "the garuda's (bird and Indonesian national emblem) egg of Ali Alatas," and "Indonesian diplomacy's trump card."

Later in Xanana's message there is an amusing reference to the link between the "London group" and Jakarta's interests: "AA, which can stand for both Abilio Araujo and Ali Alatas ..."

NO TO RETURN OF THE PORTUGUESE

Less hostile, but nonetheless harsh, is Xanana's criticism of Timorese who advocate Portugal's return to the territory. Their position, according to Xanana, is but an expression of "ridiculous myopic nostalgia." Xanana mentions no names (in contrast to

his references to the reconcilers) but it is widely known that João Carrascalão, UDT Chairman, is among the Timorese who favour a return to East Timor of the Portuguese, who would then organise the process of holding a referendum there.

With regard to those in favour of integration, Xanana Gusmão says that "strangely enough" they are the ones who are least likely to "disrupt the talks process." This is because they are becoming "increasingly few in number" and have received a "solemn undertaking" that pro-independence Timorese will stop "any act of revenge" which might be taken against them.

The Timorese leader praised the "unparalleled concern" with East Timor shown by the UN Secretary General, and the "coherence" of the Portuguese Government on the matter. He also referred to the recent statements made by the Australian Foreign Minister, speaking in support of greater autonomy for East Timor and a reduction in the number of Jakarta's troops there, as "a first step in the right direction."

His comments add up to a clear appeal for unity among Timorese around the Peace Plan of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM) for which Xanana himself stated his support four years ago. The reading of Xanana's message coincided with the launch of a campaign to make the CNRM's Peace Plan more widely known. The campaign is to be financed by profits from the sale of 18 signed paintings by Xanana, auctioned yesterday in Melbourne.

INDONESIANS TALK TO XANANA OF REFERENDUM

Expresso, 8 October 1994. By Mario Robalo. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – The cross talks held this week by Lisbon and Jakarta, in the context of the bilateral talks under UN auspices, with supporters of East Timor's integration with Indonesia and representatives of the Resistance respectively, had already been anticipated by Indonesian generals.

According to a letter written by Xanana Gusmão, on 16 August an Indonesian military intelligence official raised with him the subject of East Timor in the context of international law, and also the "need for a solution" or "agreement, in principle," on the possibility of a referendum." Without revealing the official's identity, Gusmão states that "changes in the concepts, and in the ideas which have always formed part of ABRI's (troops) doctrine are beginning to emerge with regard to the case of East Timor."

From his cell in Cipinang high security prison in Jakarta, Xanana Gusmão writes

about the meeting, three days after it happened, in a letter addressed to one of the members of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM) abroad. "For the first time, he (the military official) broached the question of East Timor in the context of the UN." Xanana quoted the words of the official, which reveal radical change in the Indonesian military's position on the future of the territory: "We don't know what might happen" the soldier admitted, adding that "If a referendum were necessary, then it should be held." He avoided using the word "integration," and the issue of the referendum "became no longer taboo."

It seems that Suharto's military government is prepared to review the question of East Timor, the territory which, until now, was officially described as Indonesia's 27th province. According to the English language magazine "Far Eastern Economic Review," a new tendency is emerging among sectors of the military on the issue of East Timor's occupation, and one of the names prominent as a "channel" with a privileged relationship with the presidential palace, is that of Suharto's own son-in-law, Colonel Prabowo Sublanto. The Colonel, who at one time commanded Indonesian troops based in East Timor, even promised to deliver a letter from Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo to General Suharto. The magazine goes on to say that Sublanto's father, in addition to being one of Suharto's adviser's, is a distinguished economist and Chairman of the US-Indonesia Association.

In the view of Ramos Horta, all these changes stem from a series of "internal challenges" facing the Indonesian Government. The representative of the Timorese Resistance abroad, and spokesman for Xanana, refers to the increasing dissent coming from Indonesian trade unions, the middle class and intellectuals, as well as the ever-growing trade deficit, currently standing at 90 billion dollars.

However, in spite of possible signs of an opening, (although the Timor military command stated on Wednesday that the number of troops will not be reduced), the Portuguese Foreign Minister maintained, following his first meeting on Tuesday with a delegation of pro-integration Timorese led by Lopes da Cruz, that the "unsurmountable barrier" between Portugal and Indonesia is the Timorese people's right to self-determination. Durão Barroso says that this is at the root of the whole problem.

XANANA: SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE

By Arun Pradhan, *Green Left*, Nov. 6

Xanana Gusmão - poet, artist and resistance fighter - has come to symbolise the struggle in East Timor. His battle has been an inspiration to his fellow East Timorese and to the solidarity movement around the world.

Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for East Timor's Independence) was founded on May 20, 1974. Its program called for immediate participation of Timorese in government, an end to racial discrimination and an offensive against corruption. Together with UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) it campaigned for independence, but Fretilin's more radical stand attracted a growing number of politicising East Timorese.

One was 26-year-old Xanana Gusmão. Born in Laleia, Xanana attended a Jesuit seminary in Dare. From the beginning of his studies, he was absorbed in poetry, but also had a head for politics.

In August 1975, UDT staged an unsuccessful coup. The Portuguese administrators left Dili. Fretilin had mobilised widespread support against the coup, and throughout September, it began to create effective administration. Xanana played a key role, initially during his work at the Department of Information and later after his election to the Fretilin central committee. Falintil - Revolutionary Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor - was formed at this time.

Indonesia's invasion force moved into East Timor on December 7. The operation involved up to 40,000 Indonesian military and was clouded in disinformation and silence. Indeed, the Suharto regime had ensured relative secrecy by killing five Australian journalists in Balibo two months earlier. Xanana was the last central committee member to leave the capital.

In March this year Indonesian academic George Aditjondro released startling papers on this period of the invasion. His research indicated that 10% of the population - 60,000 people - were killed in the first two months alone. Aditjondro also supported claims that the invasion force used napalm and Agent Orange, primarily from US-supplied planes.

This horrific offensive left Fretilin decimated. Xanana, who was put in charge of one of the eastern parts of the island, found himself with a handful of fighters, with no communications or idea of who else had survived. Along with two other survivors, Serakey and Mau Huno, he began the difficult process of regroupment. Serakey was

killed in 1979 while trying to make links with Fretilin in the central sector.

In 1981 the resistance survived Indonesia's "fence of legs" campaign and continued to rebuild. The effectiveness of the fight back was reflected by leaked Indonesian military documents. By 1983, the Indonesian military was prepared to hold peace talks.

From this early stage, Xanana showed his willingness for peace and dialogue. At the first talks, Fretilin put forward quite basic requests: lifting the naval blockade, contact with the outside world, the entry of foreign observers and an announcement by the Indonesian government that the UN would be engaged in cease-fire negotiations.

However, after just five months, Indonesian General Benny Murdani brought in more troops and announced he would crush any resistance, launching into a new round of encirclement and bombing.

Despite many Indonesian offensives, the resistance continued. The survival of Falantil has been possible only because of the support from the people. Xanana was able to unite broad forces around the national struggle, reflected by the formation of CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance) in 1986.

CNRM was launched as a non-partisan clandestine coalition of all East Timorese groups, including Fretilin, UDT and Renetil, the largest underground youth organisation. By this stage Falantil had in practice involved UDT, but in 1988 the Fretilin leadership made Falantil a non-partisan army, with Xanana remaining commander.

The Suharto regime must have hoped that Xanana's capture, now over a year ago, would defuse the opposition. Instead his continuing defiance has international public support for East Timor.

Two months ago Xanana received the United Nations Association of Australia Human Rights Award. It was given on the fourth anniversary on his offer, as head of CNRM, to enter into discussions with the Indonesian government under UN auspices. In a letter acknowledging the award, smuggled out of his prison cell, Xanana stated, "Jakarta was responsible for a criminal invasion, responsible for an assassin war which wiped out more than 200,000 Timorese ... Jakarta is the only party which is not interested in finding a solution to the problem."

He described two diplomatic fronts, the first being for support of the CNRM peace plan. "The other front would belong to international solidarity, in the form of pressure against the governments which are still respecting economic interests with Jakarta ahead of universal principles which they defend."

Xanana has broadened organised opposition to the occupation by bringing together old enemies and reaching out to resistance in urban centres. His years of dedication and his writings from an Indonesian prison cell are inspirational. But the problem for the Indonesian regime is that the movement for justice in East Timor is much more than just Xanana. Resistance involves countless numbers of people. As Xanana has pointed out, by fearing a referendum in East Timor, Indonesia fears the truth.

TIMORESE RESISTANCE MEETS ALATAS

JAWA POS ON NEW YORK TALKS

Jawa Pos, 4 October 1994. By Heri Akhmedi. Translated from Indonesia; Abridged

Washington – On Thursday this week, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas is due to meet Ramos Horta and friends in New York. At a press conference in Germany, Ramos Horta said: "Before the meeting we must seek authorisation from Xanana Gusmão. Without the green light from our leader, we cannot go to New York." He also told Radio Hilversum that he would be going in his official not his personal capacity. "The discussion will last for 45 minutes."

Horta, the representative of the CNRM, along with José Luis Guterres of Fretilin and João Carrascalão of the UDT, attended a conference on East Timor in Iserlohn, Germany. The meeting, attended by academics and activists, discussed various aspects of the question of East Timor. Another conference on East Timor is taking place this week in Portugal.

The talks in New York are at the suggestion of the UN Secretary-General, Boutros-Ghali. Although they are being held without conditions, Horta and his friends have imposed internal conditions on themselves, namely the consent of Xanana Gusmão. This may be a move to try to accelerate the release of Gusmão, or it may be the opening shot in his diplomatic strategy, leading to further demands.

But by playing the 'Xanana card,' the stakes in New York have been raised. Horta and colleagues are basically saying that without Xanana, these talks cannot proceed. This could place Ali Alatas in a difficult position in view of the fact that Xanana has been convicted. But if this meeting fails, the future prospects of the talks between Indonesia and Portugal will be unclear. Horta seems to be including in his calculations the

international pressure on Indonesia in the count-down to the APEC meeting in November. If there is no progress on East Timor, it's not impossible that the question of East Timor will re-emerge in the unofficial talks during APEC.

In the opinion of Dr. George Aditjondro, who closely follows the East Timor question, the New York meeting can be advantageous for both sides. "It could open the way for Indonesia to improve its image before the APEC summit. But it could also be an opportunity for the East Timorese to win recognition as weighty representatives." Aditjondro is in Europe in connection with the East Timor conferences in Germany and Portugal.

It is anticipated that in New York, Horta and his friends will again press their peace plan. This envisages "autonomy leading to a referendum," backed by the withdrawal of troops and guaranteed human rights.

ALATAS AND CNRM MEET IN NY

Initial report of meeting between CNRM and Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, Oct. 7, 1994 from John Miller, ETAN/US

The meeting took place from 7 pm - 9:25pm at the Waldorf Towers in New York City. José Ramos Horta (CNRM), José Carrascalão (UDT) and José Luis Guterres (Fretilin) attended in their personal capacities. The meeting grew out of the last meeting (May 1994 in Geneva) between the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia under the aegis of the Secretary-General. This was the first open meeting between and Indonesian foreign minister and resistance leaders. Both Alatas and the Timorese held press conferences following the meeting.

José Ramos Horta's main points following the meeting (quotes transcribed from tape):

"We had an encouraging thorough discussion with the minister. We touched on the issues on which the two sides disagree strenuously. We expressed our views that the issue of East Timor is an issue of self-determination and that we are prepared to move step by step towards addressing the underlying causes of the conflict. Such as, number one, demilitarization...."

"Our positions are still diametrically opposed. On the one hand you have Indonesia claiming an act of self-determination already took place and our view that there has been no valid act of self-determination...."

"We hope that this only the first meeting, the first step."

"If {Xanana} had not authorized this meeting himself I would not have attended."

"This is the first time that we started our dialogue at the highest level between the resistance and the Indonesian foreign minister. We did expect, nor did the minister expect, on this occasion to reach any agreement."

Proposals raised at the meeting included:

- internationally (UN) verified military withdrawal from East Timor (Alatas said that western embassy military attaches visit ET regularly and the territory is too small to hide anything)
- reductions of Indonesian civil service in East Timor (Horta: "there are too many transmigrants that take over the jobs from the East Timorese")
- permanent presence of specialized UN agencies in East Timor (Alatas: UN agencies are in Indonesia and can visit when they want. A permanent presence is more than a confidence building measure and a decision awaits further talks between Portugal and Indonesia under SG)
- freeing of Xanana Gusmão and other political prisoners (Alatas said that this is a matter of Indonesian law and a quick release is unlikely)

Before meeting the CNRM delegation, Alatas met with Abilio Araujo and other participants in the reconciliation talks, including Costa Belo, Rogerio Lobato and Fr. Constâncio Gusmão.

(Horta: "Not one word was mentioned of 'mister what's his name,' Abilio Araujo, or any other individual.")

Alatas did not respond one way or another to the suggestion that a similar meeting be held during the 5th round of meetings between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia was accepted or rejected.

Alatas said he did not foresee any major initiative being announced at APEC.

Francisco Lopes da Cruz came down and briefly spoke to the press as the CNRM and Alatas were talking, I am told (he spoke in Portuguese) that the meeting was a waste of time because integration had already been decided.

CNRM STATEMENT ON MEETING WITH INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

From East Timorese Resistance Diplomatic Front Coordinating Commission, Oct. 8.

On 6 October 1994 a meeting was held in New York between an East Timorese Resistance delegation, led by CNRM Special Representative Mr. José Ramos Horta, and

an Indonesian Government delegation, led by Foreign Minister Mr. Ali Alatas. The East Timorese delegation also included Mr. José Luis Guterres, Head of the External Delegation of Fretilin and Mr. João Carrascalão, President of UDT. The delegation notes with appreciation the willingness of the Indonesian Foreign Minister to hold talks with representatives of the East Timorese Resistance, pursuant to point 9 of the statement issued by the United Nations Secretary General after his meeting with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal on 6 May 1994 in Geneva.

The frank and forthright discussions between the delegations proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality. The East Timorese Resistance delegation, stressing its preparedness to discuss substantive matters which both sides might agree upon, emphasised its fundamental position regarding the international legal status of the territory of East Timor, and the inalienable right of self-determination of its people.

Despite the fact that the Indonesian delegation held diametrically opposite views on these points, the East Timorese Resistance delegation attempted, in a constructive manner, to direct the discussion towards the questions of Indonesian troop withdrawal from East Timor, release of political prisoners, and permanent presence of the United Nations in the territory through its Specialised Agencies.

The Resistance delegation noted that Indonesian military presence in East Timor is one of the main sources of tension and instability in the territory. Troop withdrawals would remove some of this tension, and would thus be generally advantageous. The Resistance delegation stressed, however, that Indonesian troop withdrawals from East Timor must be verifiable by an independent body such as the UN.

The Resistance delegation also raised the matter of the release by Indonesia of East Timorese political prisoners. It was emphasised that such a gesture would be a confidence building measure which would significantly contribute to an improvement in Indonesia's image, particularly in the case of Resistance Leader Commander Xanana Gusmão.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister alleged that Indonesian troop withdrawals from East Timor had taken place, claiming that only 6 'territorial' battalions remained. The Resistance delegation, on the basis of information to the contrary available to it, refuted this claim, stressing the need for independent verification of troop withdrawal claims.

As had been anticipated, the Indonesian delegation proved unwilling to make concessions regarding Indonesia's claims to sov-

eignty over East Timor. Suggestions of UN Specialised Agencies' permanent presence in East Timor were rejected as an attempt to encroach on Indonesian sovereignty.

Similarly, no progress could be noted on the matter of the release of East Timorese political prisoners from Indonesian jails.

In spite of the fact that, as anticipated, no agreements were reached on this occasion, the East Timorese Resistance delegation believes that the meeting with the Indonesian Government delegation headed by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas represents a major step forward in the process of search for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the East Timor question under the auspices of the UN Secretary General.

The East Timorese Resistance reiterates its availability to continue the process of dialogue with Indonesia in the framework of the efforts of the UN Secretary General.

New York, 6 October 1994

For the East Timorese Resistance Diplomatic Front Coordinating Commission

José Ramos Horta,

Special Representative, CNRM

José Luis Guterres,

Head of the External Delegation, Fretilin

João Carrascalão, President, UDT

RESISTANCE HOLDS DIRECT TALKS WITH INDONESIAN ENVOY

by Farhan Haq

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 7 (IPS) - Three of the leaders of East Timor's pro-independence resistance movement have finally held face-to-face talks with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in a rare breakthrough for the Timorese.

Though neither side had expected much progress from the Thursday night talks in addressing Indonesia's 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese colony, the resistance leaders viewed them as an important step forward.

José Ramos Horta, the special representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), said the CNRM at least was able to say directly to Indonesia that they wished to see Indonesian troops withdraw from East Timor under U.N. supervision and to improve the human rights climate on the island.

Horta, along with José Luis Guterres of the Timorese National Liberation Front (FRETILIN) and João Carrascalão of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) also called upon Jakarta to free the leader of the independence movement, Xanana Gusmão.

Alatas, however, could not commit Jakarta to any such major change in policy

over East Timor, which Indonesia declared annexed in 1976. Horta noted, "Foreign ministers have very little say in Indonesia."

As a result of what Horta conceded is Alatas's "limited ability to maneuver," the major victory of the first direct talks between the sides is their very existence.

That advance was only grudgingly accepted by Indonesia as a "confidence-building measure" it had agreed to in the March U.N.-brokered talks with East Timor's formal colonial authority, Portugal in Geneva.

Lisbon at those talks agreed to meet with Timorese who approved of Indonesia's annexation if Jakarta would meet with the Timorese resistance. Portugal met its commitment this week when Foreign Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso met in Luxembourg with Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Indonesia's ambassador-at-large on Timorese affairs.

Horta told IPS that Portugal's meeting was irrelevant, since the major talks are those to be held between the Timorese resistance and Alatas. "I don't lower myself to compare myself with a couple of puppets," he said of the pro-Indonesian Timorese.

The New York talks, however, have met troubles of their own. The Indonesians reportedly sought to delay their commitment to meeting Horta's delegation, and one source close to the talks said they also objected to a Timorese demand to receive instructions from Xanana.

The resistance leader, who continues to contest a 20-year jail sentence handed down by an Indonesian court in 1993, nevertheless managed to give instructions to the delegation from prison, the source said – indicating Jakarta may have backed down from their opposition quietly.

The Thursday talks did not include participation by the United Nations, at the request of both sides. U.N. spokesman Joe Sills said that U.N. officials would continue to help arranging meetings between the two sides, but would not be present.

Horta added that the Timorese leaders believed that from the second round of talks envisioned with Alatas onward, U.N. officials should be welcome. He praised the efforts of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to push forward talks on East Timor after nearly two decades of stagnation and silence.

Some 200,000 Timorese – roughly one-third of East Timor's population in 1975 – are believed to have been killed in the years following Indonesia's annexation. Most recently, about 200 Timorese were killed in the capital, Dili, in 1991, when Indonesian troops fired on a funeral procession.

Eager to refurbish its image abroad, Jakarta has accepted both the U.N.-mediated

talks with Portugal over East Timor and the presence of more international missions – including from the Red Cross – to the occupied land than it previously allowed.

Horta argued that the changes reflect that after 19 years of occupation, there is now "a ground swell of public sympathy for East Timor," particularly in neighbouring countries. Even in Indonesia, the CNRM leader said, voices objecting to the occupation are finally being heard.

EAST TIMOR: TALKS AMONG THE OPPOSING PARTIES

Expresso, 8 Oct. 1994. By Tony Jenkins (at the UN). Translated from Portuguese

Ali Alatas meets the Resistance - no decisions reached, but the step was unprecedented. Alatas-Barroso meeting now awaited.

They got nowhere: no new concessions were announced, no prisoners are to be released, nor are any soldiers to leave East Timor as a result of the meeting. They did not even agree on the holding of a new meeting. However, all those involved warmly welcomed this first round of officially recognised talks between the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, and leaders of the Timorese Resistance, held on Wednesday in New York.

In statements to the *Expresso*, José Ramos Horta, special representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), said that "the meeting was very productive, and constituted a step forward, and progress." Ali Alatas said that "these talks were a good experience, useful and productive," while Francesc Vendrell, Director of East Asia and Pacific Affairs for the UN, reported that "we are very happy because, after 19 years, the two sides have finally managed to sit down at a table and talk. It was, without a doubt, a positive step forward."

The only person who did not seem particularly impressed was Francisco Lopes da Cruz, leader of the Timorese integrationists who, as was expected, said it was "merely a meeting to convince the international community that we (referring to the Indonesian Government) are right."

Alatas and Horta agreed that "with regard to the basic problem, their positions continue to be "diametrically opposite." So perhaps the most significant aspect of the talks was the fact they lasted so long. Ramos Horta and his two colleagues, João Carrascalão (UDT President) and José Luis Guterres (head of the External Fretilin Delegation) spent over two hours with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, during which time, according to Ramos Horta, "we managed to

differ on every subject, without ever raising our voices."

UN diplomatic sources agreed that the duration of the talks seemed to indicate that Indonesia was "doing more than just passing resolutions," as someone said, and "don't forget that this step has emerged amid signs that Indonesia might be inclined to be a little more flexible." Ramos Horta thinks he detected some flexibility on the question of international supervision of the withdrawal of Indonesian troops. In answer to questions on this point, Alatas emphasised that western military attaches have frequently visited East Timor and "can see the military situation for themselves." This was the comment which gave Ramos Horta some hope, albeit a slim chance.

At the UN, there is still considerable skepticism about Indonesia's motives. With the APEC meeting scheduled for November in Jakarta, which will be attended by most Heads of State from Asia and the Pacific region as well as President Clinton, Indonesia is trying to mark up points to offset the disapproval of the international community on the question of East Timor. At the press conference held in the Waldorf Astoria, Alatas revealed his anxiety about this when he directed harsh criticism against Amnesty International's attempts to establish links between human rights violations and the APEC meeting.

The Alatas-Barroso Meeting

Jakarta's agreement to meet Ramos Horta may have been compensated, in Indonesia's view, by the publicity which they managed to focus on Abilio Araujo, the leader of a new reconciliatory faction of the resistance movement. The Indonesians brought Abilio Araujo, together with Lopes da Cruz, by plane from London to New York, gave him a boat trip around Manhattan, managed to set up meetings for him with high-ranking UN officials and exhibited him in front of the cameras. Apparently, Indonesian authorities started to spread a rumor that their Foreign Minister might attempt to mediate between Abilio Araujo and Ramos Horta.

In answer to the question, put by *Expresso*, whether he might be being used like a puppet by the Indonesians in an attempt to divert attention from the meeting between Ramos Horta and Ali Alatas, Abilio Araujo admitted: "Yes, that might be possible. We shall have to wait and see. Unfortunately, Alatas did not need to demonstrate that we (the resistance) are divided, because we are, in fact, divided. This was a first step. Let us see if anything happens in the coming months."

In view of this game of scenarios by Indonesia, it remains to be seen just what proposals Alatas will put to Durão Barroso,

when the two ministers meet in January, at UN headquarters in New York.

RECONCILIATION, HORTA STYLE

Publico, 8 October 1994. By J.T.N. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The proposal has been on the table of Kitani (Boutros Ghali's adviser, with whom Ramos Horta met before leaving New York) since yesterday morning. It recommends a new style of dialogue between Timorese, put forward by the CNRM, Fretilin (José Luis Guterres' faction) and UDT. The idea is to gather representatives from the three organisations and Timorese civic associations from within the territory around the same table.

The aim is, primarily, to prepare the ground for the wider reaching talks among Timorese, envisaged in Point 8 of the UN Secretary General's statement made following the ministerial meeting in May. The goal is similar to that fixed by Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz for "their" reconciliation. So as to avoid any confusion, Horta points out that his proposal has the backing which Xanana Gusmão and Bishop Belo refused to give to "reconciliation."

But these are not the only differences. Unlike "reconciliation," the meeting now suggested by the Diplomatic Front should also look into the matter dealt with by Point 10 of the May statement, in which the Secretary General undertakes to "identify a series of points for consideration at the next round of talks, including possible ways to reach a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution."

To help Boutros Ghali "identify" the "points for consideration" by Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas in January would, therefore, be another objective for the meeting, the door of which is to be open to integrationists. The meeting might be held in December in Sydney.

JAKARTA LOSING ITS CLOUT

Diario de Noticias, 9 Oct. 1994. By Paula Ferreirinha. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Indonesia has been "agitated" by the role Portugal has played in support of the Timorese cause, and Ali Alatas even asked Ramos Horta "not to attack Jakarta so much."

Just back from New York, and on his way to Luanda, Ramos Horta and a delegation of participants in the Days for Timor held in Oporto, had lunch yesterday in Lisbon with President Mario Soares.

"Now we are looking for a further meeting with Ali Alatas, at which UN officials

will also be present," said Ramos Horta. In his view, the meeting with Indonesia's Foreign Minister meant the "recognition of the Timorese cause and the failure of Indonesia's policy on the territory." The CNRM's special representative believed the Indonesian lobby was "losing its clout," and that while on both diplomatic and political levels there had been some progress, in the domestic sphere there had been "no improvement."

The Timorese leader wanted to make the most of Washington's "optimism" about the talks with Jakarta (Clinton should be raising the question of Timor at the APEC summit meeting) and to ask the UN to encourage further meetings. He thought another meeting with Alatas, in his "independent" capacity as before, would be important.

Talking to journalists, Ramos Horta said he recalled "with sadness" Abilio Araujo's arrival in New York "in a Cadillac belonging to the Indonesian delegation... " and "learning that the hotel in which Araujo had stayed had been paid by the Indonesians." He also referred to the fact that the Indonesian Minister had suggested that the venue for their meeting be the Indonesian mission, or the hotel he was staying at: "But even if the meeting had been in his hotel, we could not have raised enough money for one night."

Lunch with Timor

Yesterday at the Presidential Palace in Belem, Timor was the main course on the menu. After a meeting with Amnesty International, Soares had lunch with several of those who had participated in the Days for Timor in Oporto. They included representatives from Indonesia, Malaysia, Holland, Ireland, Japan and Brazil.

Agus Santoso, a 34-year-old Indonesian human rights activist, and participant in the commemorative Days for Timor, had brought along his own proposal: "Direct talks between Mario Soares and Suharto." Although he did not consider himself a "criminal," Agus was afraid of the reception waiting for him in Indonesia, because of his presence in Oporto.

Also among the guests invited for lunch with Soares were Pedro Pinto Leite, member of the International Platform of Jurists, members of the Portuguese parliamentary commission on Timor, journalist Max Stahl, and leaders of the Timorese resistance in Lisbon.

Soares will be in the front row at the launch of Amnesty International's (AI) latest report, "Power and Impunity," taking place on the eve of the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. The invitation came from the Chairman of AI's Portuguese Section, Vitor Nogueira who, on the 11th,

will be denouncing human rights violations in Timor and Indonesia.

Indonesia has yet to give a reply on the cases referred to in the report, which it dismisses as a "political campaign against Indonesia," arguing that "human rights are not universal."

Yesterday at the Presidential Palace, Vitor Nogueira raised the subject of AI's international campaign with Mario Soares. The campaign aims to encourage third countries to include the question of human rights in their dealings, including economic, with Jakarta.

(HORTA IN) LUANDA DISCUSSES TIMOR

Diario de Noticias, 10 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Speaking in Luanda, the Special Representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council, Ramos Horta, expressed his hope that annexation of his country would be reversed before the end of this century. "My hope is that, before the beginning of the next century, East Timor will be de-annexed because, given the changes occurring in the world, Indonesia will have to understand this reality," he said. Ramos Horta is currently in Luanda to "thank José Eduardo dos Santos and the Government for their support for and solidarity with the Timorese cause over the past 18 years." Portuguese-speaking African nations were "the first to take the issue of East Timor to international forums. I have come, on behalf of Xanana Gusmão, to express our gratitude to the people and Government of Angola for their efforts."

ALKATIRI: JAKARTA, CANBERRA TRY TO CONTAIN OPPOSITION

Green Left, October 11

On October 6 in New York, Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas met for the first time with representatives of the East Timorese resistance: José Ramos Horta of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), João Carrascalão of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) and José Luis Guterres of Fretilin. MAX LANE explains the background.

Since the November 12, 1991, massacre by Indonesian troops of more than 200 people carrying out a peaceful demonstration as part of the East Timorese people's struggle for freedom, international criticism of the Suharto government has steadily increased.

Spurred by a spontaneous reaction of horror in many countries, international campaigning has forced a number of governments to put pressure on the dictatorship. There are now East Timor campaigns in most European countries as well as the United States, Canada, Japan and Australia. In May was held the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) conference in Manila.

Strong resolutions against Indonesia have been passed in the European parliament. In the 1993 UN Decolonisation Committee, a resolution strongly critical of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor was also pushed through. The US Congress passed a resolution against the sale of light arms to Indonesia. A significant number of US members of Congress have signed letters of concern regarding East Timor.

The resilience of the struggle in East Timor and the solidarity campaigning around the world ensure that East Timor remains a "problem" for the Suharto dictatorship. Because of the extremely close political ties between Canberra and Jakarta, the campaign against the Indonesian occupation is also a problem for the Keating-Evans Labor government.

Both governments are now looking for "solutions to the East Timor problem," that is, a way to defuse and demobilise the international campaigns.

Discussions

The Suharto government has been engaged in a range of discussions meant to give the impression that it is considering a change of policy. There has been increasing talk of the need "to give special treatment to the province."

According to the October 6 Far Eastern Economic Review, a special report of an Indonesian armed forces team recommends changes to existing practice in East Timor. The governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares, has also called for East Timor being made a "special region."

Even Major General Adang Ruchiatna, commander of Region IX, which includes East Timor, attended the recent launching of a new book, *The Political Economy of East Timorese Development*, which criticises current development policies for being too top-down and over-centralised.

This talk is paralleled internationally by Jakarta's attempts to build links with East Timorese exiles. On October 1, a meeting in London between East Timorese working with the Jakarta government and a group of East Timorese led by expelled former Fretilin leader Abilio Araujo issued a statement.

It expressed "appreciation and encouragement of the Government of Indonesia for its concrete efforts to bring about the devel-

opment of East Timor as well as its efforts to take legal measures against human rights violation in East Timor," and called on the Indonesian government to give "special consideration to the administration of East Timor given its distinct historical background"; "to consider the special situation of East Timorese in custody and to take further appropriate measures aimed at their release"; to "continue to implement the gradual reduction of troops in East Timor"; and "to introduce in the schools all disciplines that contribute to safeguarding the cultural heritage of the people of East Timor."

The meeting projected itself as part of the implementation of an Indonesian undertaking to facilitate talks with a wide range of East Timorese. It called for more talks with other East Timorese, but worded the statement in a way intended to isolate Fretilin, which has played the major role in fighting the Indonesian occupation.

The increased discussion of so-called "special treatment" and the London agreement are aimed at convincing a sufficient section of international public opinion that international pressure and public campaigning are no longer necessary.

Realities

In an interview on October 1 in East Timor, however, Bishop Belo, head of the East Timorese Catholic Church, gave a somewhat more realistic picture of the "special treatment" that is being given to East Timor.

Belo recounted to journalist Edward Olsen-Hafstead the intensive surveillance by military intelligence, sometimes resulting in him being unable to communicate with his parishioners. The church has recently established a Justice and Peace Commission but, according to Belo, the military are opposed to it. "According to them it is a political movement of the resistance."

Belo himself has also argued for special status for East Timor and recently wrote to Jakarta on this issue. He told Olsen-Hafstead that he had already received a reply. "They reject all six points of my letter. They don't accept a referendum. They don't accept special status. And they don't accept me as an intermediary for peace talks because, according to them, I am openly with Fretilin."

Ali Alatas has also made it clear that he thinks East Timor already has more autonomy than any other "Indonesian province."

Australian tactics

Opposition in Australia to the Indonesian occupation has been on the increase, especially in the wake of the John Pilger film *Death of a Nation*. The East Timorese

community is also increasingly effective in highlighting the issue.

This pressure has made East Timor just as much a "problem" for Canberra as it is for Jakarta. Evans claims that the integration of East Timor into Indonesia is "irrevocable" and that all talk of independence is "unrealistic."

However, the increasing pressure is forcing Evans and the government to try to appear to be doing something. In April, Evans called for a reduction of Indonesian troops in East Timor and, echoing the discussions in Jakarta, started to talk about autonomy.

At the ALP National Conference, the government's public relations strategy was reflected in a so-called consensus resolution. This amounted to nothing more than a re-statement of concern about the initial annexation without an act of self-determination, the 1975 invasion, human rights violations and the need for ongoing international talks. Predictably, it made no mention of any real act of self-determination or of any plan to apply pressure on Indonesia in that direction.

In fact, in an ABC interview after the conference, Evans stated that the resolution "doesn't backtrack in any way in Australia's recognition of the de jure sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor." Later he added: "I don't think there is anything fundamentally new in the approach that we have adopted."

The only thing new is that the pressure was much greater and therefore the ALP had to think about shoring up its image.

The running on the resolution was left to ALP left spokespersons such as Victorian MP Lindsay Tanner. Tanner went on ABC radio on September 26 with Evans to defend the resolution.

Much of the grassroots campaigning in Australia has been taking place outside the ALP and has been aiming its fire at the ALP, especially at Evans. The passing of this resolution at the ALP conference, which goes no further than Evans' routine diplomatic "expressions of concern" about human rights violations, is intended to weaken or divide public opinion and the solidarity movement or at least divert the attacks from the ALP government and Evans' policy.

But Evans' own words - "there is nothing new in what we have adopted" - reflects the real nature of current Australian foreign policy. The real content can be gauged from defence minister Robert Ray's July visit to Jakarta, where he indicated Australia's willingness to fill the gap left by the US withdrawal of light arms. He proposed joint manufacture with Indonesia. Asked about the human rights implications, he said that Indonesia's human rights record was improving.

This has also been the thrust of Evans' response to Amnesty International's report on human rights in Indonesia. Released on September 28, it documented banning of newspapers, imprisonment of labour leaders, torture of student activists and the breaking-up of political meetings, the jailing of East Timorese demonstrators and plans for a new decree that would severely tighten government controls over non-government community organisations. Echoing Ray's statement, Evans attacked Amnesty for issuing a "campaign report."

STEP BY STEP POLICY

Diario de Noticias, 12 October 1994.

By Mari Alkatiri (Member of the Executive of Fretilin Abroad) Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon — When, in April 1993, a member of the Timorese Resistance delegation (in Rome at the time accompanying the second round of talks between the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers) was received by the UN Secretary General and put forward, for the first time, a proposal for cross talks, he did convince that he was putting forward suggestions which, if successful, could result in significant progress. A day later, when the entire Timorese delegation was received by the Portuguese Foreign Minister in Rome, and the same delegate decided to repeat the proposal, which in spite of taking his colleagues by surprise, was immediately supported, thereby creating consensus within the leadership of the Resistance, an important step, albeit tenuous and uncertain, had been taken towards breaking the impasse in the talks on East Timor, the successful outcome of which depended largely on the way in which Mr. Boutros Ghali would consider the idea.

Today, there is little doubt that this step opened the door to new opportunities to solve the East Timor problem. In spite of attempts by Ali Alatas to scale down the significance of the meeting, he did receive a Resistance delegation.

The important thing now is for the Resistance to know how to give form to new ideas capable of making this conquest irreversible. These new ideas indicate creativity and a considerable sense of opportunity on the part of the Timorese Resistance leadership. But to be creative also requires an ability to be discerning and reflective about which are the most effective ways to proceed: clearly separating the need for strong political marketing around global ideas, from the concrete actions accelerating the process which require, above all, a deep understanding of Indonesia's strategies and subtleties. It is also vital that it knows how to prop-

erly assess the importance of each step taken, and to find the means, instruments and mechanisms needed to consolidate that step and the jump to the next stage.

The fact that the meeting between the Resistance delegation and Alatas did not take place at UN headquarters in New York does not mean that the requirements of the UN Secretary General's statement of 6th May have not been met. The appearance in New York of some members of the "London Group's" emigrant (not exile) faction clearly indicates the alternatives which Indonesia wants to be kept fresh in people's minds. To do so means creating and exaggerating an image of division among the Timorese resisters, of threat of a new civil war, as a basis on which to dash, once again, the expectations of the Maubere people. It also means creating and preparing the Muzere-was and Sitholes of East Timor, in order to go in the direction of a Rhodesia-type solution, in which groups domesticated by Jakarta are placed in power, thereby retarding the process of East Timor's emancipation.

In order to maintain its aggression towards and occupation of East Timor, Indonesia fabricates facts and waves banners threatening danger and instability. Now that anti-communist slogans invalid, Jakarta seeks a new ideological and social basis with which to justify its expansionist policy: it has released the spectre of religious conflict in order to, first, attempt to end the increasing support which Indonesian Moslems have been giving East Timor, and then to prepare itself for an Islamic crusade.

It is, therefore, necessary that the various components of the Resistance find institutional forms of unity of thought and action, capable of generating and managing a new dynamism for the whole process. It is equally important that Portugal, as administrative power, should not now, after 20 years, continue to mistake the Resistance and its legitimate representatives with groups of Timorese who, by virtue of their own decision, have chosen a complex world in which to drown their sorrows and frustrations.

However, Fretilin and UDT must still keep open their doors to those who, victims of the violence of the long time of the Struggle and of being distanced from their native land, became docile instruments of Indonesia. It is up to the Resistance as a whole to take concrete measures to strengthen unity, creating forums specifically to encourage free debate and exchange of ideas.

It is, therefore, urgent that concrete actions be taken, that ideas be systematised and specific steps defined, in order to strengthen Timorese institutions, and enable the Timorese to participate as the most

creative, tolerant and dynamic part of the whole process.

FLIRTING WITH THE ENEMY — FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS EAST TIMOR SEPARATISTS

Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 Oct. 1994. By Ted Morello in New York

The Waldorf-Astoria's grandeur may be as faded as its carpets, but the hotel still serves a purpose for delegates to the nearby United Nations. For years, ministers and heads of state have met beneath the chandeliers to hash out touchy diplomatic issues, floating trial balloons too delicate for the open floor of the General Assembly.

So it was no coincidence that Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas picked the Waldorf for his first officially acknowledged meeting, on October 6, with a group of East Timorese leaders opposed to Indonesia's annexation. Neither side yielded on basic differences, participants said, but just the fact that it took place was significant. The meeting was a part of dialogue on East Timor that is becoming wider and more frequent almost by the month.

Alatas and his opposite number, Portugal's foreign minister, José Manuel Durão Barroso, also held their fire over East Timor in their annual speeches to the General Assembly. Alatas didn't even mention East Timor during his enumeration of global and regional conflicts on October 4.

A week earlier, Durão Barroso had sounded almost apologetic when he told the assembly that he felt it his "special duty to touch upon" the issue. He added hastily that Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor, remains committed to the peace talks being held under the auspices of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Boutros-Ghali has summoned the two ministers to Geneva during early January for face-to-face talks — the first since last May and the fifth since their initial session in December 1992.

In an update report to the new General Assembly, Boutros-Ghali conceded that the two governments "remain far apart" over East Timor's status. The former Portuguese colony was unilaterally annexed by Indonesia in 1979, an action not recognised by the UN, which continues to consider Portugal as the territory's administrative power. The sticking point remains Lisbon's insistence that East Timor's decolonisation was not completed by Indonesian-run balloting whereby **Jakarta contends** the Timorese opted for integration with Indonesia.

Despite the deadlock on the substantive issue, dialogues have been going on sporadi-

cally at scattered sites and with varying configurations of participants since 1973, seven years after Indonesia took over East Timor.

These include Alatas's three-hour meeting in his Waldorf suite with Timorese separatists. They included Abilio Araujo, José Belo, João Carrascalão and José Ramos Horta – all of whom maintained they were acting in their personal capacities and not as representatives of the Fretilin insurgent movement or any other Timorese faction.

Alatas reported afterwards that the session had been amicable and frank and had been intended mainly as a confidence-building encounter. He added that he and Ramos-Horta, Fretilin's former representatives at the UN, had exchanged restatements of standard positions. Neither yielded an inch. But opposition sources quoted Alatas as saying that the Waldorf talks would help to bring about a further improvement in human-rights conditions on the island.

The human-rights issue still figures prominently in Boutros-Ghali interventions with Alatas. Among other things, the secretary-general has demanded an accounting for the dead and missing from the November 1991 Dili massacre by Indonesian troops. He also is pressing for the release of East Timorese imprisoned by Jakarta, including Fretilin chief José "Xanana" Gusmão.

East Timor guerilla leader Konis Santana, in a message broadcast on October 10 by Portuguese state radio, offered to lay down arms if Jakarta met a number of demands, including releasing Gusmão and opening face-to-face talks "at the highest level." But the next day, Indonesia's military dismissed the demands and said it would settle for nothing less than the guerrillas' surrender. Clearly, when it comes to concrete issues the two sides remain far apart.

THREE CONDITIONS IMPOSED ON JAKARTA

Diario de Noticias, 18 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Ramos Horta, representative of the CNRM (Maubere Resistance National Council), met yesterday with Portuguese Foreign Minister Durão Barroso, for an exchange of ideas before the forthcoming negotiations scheduled for January in Geneva, under UN auspices.

After a long meeting with the Minister, the Timorese leader said that, quite apart from the Portugal-Indonesia ministerial meeting, he was keen to have another informal meeting with Alatas.

"I proposed a further meeting when I spoke to the Indonesian Minister in New York. He did not say yes, but neither did he

say no. We shall see what happens in January," said Horta who, beforehand, had referred to the "total agreement" between the Resistance and the Portuguese foreign office.

"Indonesia wants both countries to open interest sections at embassies of third countries, as a stepping stone to fully fledged diplomatic relations," said Horta, adding that "The Timorese Resistance has reservations about such a move, while Indonesia does not produce concrete evidence of good will. Such evidence could take the form of releasing Xanana Gusmão and other political prisoners, agreeing to a permanent UN delegation in East Timor, and international supervision of withdrawal of Indonesian troops. These are the three conditions for Jakarta.

In answer to questions about what was discussed with Minister Durão Barroso, Ramos Horta commented that "The Portuguese position is quite firm," and that there was total agreement that while there is no palpable evidence of good will on the part of Indonesia, progress on the interests sections should be withheld.

INDONESIA PREPARES FOR APEC

EAST TIMOR OPEN TO FOREIGNERS

September 26, 1994. Associated Press

Dili, Indonesia – Journalists and other foreign visitors attending an international economic summit will have free access to East Timor, where Indonesian troops are fighting a separatist campaign, a government minister says.

Indonesia has been accused of human rights abuses in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, including indiscriminately killing dozens of pro-democracy demonstrators in 1991.

"We have nothing to hide," Information minister Harmoko said Sunday. "On the contrary, reports by foreign writers based on facts could be effective in countering false reports about East Timor abroad."

Hundreds of foreign journalists will be in Indonesia in November for the annual meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. The meeting will be attended by leaders of APEC's 18 member nations, including President Clinton.

Harmoko said in Dili, the capital of East Timor, that journalists from Portugal would also be free to visit East Timor.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year. The

United Nations continues to recognize Portugal as the rightful authority in East Timor.

Harmoko said the government is not worried that foreign media might report about poverty and backwardness in East Timor.

INDONESIA TO PERMIT FOREIGN REPORTERS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

Canberra Times, 27 September 1994

JAKARTA, Monday, Indonesia will allow foreign journalists covering the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in November to visit the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, a press report said today.

"Please come to see the real facts; we will not cover it up," the leading Kompas daily quoted information Minister Harmoko as saying, adding Portuguese journalists also would be allowed into their country's former colony.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and later declared the area its 27th province.

"But, of course, we expect them to write[stories] based on real facts and not to turn it upside down," Mr. Harmoko said, adding foreign journalists who want to go to East Timor must register with the information Ministry.

Indonesia issued permits for several Portuguese journalists to cover the Non-Aligned movement summit in 1992 and the trial of East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão early this year.

Indonesia will host the APEC leaders' summit on November 15 in Bogor, near Jakarta, while meetings of the group's senior officials and the APEC ministerial summit will be held in the capital.

More than 2000 foreign journalists were expected to cover the event.

NO ROOM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AT APEC

An IPS Feature. By Leah Makabenta

BANGKOK, Oct. 7 (IPS) - Calls for economic cooperation and free trade in the Asia-Pacific are growing louder as the Indonesia summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum draws near but response to demands for equal action on human rights and social justice remain muted.

Human rights campaigners say it is doubtful the international community that has for years turned a blind eye to the human rights record of host Indonesia would raise these issues in Bogor town, where the summit will be held next month.

“You can’t expect anything from other Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) members where democracy and human rights remain big problems,” says Boonthan Verawongse of the Coordinating Committee on Human Rights (Chrot) in Thailand.

Meanwhile, he adds, “the main donor countries like the United States, Australia and Japan are all playing a diplomatic game.”

APEC groups the ASEAN six – Brunei, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore – with the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Mexico and Papua New Guinea. Chile joins the consultative forum this year.

With the recent crackdown on public activities and climate of fear among media and non-government organisations in Indonesia, Boonthan says regional human rights groups are carefully weighing the option of protest actions during the November meetings.

The London-based Amnesty International has already started a campaign for foreign governments to use the APEC ministerial meeting and leaders’ summit next month as a platform to push Jakarta into adopting concrete measures to restore human rights in Indonesia, particularly in East Timor.

“Governments cannot put profits ahead of principle,” said Amnesty International Secretary-General Pierre Sane in Bangkok last week, on the first leg of a campaign that will take him to Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

He said Asia-Pacific nations should start including human rights in their bilateral discussions, not just trade and economics. “It will be in their interest that the rights of people in every country are respected, otherwise it will destabilise the region.”

Amnesty asserts in its latest report that systematic human rights abuse has continued in Indonesia for almost 30 years and in East Timor for nearly 20.

It says there is a danger these would continue because of Jakarta’s high profile in international organisations like APEC and the willingness of the international community to accept Indonesia’s explanations.

But diplomats and analysts say any confrontation over Indonesia’s human rights record would endanger Washington’s and Canberra’s lobbying efforts for APEC trade liberalisation.

The United States, which has been lobbying hard for free trade among APEC members, is working closely with APEC chair Indonesia to muster support for a plan for rapid trade and investment liberalisation in APEC by the year 2020.

There are already signs that Jakarta, keen to boost its international image in the wake of unfavorable reports on its East Timor record, has extracted concessions in exchange for its cooperation.

Recent press reports from Jakarta say the U.S. embassy there had confirmed to the Indonesian government that the United States would not raise human and labour rights issues at the APEC summit, despite Washington’s “very serious” concerns about them in the region.

The assurance was given a few days after the U.S. embassy in Jakarta had strongly protested the arrest of a prominent Indonesian trade unionist.

Canberra has also rejected a resolution from the ruling Australian Labour Party conference for strong action against Indonesia on East Timor and “punish human rights abusers.” Said Foreign Minister Gareth Evans: “Australia will get the best influence and the best impact ... by continuing to talk with Indonesia.”

Geoffrey Robinson, Amnesty researcher on Indonesia and East Timor describes the stance of the U.S. and other governments’ on Indonesia as “simply hypocrisy.” He says there has been no clear indication that the governments in APEC will respond to the Amnesty campaign.

Robinson also says the U.S. embassy statement was “rather worrying,” but adds: “At least in (the U.S.) Congress there are those who feel strongly about this issue. Perhaps it may be possible to bring the administration along.”

In the ASEAN region where governments cite sovereignty and good neighbourliness as a pretext for keeping human rights issues within national borders, the agents for change would be the regional non-governmental organisations (NGOs), says academic Thitinan Pongsudhirak of Bangkok’s Chulalongkorn University.

“The NGOs share common concerns in their countries and across the region,” he says. “United they have been able to set part of the agenda for regional politics and become a force to reckon with.”

MORE BANS ON THE INDONESIAN MEDIA

Report from “Binny” in Jakarta, Oct. 12

The Indonesian government has banned more media since last week. On October 5, 1994, the Indonesian Journalist Association (PWI) announced that they cancelled the recommendation for the editor-in-chief of *Simponi* tabloid, and as of October 5th, 1994, *Simponi* should not be published. *Simponi* was a weekly tabloid managed by among other Eros Djarot, the editor in-chief

of *DeTik*, which was banned in June 1994. The first issue of *Simponi* covered the story of Manai Sophian autobiography which accused the student movement in 1966 war merely a CIA-funded activity. This has raised anger from the then 1966 generation.

The second publication banned is the internal tabloid of Jakarta-based woman NGO, Kalyanamitra. The tabloid, called Mitra Media, is an internal bulletin that carries feminist issues, news on international and national woman conferences, workshops, and critical analysis on woman situation in Indonesia in general. In his letter to the organisation Subrata said that any publication should have a permit, either SIUPP (for commercial publication) or STT (for non-profit). Kalyanamitra is requesting a meeting with Subrata to discuss the matter. Kalyanamitra was founded in 1985 and focuses its activity on research and trainings on gender issues.

The third media banned is the Jakarta-roundup programme, released by the commercial broadcast company, Trijaya FM. The programme usually covers political and economic and other issues that are being discussed at that time. Many are controversial issues, including the issue of monopoly, the raise of the New Order. The programme is a favourite amongst the Jakartans, and is regarded as alternative to stale news carried out by the print media.

INDONESIA: WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT EAST TIMOR, BUT SHOULD

Daily Yomiuri, Japan. October 13, 1994.

Author: Irawan Abidin (Special to the Daily Yomiuri) Irawan Abidin is Director for Information at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia.

JAKARTA – The province of East Timor, which accounts for just a small part of the Indonesian archipelago of more than 17,600 islands extending more than 3,000 miles across the equator is frequently misunderstood.

Still feeling the effects of its history of Portuguese colonial domination and its bloody aftermath of civil war, East Timor has often been immersed in highly charged political controversy, which has obscured some very clear historical facts.

An understanding of these facts is essential for any sort of understanding of the province and the challenges it faces today.

From earliest times, the island of Timor has been an integral part of the history of the Indonesian archipelago. For a thousand years before the arrival of the first European warship, much of Indonesian, including

Timor, had been part of the Sriwijaya and Majapahit Empires, which successively dominated much of Southeast Asia.

The Portuguese were the first colonizers to arrive, conquering Timor and surrounding islands including the Moluccas, also known as the "Spice Islands," in the early 16th century.

Although Indonesia won recognition of its independence from the Dutch who followed the Portuguese as colonizers, Portugal maintained its grip on the eastern half of Timor until 1974.

With the overthrow of Portuguese dictator Salazar, the colony finally had a chance at freedom. In a highly irresponsible manner, the colonial authorities in Dili, capital of the province, simply packed up and left East Timor.

In the face of this, the East Timorese people rightly assumed their inherent right to decolonize themselves. This they did by choosing independence through integration with Indonesia in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1514(XV).

However, turmoil followed the colony's abandonment and a deeply regrettable and costly civil war raged from 1975 to 1976, the violence of which directly and indirectly claimed a tragic toll in human lives.

Sharing the western part of the same island, Indonesia was confronted with a situation that it neither desired nor was of its making, but that threatened seriously to disrupt the national development and reconstruction efforts which it was then endeavoring.

Restoration of a measure of security was a prerequisite for any stabilization, particularly in the more remote regions of the interior where forces of FRETILIN, the separatist guerilla group, retreated after they were driven from Dili. This was undertaken as a provincial government was established.

But while the country's security forces have worked to ensure peace and stability in the province as they do throughout Indonesia, they have had to take resolute measures where guerrilla forces have continued to commit acts of terrorism or other crimes against the population.

Clearly, mistakes have been made. The tragic incident in Dili on Nov. 12, 1991, where four people lost their lives was indeed regrettable as was immediately and repeatedly expressed by the Indonesian government at the highest levels.

While nothing can be done to alter the past, the test is in how the Indonesian government has responded to redress the situation and further safeguard human rights.

For example, the army has court-martialed soldiers guilty of abuse, a National committee on human rights has been established, the International Committee of the

Red Cross has been given wider access to prisoners.

As of May 1994, a police force specially trained to work with the local community replaced the army units in the province. East Timor has also been given a greater measure of autonomy.

For Indonesia, then, the challenge in East Timor has been one of erasing the bitter consequences of colonialism. Significant progress has been made.

Under Portuguese rule, all political activities in the colonies were suppressed and political parties banned with the exception of one pro Portuguese party.

As Indonesia's 27th province, East Timor has participated in the national elections, and has its elected representatives not only to the House of Representatives, but also to the People's Consultative Assembly, the highest unit of government which represents the sovereignty of the Indonesian people.

Through their participation in national elections, the people of East Timor have three times over the past 15 years reaffirmed their desire to live like the rest of the citizens of Indonesia in a peaceful, secure and orderly society.

It has been and remains a goal of Indonesia to ensure that the benefits of development reach every corner of the vast archipelago in a manner proportionate to its needs.

Indeed, that is the single reason why East Timor receives the largest amount of development funds on a per capita basis. In all, expenditures in East Timor are projected to rise from \$7.8 million in 1989 to \$132.2 million in 1994, a more than 17 fold increase in six years, a staggering commitment for just one of 27 provinces.

The beneficial effects of these efforts can be readily seen. Whereas 80 percent of the population was illiterate by the end of Portuguese colonial rule, 579 elementary schools, 90 middle schools, 39 high schools and three colleges now serve the entire population.

The literacy rate has gone up to 47.3 percent. Health care, which was in a dreadful state under Portugal, has been dramatically improved, with 10 hospitals and 197 village health centers staffed by 104 doctors, six specialists and 14 dentists serving the population.

Sanitation conditions have also been improved. In addition, Catholic Relief Services and the United Nations Children's Fund have operated throughout East Timor.

Infrastructure, upon which development so vitally depends, has been given due emphasis in East Timor. Where there was only a 10 kilometer stretch of paved road at the end of Portuguese rule, there are now

2,116.4 kilometers of paved roads traversing the province. New irrigation systems, complemented with financial and logistical assistance, have helped diversify and turn the agriculture sector around.

Because of this, the province is now able to feed its own people. Techniques of sustainable forestry management have put a stop to the destruction of rain forests which was rampant before 1974.

These efforts, among others, have helped raise the standard of living of the East Timorese 10 fold, and have given them hope for living peaceful and productive lives.

There are just a few of the fundamental facts one must consider when analyzing the complex history and situation of East Timor.

The real future of East Timor lies in the promise of its people. The colonial era is behind East Timor and all the provinces of Indonesia.

With strong economic growth, and investments and economic development assistance pouring into the country, with new incentives for foreign partnership in all sectors of Indonesian commerce and industry, all of Indonesia's diverse provinces stand to profit.

Today, as part of an independent and growing Indonesia, East Timor is just beginning to tap its mineral and agricultural potential to build a modern infrastructure and improve commerce and industry for the benefit of the East Timorese and their posterity.

Comment from Jean Inglis, Free East Timor Japan Coalition: Most of the author's "facts," from the claim that Timor "from earliest times" has been an integral part of the Indonesian archipelago to the glowing figures on the development of the territory, are familiar, but the author takes a daring leap in this article with the assertion that four (yes, 4!) people lost their lives in the "tragic incident in Dili on Nov. 12, 1991.

EAST TIMOR BRACES FOR FOREIGN JOURNALISTS

Jakarta Post, October 15 1994. abridged

Jakarta – The authorities in East Timor are bracing themselves for the arrival of hordes of foreign journalists – one estimate puts it at as many as 1,000 – to the territory next month.

The authorities in East Timor have been informed that many of the 2,500 foreign journalists who are covering the series of meetings of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in Jakarta and Bogor are planning a side trip to the area,

whose sovereignty remained in contention in international eyes.

Many journalists, especially those coming from the United States, have expressed interest in visiting East Timor.

Americans will make up the majority of the hordes of reporters coming for the APEC conference. About 200 reporters will accompany President Bill Clinton, who will stay on after the APEC meeting on Nov. 15 for a few more days, for a state visit.

A number of foreign consultants hired by the Indonesian government in connection with the APEC gathering recently visited East Timor to sound out warnings about the critical attitude of these journalists.

The local military command said East Timor is open to foreign journalists, but they have to inform the authorities in Jakarta of their intention beforehand.

Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiatna, the chief of the Udayana Military Command which oversees Bali, Nusa Tenggara and East Timor provinces, confirmed that there is no ban against foreign journalists visiting East Timor, the Antara news agency reported.

Ruchiatna stressed that these journalists must comply with local regulations.

"Minister of Information Harmoko has already stated that there is no ban against foreign journalists going to East Timor as long as they abide by the rules of the game, such as being in possession of the proper permit.

"This is an independent and sovereign state. We have rules here and if foreign journalists agree to abide by them, then we welcome them," he said.

REPRESSION TIGHTENS IN JAKARTA

By Max Lane. *Green Left*, Oct. 19.

Already last month in Jakarta, the Suharto dictatorship had increased surveillance and repression in the lead-up to the coming Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) heads of state meeting. When visiting human rights, pro-democracy and environmental organisations, the presence of intelligence agents, referred to as intel, was noticeable everywhere.

Several activists had already been summoned for interrogation. These included Mulyana Kusumah, deputy director of the Legal Aid Institute (LBH), who was still being called in the first week of October.

Other LBH activists, such as Wilson, a co-editor of LBH's magazine *Jurnal Demokrasi*, was also being sought for interrogation. Labour and pro-democracy activist Daniel Indrakusuma was also reportedly being sought.

In Yogyakarta, meetings to hear poetry readings by the satirist Emha had been cancelled by the local military.

In response to a strike by Jakarta bus drivers, the military arrested 35 drivers, choosing them randomly as a means of intimidation. These acts follow the banning of *Tempo*, *DeTik* and *Editor* news weeklies in June and the trial and sentencing of trade union leader Moktar Pakpahan in September.

Reports from Jakarta since the beginning of October indicate that the tightening of repression is continuing. On 5 October, the government-controlled Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI) announced it had cancelled its "recommendation" for the editor of a new weekly political paper, *Simponi*.

Simponi had been taken over by former staff of the banned *DeTik* and revamped to look exactly like *DeTik*. Its lead article was on the role of the CIA in bringing Suharto to power. It also carried a review of Pramodya Ananta Toer's book *The Fugitive*, as well as articles by moderate pro-democracy figures from the military. In the face of the withdrawal of PWI support, *Simponi* has been forced to suspend publication after just one issue.

The following week, *Mitra Media*, the internal bulletin of the feminist organisation Kalyanamitra, was banned by the Department of Information. At almost the same time the outspoken radio program, Jakarta Round-up, broadcast on Trijaya FM, was banned.

Then on October 12 a second police summons was issued against academic commentator and political figure George Aditjondro. The summons says he is wanted as an "accused/witness" in a case relating to insulting a state authority.

Aditjondro has been an activist in NGO circles for some time and has recently become very outspoken on the issue of East Timor. He had just returned from an international conference on East Timor in Germany and Portugal when he received the summons.

At a press conference in Yogyakarta on October 12, Aditjondro told student supporters that he would defend academic freedom and freedom of speech. He had appointed Yogyakarta LBH lawyers to assist him in dealing with the police.

On the same day in Palu, in central Sulawesi, police and military attacked a peaceful rally protesting against changes in the school week implemented by the Ministry of Education. Several students were beaten and several more arrested.

Following the dispersal of the demonstration, a delegation of student leaders proceeded to police headquarters to inquire

after those arrested. The delegation was thrown out after several were punched, and one student leader, Amin Agusalim Umar, was arrested on the spot.

The intimidation has not stopped pro-democracy activity. During September and early October, Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia (SSDI) and activists from the Peoples Democratic Union (PRD) organised student-worker and student-farmer rallies at the University of Indonesia.

Another grouping of student and environmental activists, the Peoples Democratic Alliance (ALDERA), held a public meeting to launch themselves in late September. ALDERA involves activists from the student group PIJAR and the environmental centre, SKEPHI.

At almost the same time, nationalist figures launched a new book by the former Indonesian ambassador to the Soviet Union, Manai Sophian, outlining the CIA role in anti-Sukarno demonstrations in 1965 which helped General Suharto to come to power.

TIGHTENING UP IN INDONESIA BEFORE THE APEC SUMMIT

From *Human Rights Watch/Asia*, Oct. 21
Vol.6, No.12

Weeks before the opening of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Jakarta on November 15, the Indonesian government was tightening controls on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the press and taking harsh anti-crime measures involving what appeared to be extrajudicial executions of suspected criminals. A draft presidential decree designed to prevent NGOs from expressing dissent or opposition to government policies was generating protests from human rights, labor, environmental and student organizations, and meetings of NGOs in September and October to discuss the decree were broken up by security forces. Individual activists, from academics to human rights lawyers, were being subjected to various forms of intimidation and harassment. Members of a new independent journalists association, formed after the banning of three news publications in June, found themselves facing threats of dismissal; in mid-October, moves were underway to ban them from covering the APEC meeting. All of these developments seemed intended to ensure that no incidents, organizations or individuals "blackened the good name" of Indonesia prior to or during the APEC summit.

Freedom of Association and the Moves Against NGOs

The draft decree on NGOs was a particularly ominous development. Drafted by the Directorate-General of Social and Political Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior, the decree was made public in February 1994. It took several months for the full implications of the draft to hit home, but by August and September, NGOs were mobilizing to try and prevent its promulgation. The new decree would impose stricter registration procedures and provide for closer government monitoring of NGOs than existing law, in particular the 1985 law on social organizations.

Article 4 of the new draft, "Functions, Rights and Obligations," and Article 8, "Procedures for the Freezing and Dissolution of an Organization" are of particular concern. Both give wide scope to the government to shut down any NGO deemed to be engaging in political activity or threatening the national interest. Given government statements during the year, anything from criticism of a Cabinet minister to protesting the construction of a dam to organizing workers in a factory can be considered inimical to the national interest.

The threat posed by Article 8 to freedom of expression and association is obvious:

A community organization engaging in activities which threaten public security and order, and/or receives foreign assistance without the prior approval of the central government and/or provides assistance to foreign parties that may be detrimental to national or state interests is liable to have its operations suspended...[Article 8(a)(1)]

Activities considered to be a threat to public security and order include: inciting ethnic, racial, religious or class-based hostility; undermining national unity and integrity; undermining the authority of the government and/or discrediting the government; obstructing the implementation of development programs; other activities which have the potential to adversely affect political stability and security. [Article 8(b)(1-5)]

Aid from foreign parties that must have central government approval includes financial aid and assistance in the form of equipment, staff and facilities. [Article 8(c)]

Assistance considered to be detrimental to the nation and state and which may not be provided to foreign parties includes: assistance with the potential to damage Indonesia's relations with foreign countries; assistance with the potential to threaten, challenge, hinder or interfere with national security; assistance which is

a threat to national stability; assistance damaging to Indonesia's foreign policy. [Article 8(d)(1-4)]

The last clause could effectively outlaw provision of information by Indonesian NGOs to their international counterparts, particularly if the information then became the basis for diplomatic demarches or international human rights or environmental campaigns – or even adverse publicity in the international press. Minister of Defense General Edy Sudrajat reinforced the threat in a speech on September 29, 1994 at Syiah Kuala University in Aceh, when he said that Indonesian NGOs were responsible for generating pressure on the government from developed countries in the fields of human rights, labor rights and democracy. He cited in particular the efforts to condition trade on respect for labor rights.

The decree states that an offending NGO will be given two written warnings prior to being officially banned, but makes no provision for contesting a ban.

The reaction of Indonesian NGOs to the proposed decree was defiant. On August 22, forty NGOs in North Sumatra engaged in human rights, labor, environmental and community development activities signed a declaration to reject the new decree. The declaration said that the draft decree violated Article 28 of the Indonesian Constitution which guaranteed freedom of association and the right to organize. Moreover, it noted, any presidential decree was legally subordinate to the Constitution.

On August 29, a similar declaration was signed in Surakarta, Central Java by forty Javanese NGOs. It urged that the participation of NGOs in the development process not be seen by the government as a threat to its power and authority but as a way of ensuring that development would continue through strengthening communities at the grassroots level. NGOs in West Java issued another such declaration on September 26, noting that the draft decree violated the democratic principle of popular sovereignty.

The arguments had little impact. On September 22, soldiers from the regional military command, Korem 072 Pamungkas, broke up a discussion of NGOs in Yogyakarta on the proposed decree, citing their failure to obtain a permit for the meeting. About thirty people were present at the time, including a lecturer at the law faculty of Gajah Mada University and the executive director of the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta, Mulyana W. Kusumah. The organizers of the meeting, from a group called the Yogyakarta NGO Forum (Forum LSM-LPSM D.I.Yogyakarta), had informed the police the day before of their plans to hold the meeting, but said because it was an "internal

discussion," they had seen no need to apply for a formal permit.

The meeting was rescheduled for September 27, but it too was broken up shortly after it began at the offices of the Yogyakarta branch of the Legal Aid Institute. Among those who had made presentations to the participants before the police intervened were Arief Budiman, a well-known activist academic, and Soetandyo Wignjosoebroto, a member of the national Human Rights Commission. Organizers again refused to apply for a permit on the grounds that it was an internal and not a public meeting. Article 510 of the Indonesian Criminal Code provide for a Rp.25,000 (about \$12) fine for anyone who holds a public meeting without a permit.

Despite, or perhaps because of the draft decree hanging over their heads, NGOs in Indonesia were as willing as they had ever been to test the limits of their room to maneuver. NGOs have begun referring to themselves not as "community development organizations" (*lembaga swadaya masyarakat* or LSM, a euphemistic term preferred by the government) but as "non-governmental organizations" (*organisasi non-pemerintah* or *ornop*, a term that the government has seen as provocative and a challenge to its authority). In August, the largest and best-known Indonesian environmental organization, WALHI, brought a lawsuit against President Soeharto in a Jakarta administrative court. The lawsuit argued that the president, through a presidential decree, had effectively given a no-interest loan to Research and Technology Minister B.J. Habibie from funds earmarked for a reforestation program. The loans was to be used for the development of a new airplane. (It was reporting on financial aspects of Minister Habibie's involvement with the defense industry that led to the banning of *Tempo* in June.)

On October 12, in another bold move, the Indonesian secretariat of INFID (International Forum on Indonesian Development, which includes some of Indonesia's largest NGOs) called on the APEC meeting to look beyond trade liberalization issues to problems of environmental degradation, labor rights, women's rights and distributive justice. Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, director of a non-governmental public policy institute called ELSAM, drew particular attention to the possible negative consequences of trade liberalization on the welfare of workers, in terms of both wages and quality of life.

Under the terms of the draft decree, such frank statements may be seen by the government as detrimental to the national interest and thus become the pretext for dissolving the organization concerned. It is not clear

when the proposed decree will be formally promulgated or whether there is any chance that it might be amended before it becomes law. Many NGO leaders interviewed by Human Rights Watch/Asia believe that the Indonesian government will wait until shortly after the APEC meeting to promulgate the decree, and that the final version will differ little from the draft.

Freedom of the Press

The Indonesian government has also continued to restrict press freedom, after banning the magazines *Tempo* and *Editor* and the tabloid weekly newspaper, *DeTik* on June 21, 1994. Members of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), set up in August 1994 as an alternative to the government-backed Indonesian Journalists Association (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia or PWI), have faced intimidation from their editors, while the editors have in turn faced warnings from the Ministry of Information. Information Minister Harmoko said on September 21 that AJI's existence "could not be justified," and on October 4, Minister of Information Harmoko and PWI head Sofyan Lubis met with leading Jakarta-based editors and obliquely suggested that AJI journalists be fired. Harmoko said that many young journalists who were not members of PWI were opposed to the government and were being manipulated by a third party, perhaps the communists.

At another meeting on October 8, to which editors of all leading newspapers were summoned, PWI officials called for the "re-education" of AJI journalists, and sources in Jakarta said that PWI was seeking to deny AJI members access to the APEC meeting. In the meantime, articles that could possibly be construed as controversial have disappeared from the pages of the surviving press – neither of the two main morning newspapers in Jakarta, *Kompas* and *Republika*, covered the WALHI lawsuit, for example.

Press bans have also continued. On October 3, Eros Djarot, editor of the banned *DeTik*, launched a new tabloid that looked exactly like the closed weekly except for its title: *Simponi*. A paper with the same name had been authorized to publish in 1985 under the editorial direction of a man named Syamsu Hadi, and Eros Djarot apparently persuaded Syamsu Hadi to lend his name to the revival of the paper under Eros's control. The first issue of the new paper was as lively as the old *DeTik*, with articles on possible CIA involvement in student demonstrations against Soekarno, Indonesia's first president, in 1966; the banning of the Arnold Schwarzenegger film, *True Lies*, on the grounds that it insulted Islam; and the

reasons for massive forest fires in Kalimantan.

But after one day, *Simponi* ran into problems. The publishing company that printed *Simponi*, P.T. Golden Web, refused to print another issue until it received guarantees that its printing operations would not be shut down by the government. An article in a bulletin called *Kompak* run by independent journalists out of the West Java city of Bandung, said the Golden Web company had received a warning from the Ministry of Information.

Then, on October 5, the Jakarta branch of the government-backed journalists association, PWI, issued a statement officially cancelling a recommendation it had given Syamsu Hadi in October 1985 that allowed *Simponi* to begin publication. The statement noted that Syamsu Hadi had not lived up to his commitments as a journalist, that journalists who were not PWI members were involved in the running of the revived *Simponi* (some 40 former staff members of *DeTik* were involved in the new tabloid), and that PWI remained the only authorized association of journalists. The effect of the cancellation was to ban *Simponi*, since in order for a newspaper to get a publishing license, the editor-in-chief must have a recommendation from PWI.

The next day, October 6, the central office of PWI endorsed the actions of its Jakarta branch. Syamsu Hadi was then called to a meeting at the Ministry of Information, at which the head of PWI and the Ministry's Director-General for Press Guidance and Graphics, Drs. Subrata, was present. The men noted that an internal dispute within the paper had led in 1989 to the publisher stepping down, and he was never replaced. The fact that *Simponi* was thereby "organizationally incomplete" was another pretext used by the PWI and the Ministry of Information to force the new paper's closure. "It was clear that *Simponi* did not meet the conditions to publish," Subrata was quoted as saying.

Syamsu Hadi, who said the meeting at the Ministry took place in a family-like atmosphere, then issued a statement saying he would not publish *Simponi* for the moment, that he would try and get the organizational questions taken care of, and that he hoped the paper would be back on the streets by the third week in October. He would need, however, the endorsement of the Jakarta branch of PWI, PWI headquarters, and the Newspaper Publishers Association before he can go back to the Ministry and seek permission to publish.

The fate of *Simponi* drew protests within Indonesia and abroad. On October 8, the United States embassy in Jakarta made available a statement criticizing government

pressure to suspend publication and calling the suspension "a retrograde step that further diminishes press freedom in Indonesia." The statement said that the U.S. had urged the government to lift the bans on the publications closed in June and saw the action against *Simponi* as "particularly unhelpful."

Simponi was not the first publication to be shut down since June. On September 13, in a move which struck at NGOs as much as at freedom of expression, a bulletin published by Kalyanamitra, a women's rights organization, was shut down by order of Drs. Subrata of the Ministry of Information. In a letter numbered 174/Ditjen/PPG/K/1994, Subrata ordered Kalyanamitra to cease publication immediately because the bulletin, called Mitra Media, did not have a license to publish, either as a commercial or as a non-profit paper. The bulletin carried news on international conferences on women as well as discussions of feminist issues.

One radio program, called Jakarta Round-Up, was also shut down, although not by the Ministry of Information. Produced by a commercial broadcast company, Trijaya FM, the program covered controversial political and economic topics and was highly popular in Jakarta. Its troubles started with an interview on the shortage of cement, where a member of the opposition party, PDI, accused the government of being responsible for a widely-publicized shortage of cement out of a desire to raise cement prices. (Cement is produced through one of the conglomerates in which the Soeharto family has a controlling interest.) Then, after the publication of *Simponi* was suspended, the former editor of *Tempo*, Goenawan Mohamad, and another senior journalist, Aristides Katoppo, were interviewed by telephone. They both made hard-hitting comments about the implications of the press closures for democracy in Indonesia. The owner of Trijaya FM then cancelled the program. But the owner was the Bimantara group, a conglomerate owned by one of Soeharto's sons, Bambang Trihatmodjo.

The fate of *Tempo*, the best-known of the magazines shut down in June, continued to hang in the balance. As of mid-October, two magazines were competing to get the facilities, publishing license, and perhaps staff of *Tempo*. One, originally to be called *Opini*, was supported by most *Tempo* journalists and was backed by Goenawan Mohamad. The second, initially to be called *Masa*, was backed financially by Soeharto crony and timber magnate Bob Hasan. (The proposed name was later changed to *Gatra*, after it turned out that a Muslim students' organization already had a magazine called *Masa*.) Hasan was claiming openly that he had obtained the license and expected his

new magazine to be on the streets by November 1994 – before the APEC meeting begins; he was also trying to recruit as many former *Tempo* staff as possible, with financing provided by a new company created for the purpose, PT Era Media Informasi, or EMI. The company promised to hire back journalists at the same salaries they had been making when the magazine was closed, and as of October, twenty-three of some seventy-five journalists had thrown in their lot with Hasan.

On October 8, copies of a magazine that looked exactly like *Tempo* but with the name *Berita* on the cover appeared in Jakarta. (The name *Opini* was also already in use, and *Berita* was the second choice.) In response to a question about how he dared to publish when the magazine did not have a license, Putu Sedia, the editor, said, “As human beings, we propose, but God – I mean the Ministry of Information – disposes.” He then said the new publication was awaiting “guidance” from the Ministry about whether it could continue publication. As of mid-October, PWI was demanding to see a list of all journalists affiliated to *Berita*, presumably as a way of screening out members of AJI before any decision to issue a publishing license would be granted. The Ministry of Information was also raising questions about the ownership of *Berita*, which was the same company that owned *Tempo*. It was called the Foundation for the Welfare of *Tempo* Employees and was part employee-owned. The Ministry apparently said the name of the company smacked too much of the old magazine and would have to be changed if a new license was to be considered. Chances of getting a new license seemed low in mid-October.

As for the third banned magazine, *Editor*, its editorial staff was reported to be negotiating with the Alatief Corporation, owned by Minister of Labor Abdul Latief, about trying to obtain a new publishing license with capital provided by the corporation.

Harassment of Individual Activists and the Case of George Aditjondro

As noted above, individual activists from human rights lawyers to labor leaders to university professors appear to have been targeted for intimidation in the run-up to the APEC summit. In mid-October, one of Indonesia’s most outspoken academics, George Aditjondro was summoned by police in Yogyakarta to be examined as a “witness” in a case involving alleged defamation of government officials.

Aditjondro, who obtained his doctorate in rural sociology from Cornell University in the United States and who now teaches at Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, Central Java, is one of the best-

known figures in Indonesia’s NGO movement. Before returning to graduate school, he was the director for many years of a community development organization in Irian Jaya and became both a critic of and an authority on development projects involving logging, mining and dam construction. In March 1994, he created a major stir when details of his research on East Timor were published in the Australian press; he became one of the first Indonesians to so publicly take on his own government about abuses in the former Portuguese territory.

On October 5, Aditjondro was attending a conference on East Timor in Lisbon, Portugal, when police officers from the Yogyakarta Resort Command came to his house in Salatiga with a summons, calling him in for questioning in connection with a violation of Article 207 of the Criminal Code, insulting the authorities of the state of Indonesia through oral remarks. No specific offense was cited, but the summons was based on a police report of August 31.

In interviews in Europe and after he returned to Indonesia, Aditjondro said he believed the summons was in connection with remarks he made on presidential succession at a meeting at the Islamic University of Indonesia on August 11. He had apparently discussed three possible scenarios: Soeharto would be appointed to another term in 1998; that he would formally turn over power to Vice President Try Sutrisno or Minister Habibie but continue to exercise behind-the-scenes control; or that a “people power” movement would emerge as in the Philippines. He also referred in the meeting to the controversy over Habibie’s purchase of East German warships, the issue that got *Tempo* closed down, and joked that the power structure in Indonesia could be summed up as “ha ha ha ha”: Harto (Soeharto), Habibie, Harmoko (Minister of Information) and Hasan (Bob Hasan, the timber tycoon trying to buy up *Tempo*).

Aditjondro returned to Salatiga on October 9, went to Yogyakarta to give a lecture and got back to Salatiga on October 12 to be confronted by a second summons. It was delivered by a police intelligence officer, Sgt. Ahmad Muchlis, and asked Aditjondro to appear in Yogyakarta on October 15.

Indonesian sources speculated that the summons was part of a pattern of harassment to deter critics of the government from speaking out during the APEC meeting. Others harassed in September and October include Mulyana W. Kusuma of the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta, who was visited by officers of the national intelligence agency, BIA, and whose house has been under surveillance; Luhut Pangaribuan, director of the Jakarta branch of the Legal Institute, who

was visited by police; members of the independent labor union SBSI and others.

The Anti-Crime Campaign

Pre-APEC moves to present a harmonious image of Indonesia are not confined to restrictions on the press, NGOs, and intellectuals. An anti-crime campaign called Operasi Bersih or Operation Clean-Up began in Jakarta in April 1994 under the coordination of Jakarta military commander Maj. Gen. Hendropriyono in his internal security capacity, and at least thirteen suspected criminals had been shot dead in its first month. The operation initially involved some 16,700 military and police personnel, drawn largely from the Greater Jakarta police force and the Jakarta military command, with smaller units from the strategic air command, Kostrad; the air force, the mobile police brigade, and the marines. By June 2, the total personnel involved in the operation was up to 48,000.

Operasi Bersih or its shortened form, Opsih, was announced as an effort to rid Jakarta streets of the petty criminals who, according to the police, were “terrorizing” the local population. The Jakarta press quoted officials as saying crime statistics had risen alarmingly, indicating “increasing brutality” as grounds for initiating this “new and firm action.” In the words of Maj. Gen. Hendropriyono, “shock therapy” was needed to make the community safe again.

The term had grisly connotations. President Soeharto used it in his autobiography to describe a wave of “mysterious killings” (pembunuhan misterius, usually shortened to petrus) that were in fact not so mysterious: the Indonesian army shot and killed an estimated 4,000 suspected criminals between 1983 and 1985 as a means of deterring crime. The term was used again during counterinsurgency operations in Aceh, the special region on the northern tip of Sumatra, between 1989 and 1991 when military forces left dead bodies along roads as a way of warning others that separatist rebellions would not be tolerated.

Drs. Hindarto, police commander for the Jakarta metropolitan area, also supported the use of the term “shock therapy” to describe the new anti-crime campaign. While he denied the existence of a shoot-to-kill order, he did add that the police “don’t want to take risks. If a criminal acts brutally or sadistically, as police we have to protect the community.” But he added, “There can be no risks taken with regard to the situation and conditions of the capital city in the future, especially as we approach the APEC meeting in November. With Operasi Bersih, we calculate that before November, Jakarta will be free from robbery or any other

criminal acts that are now alarming the community.”

The operation revealed Indonesia's concern with its international image as it began preparing for the upcoming meeting. It targeted not only extortion, burglary, murder, drunkenness, and street fighting, but also “displays that are not in accordance with civilized people such as marking up walls which dirty the city's beauty.” Alcohol, considered a major trigger of violence, was to be more strictly regulated. All Jakarta's residents were warned not to carry weapons of any type in order to speed up the stopping and searching of vehicles, public transportation and private citizens in high crime areas. All conduct deemed disorderly would be stopped, and anyone who resisted would be considered a criminal, Hendropriyono warned. As proof of the early success of the operation, its spoils were displayed regularly to journalists. In the first nine days, the operation netted five guns, 161 “sharp objects,” 478 criminals, 38,000 bottles of alcohol, 3,126 illegal pills and sixteen envelopes of marijuana.

In early May, under orders from Opsih's commander, twenty police officers stopped and searched every passenger on each bus that passed by Jalan Panjaitan, a main avenue in East Jakarta, in the name of Operasi Bersih. They were looking for weapons, pornographic magazines and other “suspicious objects.” Prostitutes, beggars and street children were also targeted, to improve Jakarta's image for the summit, according to residents who reported seeing officials pulling them off the streets. In June, troops wearing black T-shirts with the word Opsih written across them were involved in the violent suppression of a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta to protest the closure of the three newspapers.

The initiation of Operasi Bersih followed directly from an earlier operation in February called Operasi Kilat Jaya, also designed to “calm the people” by stepping up arrests and shooting criminals. Eighteen suspected criminals were shot dead in the first month of the operation. In the week ending February 25, ten suspects were killed, six alone on February 22. The shootings all followed a similar pattern, with the police claiming the suspects were trying to escape. The move to Operasi Bersih, in which the army was more directly involved, appeared to be prompted by the killing of a Special Forces (Kopassus) general by street thugs in Jakarta in early April. The Kopassus commander, Brig. Gen. Agum Gumelar, then offered his forces to the police operation, saying, “We will give all the troops they request, as many as they want, of sharpshooters or others...The latent danger of communism cannot be forgotten.”

In addition to the combined police-army force of Operasi Bersih, Maj. Gen. Arie Sudewo announced that some 9,000 military personnel would be deployed to safeguard security during the APEC meetings.

Conclusions

The threats against NGOs, the curbs on the press and the stepped-up anti-crime campaign are linked to the APEC summit in different ways. The Soeharto government would clearly prefer to have no unruly demonstrations or expressions of dissent as the meeting nears, although it may hold off imposing the new draconian restrictions on NGOs until the heads of state, including President Clinton, have safely departed. APEC preparations are also playing into the battle over press freedom – will a new news weekly be out on the streets before the summit to dampen international criticism of violations of freedom of expression, or will the influx of international journalists for the meeting inspire the independent journalists to demand greater freedom of the press? The diplomatic community and foreign press corps are more likely to be concerned about the NGOs and the press than the fate of suspected criminals, but the anti-crime campaign will result in the arbitrary detention of hundreds and more extra-judicial executions before the foreign delegations arrive.

It is imperative that those delegations be prepared to address human rights concerns, and make it known to their Indonesian hosts that an atmosphere of lively debate and respect for the rule of law would be far preferable to one of enforced tranquillity, purchased at the price of intimidation, harassment, press bans, arrests, and a shoot-to-kill campaign to wipe out crime. In bilateral meetings with President Soeharto or Indonesian cabinet ministers, delegates to the APEC meeting should raise concerns in particular about the proposed draft decree on NGOs and the efforts to restrict independent journalism. Such attacks on freedom of association and freedom of expression are clear setbacks for moves toward greater transparency in governance.

INDONESIA CLAMPING TIGHT SECURITY ON APEC SUMMIT

Reuter, 26 October 1994. By Dean Yates

Jakarta – Indonesia hauled out tanks and heavy hardware in a warning to would-be agitators it will not tolerate disruptions of the Asia-Pacific leaders' summit next month which it hopes will boost its world image.

“Security will be tight but flexible. We cannot take any chances with 18 heads of state and government,” a senior official said.

Local newspapers on Wednesday carried photographs of a vast display of weaponry that forms part of the security arrangements for the Nov. 15 summit and preceding high-level meetings of the 18-member APEC.

Jakarta's military chief Major-Gen. Hendropriyono, who on Tuesday inspected a display that included light tanks and armoured personnel carriers, warned agitators against disrupting the event.

“Do not try to disrupt the APEC meeting next month. We know everything,” he cautioned. “Agitators who try to disrupt... are not criminals but are traitors with the lowest patriotism and nationalism,” he said.

Thousands of armed forces members and armed police are expected to be on hand before and during the summit. Foreign military sources, who expressed surprise at the hardware being assembled, said Indonesia's armed forces would adopt all possible measures to ensure APEC is a success.

Another source said: “I think security will be low-profile and out of the eyes of Clinton and American journalists. They would be conscious of this sort of hardware attracting too much attention,” he said.

The source said, Kopassus, the special forces, would also play a prominent role in security arrangements. “The military will be working on a whole host of contingencies, getting personnel familiar with routes and locations in the lead-up,” he said

SUHARTO'S FREE TRADE POLICY A DIPLOMATIC TRADEOFF?

Asahi Shimbun, Nov. 4. By Tamura. Translated from Japanese. Excerpts.

This appears in a full page special on the upcoming APEC, and deals with the agendas and expectations for APEC.

Singapore – “President Suharto of Indonesia, this year's (APEC) chair country, fancies himself the leader of ASEAN. Serving as chair of the leaders' conference of the non aligned nations, he prides himself on being leader of the countries of the South. It is not surprising that he wants to leave his mark on history by following up his hosting of the NAM conference in Jakarta in September 1992 with a successful conclusion of the APEC summit meeting.

“By promoting the trend for free trade and investment, just the opposite of what you would expect given Indonesia's position as a developing country, he aims to fend off the issues of East Timor and of the poor labor conditions in Indonesia that have invited criticism from the West. His recent statements like “While we don't unconditionally accept opinion from abroad, we are

progressively making efforts toward democratization" are also aimed at the West."

INDONESIA'S PHONY CLEANUP

Editorial, The New York Times, Nov. 4

Indonesia's rulers see this month's Asia-Pacific economic summit meeting as a terrific opportunity to improve an international image stained by repression in East Timor and other serious human rights abuses. How much more flattering to display a statesman-like President Suharto playing host to his counterparts from the U.S., China, Japan and a dozen other countries and touting the opportunities of the world's fourth-most-populous nation and one of its most vibrant economies.

Both images of Indonesia are true. But its crude effort to shove all human rights problems out of camera range only highlights the repressive character of the regime.

The effort, called "Operation Cleansing," began last spring under the guise of a drive against street crime. Since then it has been broadened to target "economically and politically motivated criminals" like academics, journalists, independent labor organizers and human rights activists, halting in its tracks the limited liberalization President Suharto proclaimed several years ago.

Three leading news magazines were shut down in June. Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of Indonesia's largest independent labor union, is currently being tried on patently political charges. George Aditjondro, a leading academic, was interrogated two weeks ago on criminal charges of "insulting a government body or authority" for remarks he made at an academic seminar in August.

President Clinton has proclaimed human rights a theme of his foreign policy, and U.S. law mandates a link between basic worker rights and the special trade privileges Indonesia currently enjoys. Yet the Administration has sent mixed signals about whether it will raise human rights issues during Mr. Clinton's one-on-one meeting with Mr. Suharto or at working sessions of the Asia-Pacific meeting.

If Washington fails to do so, it will reinforce the impression created by the President's retreats on human rights in China and Commerce Secretary Ron Brown's aggressive promotion of business profits at the expense of other values. It will also encourage other countries with serious human rights problems to do as Indonesia does and simply sweep its critics off the streets.

AI REPORT "OPERATION CLEANSING" AND HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE EVE OF APEC

Press release from Amnesty International USA, Nov. 3.

Indonesian authorities are cracking down on government critics, labor activists and alleged criminals to "clean up" the capital, Jakarta, in the run-up to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit that will be held from November 7 to 16.

The crack-down, which began in April with an anti-crime campaign known as "Operation Cleansing," has broadened in recent months to include arbitrary arrest of political detainees, who have in some cases been tortured and ill-treated; the unfair trial and arbitrary imprisonment of labor activists; and the dramatic escalation in the number of unlawful killings of alleged criminals.

"Indonesian authorities are stepping up domestic suppression of freedom of speech and assembly, labor rights and even threatening the right to life, all to preserve Indonesia's international image as a tourist paradise and economic prize," said Amnesty International, which is continuing its international campaign launched on September 28 to spotlight the country's long-standing human rights problem.

"The government is trying to silence those who might raise embarrassing criticisms during the APEC meeting, such as lawyers, journalists, academics and labor activists," Amnesty International said.

One of those threatened with arrest is Dr. George Aditjondro, a prominent Indonesian academic charged with "insulting a government authority," a crime punishable by more than a year in prison. Police summoned Aditjondro for questioning on October 22 and again on October 24. Amnesty International believes this charge is designed to prevent him from engaging in peaceful activities before or during the APEC meeting. If imprisoned, he would be considered a prisoner of conscience.

Within the past two months, authorities have broken up or prevented a human rights speech at a university, a seminar on land rights, a poetry reading on freedom of expression by a well-known Indonesian poet and a meeting between a lawyer and a group of workers. Four magazines have been banned in the past four months, most recently a new magazine, *Simponi*, creating fear and uncertainty among journalists in Indonesia.

Some of those recently detained for peaceful political activities have been tortured, such as four young men who released

several balloons bearing pro-democracy messages in September. Soldiers beat, kicked and shocked them with electric batons and a hand-operated electrical generator.

Despite domestic and international criticism from trade union groups and governments, Indonesian authorities have continued with the unfair trial of Dr. Muchtar Pakpahan and 10 other independent trade union activists accused of "inciting" labor unrest in April. By the end of October, five had been sentenced while trials of six others continue. They face up to six years in prison if convicted for non-violent activities.

Indonesian authorities have also stepped up the anti-crime campaign to ensure a "clean and stable" environment for the APEC talks. Police have shot dead scores of criminals held in custody, claiming they tried to attack police or run away. Yet in many cases, the victims were handcuffed or shot from the front, casting serious doubt on official explanations.

"Leaders of APEC member states should consider the issue of human rights during next week's forum and in meetings with the Indonesia government," Amnesty International said. "The APEC forum is a chance for all governments and business leaders to demonstrate they are genuinely committed to human rights, not just in Indonesia and East Timor, but throughout the region."

The Indonesian government is not alone in violating human rights. APEC, which serves as a forum to discuss regional trade questions and economic cooperation, has 18 member countries from the Asia Pacific region. Virtually every government attending the APEC meeting has committed abuses, ranging from the death penalty to the curtailment of free expression:

- The United States carried out more executions last year than in any single year since the death penalty was reinstated in the 1970s.
- Last year's figures for executions in China show the highest ever recorded for one year, with more than 1,400 executed.
- In Singapore, the number of executions has jumped recently with 22 people put to death this year, compared with at least five last year.
- During the past 12 months in Australia, 11 Aboriginal people died in police or prison custody. Cruel, inhuman or degrading conditions during detention might have contributed to the high rate of deaths among Aboriginal prisoners, who continue to be imprisoned in disproportionate numbers.
- Many refugees seeking asylum in Thailand faced long periods of detention, fines

and forcible return to the countries they fled, after an immigration crack-down was announced in 1993.

- A clamp-down under South Korea's National Security Law led to the arrests of dozens of people exercising their right to freedom of expression and association.

Amnesty International's report is entitled "INDONESIA: 'Operation Cleansing' Human Rights and APEC," AI Index: ASA 21/50/94. It is available through the Publications Department, Amnesty International USA, 322 Eighth Avenue, New York, New York 10001, for a cost of \$6.00, including handling and shipping.

AMNESTY SHINES SPOTLIGHT ON JAKARTA

WASHINGTON, Nov. 3 (IPS) - Less than two weeks before the summit of Asia-Pacific leaders in Bogor, Indonesia, Amnesty International is accusing Jakarta of cracking down on opposition and socially marginal groups.

The London-based human rights group Thursday released a 39-page report which says the government of President Suharto has used a six-month-old anti-crime campaign called 'Operation Cleansing' to harass its critics and labour activists.

"In an apparent attempt to suppress dissent in the run-up to APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) meeting, the government has launched a concerted attack on freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom of association," the report charges.

Amnesty's broadside follows a similar report issued last week by Human Rights Watch/Asia, formerly known as Asia Watch.

The New York-based group accused Jakarta of "tightening controls on non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the press and taking harsh anti-crime measures involving what appeared to be extra-judicial executions of suspected criminals."

It said all of these efforts appeared intended "to ensure that no incidents, organisations, or individuals 'blacked the good name' of Indonesia prior to or during the APEC summit."

The APEC summit will bring leaders of 17 nations – including China, Japan, and the United States – to Indonesia to discuss the easing intra-regional restraints on trade and investment.

The meeting is focusing unprecedented attention on Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation with which Washington has traditionally had major strategic and trade ties.

Just last month, the Wall Street Journal carried a front-page article which praised economic progress made by the Southeast Asian nation under Suharto's 27-year rule. But the paper also noted what it called Suharto's "tight autocracy" in which "soldiers and the rich still hold sway."

The closure by the government of three popular publications and a crackdown against independent labour union leaders over the past year have attracted an unusual amount of publicity.

But the biggest bilateral rights problem between the United States and Indonesia has centred on East Timor, the former Portuguese territory invaded and annexed by Indonesia in the mid- 1970s. Human Rights groups like Amnesty have since charged that as much as a third of the Timorese population was wiped out after the invasion.

Earlier this year, Congress banned the supply of U.S.-made helicopters and counter-insurgency weapons to Indonesia. It had earlier forbidden the use by Indonesia of any aid money to gain military training from the United States.

Most recently, Washington has expressed concern about the government's encouragement of Indonesians from other islands to migrate to East Timor.

Asked about current U.S. policy towards Indonesia this week, Assistant Secretary of State for Asia Winston Lord noted all of these problems and insisted that both President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher will raise the issues with Suharto and other Indonesian officials during the APEC meetings.

"We would hope that the East Timor situation would be eased in terms of (Indonesia's) military presence and the amount of access for outsiders and respect for local culture," he said.

"I'd rather not get more into that internal affair, (but) I'd just say that we hope this situation will improve, and it will be a subject on the agenda."

Lord also said Washington hoped "that the Indonesians in their own self-interest will take liberalising measures in their society – whether it's treatment of the press or East Timor or journalists or NGOs (non-governmental organisations) or labour issues – both as an end in itself, but also to create a positive atmosphere for the APEC meetings, and allow Indonesia ...to show its best face."

But he stressed that human rights must be seen as only part of a wide-ranging relationship whose "positive elements" include economic growth, the bilateral military relationship, Jakarta's role in U.N. peacekeeping and its "moderate leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement."

Amnesty in its report accuses Jakarta of targeting 8 individual human rights activists and academics for arbitrary arrest, and, in some cases torturing them.

It notes, in particular, the case of Dr. George Aditjondro, a prominent academic who was arrested twice last month on charges of "insulting a government authority or body" which carries a maximum 18-month prison sentence.

It also cites the cases of four men arrested in September – including a law student, a lawyer, a human rights activist, and an artist – who were detained by security forces in Jakarta and tortured over two days and nights before being released.

Amnesty also notes the better-known case of an independent trade union leader, Dr. Muchtar Pakpahan, and at least 10 other labour activists, arrested in connection with labour unrest in North Sumatra last April.

Amnesty says no evidence has been presented that justifies the charges of "incitement" with which they were charged and which carry a maximum six-year prison sentence.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO INTERROGATED

INDONESIA SUMMONS CONTROVERSIAL ACADEMIC

Reuter, 6 October 1994. Slightly abridged

Jakarta – Indonesia has summoned for interrogation a prominent academic, George Aditjondro, over allegations he insulted the state, his wife said on Thursday.

Police visited his residence in Salatiga, Central Java, on Wednesday armed with a summons "to give information as a suspect in a criminal case of insulting the existing authority of the state of Indonesia with words or speech."

A copy of the summons, which did not elaborate on the allegations, was obtained by Reuters. The article cited carries with it a maximum sentence of 18 months.

Aditjondro, an outspoken academic respected abroad for his academic work on East Timor, fell foul of the authorities in March after publication of some articles critical of Indonesia's role in the former Portuguese colony.

The government described his research at the time as "totally valueless," but no action was taken against him.

Speaking by telephone from Salatiga, 300 miles (450 km) east of Jakarta, his wife Esti said Aditjondro was in Portugal attending a seminar and could not comply with the summons.

She said police had said they would issue a fresh summons upon his return.

"I believe the case is linked to a speech George made in (the central Javanese town of Yogyakarta) in August," she said.

INDONESIAN ACADEMIC IN TROUBLE AGAIN OVER E.T.

PRESS RELEASE FROM AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID OCTOBER 6 1994

The outspoken Indonesian academic, Dr. George Aditjondro, is again being harassed by the Indonesian military for his views on East Timor.

The family of Dr. Aditjondro, who is currently attending a conference on East Timor at Porto University in Portugal, has been advised by the military in Central Java that he will be interrogated on his return and that he may be charged with slandering the state under article 207 of the Indonesian Criminal Code. The charge carries a maximum sentence of 18 months.

It is understood that Dr. Aditjondro will depart Portugal tomorrow and arrive back in Indonesia on Saturday. Dr. Aditjondro, who holds a Ph.D. from Cornell University, is based in Salatiga, where he teaches in the Postgraduate Development Studies programme at Satya Wacana Christian University. In March-April this year he was at the centre of a media furor following an interview on East Timor in the West Australian and ABC Lateline.

The threats to Dr. Aditjondro, who advocates self-determination for East Timor, occur at the same time as Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas is meeting East Timor's José Ramos Horta in New York, and suggest that sections of the military remain highly sensitive and resistant to change on the question. Senior military recently strongly rejected claims that Indonesia is considering allowing some form of autonomy in East Timor.

"ACFOA is disturbed that Dr. Aditjondro might be penalised for his views on East Timor," Mr. Pat Walsh, Director of the ACFOA Human Rights Office, said today. "Dr. Aditjondro is a widely respected researcher whose right to comment on important issues like East Timor should be fully respected. The arrest of Dr. Aditjondro would do nothing to shore up the credibility of Indonesia's 'openness' policy, already so discredited following its recent magazine closures," said Mr. Walsh.

Further information: Pat Walsh, (03)4177505 (w), (03)481-1581 (h)

INDONESIAN ACADEMIC FACES POLICE HARASSMENT

TAPOL Press Release, October 6 1994

The respected Indonesian academic, George Junus Aditjondro, is facing renewed harassment from the security forces in Indonesia. On 5 October, the police in Yogyakarta, Central Java, served a summons for interrogation under Article 207, for slandering a state official. The charge carried a maximum sentence of eighteen months.

Aditjondro was in Portugal when the summons was served, attending a conference on East Timor. He has been under pressure for the past few months because of his outspoken comments about the situation in occupied East Timor and his condemnation of the damage to the country, politically, economically and environmentally, during the 19 years since Indonesia invaded it in 1975.

Aditjondro, who holds a Ph.D. from Cornell University for a dissertation he wrote on the environmental impact of dams, is due back in Jakarta this Saturday. His wife in Salatiga told Reuter in Jakarta that the police said they would issue a fresh summons after his return home. "I believe the case is linked to a speech George made in Yogyakarta in August," she said. TAPOL understands the speech touched on the presidential succession, a highly sensitive and widely debated issue in Indonesia.

A course on political education under way in Salatiga, in which Aditjondro figured as a leading resource person, was ordered to close by police on 1 October.

Harassment of Aditjondro is part of a wider crackdown on activists and non-governmental organisations in Indonesia in the run-up to the meeting of heads of state of Asia-Pacific countries in mid-November, which President Clinton will attend. Indonesia is expected to face criticism on many human rights issues, including its continued occupation of East Timor and the recent closure of three major political weeklies in June.

TAPOL's Carmel Budiardjo said: "If George Aditjondro is arrested to prevent him from speaking out about East Timor and other political issues, this will further discredit claims that Indonesia has embarked on a policy of openness, already battered by the press closures in June."

Supporters should send faxes to Chief of National Police, Maj. Gen. Banurusman Atmosumitro, +62-21-361-471 and to the Foreign Office or External Affairs Department in your own country, asking them to intervene immediately.

INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE ADITJONDRO

TAPOL Report, 7 October 1994

Speaking by phone from Cologne this morning, George Aditjondro told TAPOL he is returning to Jakarta this evening and will arrive Saturday afternoon. After discussions with LBH colleagues and members of the Joint Committee for East Timor, he will return to Salatiga, and go to Yogyakarta as required by the police summons.

He regards this as a summons for interrogation though accepts that he may sooner or later be placed under arrest, after one or several rounds of interrogation, as happened with Muchtar Pakpahan.

The thought of 'being put away' for a time, perhaps to prevent him speaking out during the APEC summit does not bother him too much. In fact, it may encourage others to speak out on issues like East Timor where people have tended to rely on him.

Asked about the event in Yogyakarta that is presumed to be the reason for the summons (the police summons for interrogation relates to a police report of 31 August), he said that he was invited to speak at a meeting at the Universitas Islam Indonesia in Yogyakarta on 11 August. The other speakers were (ret'd) General Rudini, former Interior Minister, and (ret'd) General Sumitro, once commander of KOPKAMTIB. The topic of discussion was the presidential succession.

In his own presentation, he discussed three possible scenarios. The first was that by various manipulations, Suharto would managed to be re-appointed by the MPR in 1998. The second was that he would retire in 1998 but still manipulate things behind the scenes like Lie Kwan Yu in Singapore, with Try Sutrisno or Habibie as president. The third scenario might be the Manila solution, with a change of power through People Power.

He also presented his views about the present ruling clique in control, which he describes as an oligarchy. He believes it's a mistake to see the present power structure as consisting of a power struggle between Suharto and the military. The present oligarchy consists of much more than just Suharto.

He describes the oligarchy as the 'empat H' (the four Hs), Harto, Habibie, Harmoko and Bob Hasan. Another H could be added for Hashim Djojohadikusumo, son of Prof. Sumitro and brother of Col. Prabowo, Suharto's son-in-law, who is building a huge business empire of his own, together with Prabowo's wife, Suharto's youngest daughter.

He spoke of the 'empat H' jokingly as 'ha, ha, ha, ha, ha' which he said has become a popular slogan among students in Yogya.

He spoke over the phone at some length about the business interests of Harmoko (the others are pretty well known, so I did not ask about them) and said that in the late 1980s, he was believed to have proprietorial rights over twenty newspapers; this may have declined recently to 17, with the closure four years ago of Monitor and perhaps the collapse of one or two other titles. The current estimate is that he controls 17 publications.

Article 207 under which he has been summoned makes it an offence to 'insult any of the authorities of the State.' He does not yet know who is intended here. His thoughts are that it may be Habibie. During the question and answer session, one student accused him of 'mengadu-domba' or provoking splits around Habibie, leader of ICMI, the implication being that he, a Catholic, was attacking a Muslim. He had spoken about the conflict between Finance Minister Mar'ie Muhammad and Habibie over the German warships, expressing the view that the Finance Minister had behaved as a good bureaucrat, protecting state funds. He stressed that he not interested in people's religion, rather in their performance as bureaucrats. He told TAPOL he felt the audience was divided 50:50 between him and the student who attacked him.

Asked why it had taken such a long time for the summons to be served, he said this was probably because the police had had to spend time transcribing the tapes of the meeting, so as to build up their case. He also thought that the job of summoning him had fallen to the Yogya police, because if they were forced to drop the charges because of international protests, the central police chief could brush the issue aside and blame a local police force for an error of judgment.

He also said he would like to be kept informed of anything written about his case, or any protests made. The fax no. of the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga is: 62-298 81420

INDONESIAN ACADEMIC SAYS BEING MADE SCAPEGOAT

Reuter, 10 October 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – A prominent Indonesian academic summoned by police on suspicion of insulting the state said on Monday he was being made a scapegoat to silence him and unnerve other dissidents challenging the Suharto government.

Police last week summoned George Aditjondro, an outspoken critic of the govern-

ment's role in East Timor, citing a catch-all law alleging he insulted a functionary of the state. He was unable to comply as he was out of the country.

"I am certainly upset if it is something that I have said, but it was nothing new. They are just making me a scapegoat for the other things I have said in regard to East Timor," he said by telephone after returning from a lecturing trip to Europe.

Aditjondro, who has played a key role in non-government groups challenging President Suharto in court, said he would return to his home in Salatiga, 300 miles (450 km) east of Jakarta, on Monday and await a further summons.

A group of environmental activists are suing Suharto for diverting funds intended for rain-forest preservation to a controversial state-owned aircraft manufacturer.

If charged and found guilty, Aditjondro faces a maximum sentence of 18 months. Human rights groups including London-based Amnesty International have protested on his behalf.

Aditjondro fell foul of the authorities in March after publication of some articles critical of Indonesia's role in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. He also made speeches on sensitive political issues in August.

"Amnesty believes the arrest may be an attempt to punish Dr. Aditjondro for his past criticism of government policy relating to human rights and environmental concerns in Indonesia and East Timor," Amnesty said on October 6.

AI URGENT ACTION ON GEORGE ADITJONDRO

AI Index: ASA 21/45/94; UA 369/94, 6 October 1994

IMMINENT ARREST AS PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

Dr. George Aditjondro, a prominent Indonesian academic at Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, Central Java, faces imminent arrest for his peaceful academic and political activities. On 5 October 1994 police authorities issued a warrant for his arrest on charges of insulting a government official. If detained, Dr. Aditjondro would be a prisoner of conscience.

The arrest warrant, which requires Dr. Aditjondro to report to Yogyakarta police at 10am on 8 October, was delivered to his wife in Salatiga on 5 October. According to the warrant, Dr. Aditjondro is suspected of violating Article 207 of the Indonesian Criminal Code which states that it is a criminal offence for any person to insult a government official or institution, either

orally or in writing. If convicted under this article, Dr. Aditjondro faces a maximum imprisonment of 18 months.

The pretext for the charge of insulting a government official appears to arise from comments made by Dr. Aditjondro during a panel discussion at the Islamic University of Indonesia in Yogyakarta in August. During that discussion, Dr. Aditjondro, among others, commented on the question of the Presidential succession. This would explain why the arrest warrant has been issued by the police in Yogyakarta, and why it refers to a police report dated 31 August.

However, Amnesty International believes that the arrest may be an attempt to punish Dr. Aditjondro for his past criticism of government policy relating to human rights and environmental concerns in Indonesia and East Timor and, further, that it may be intended to prevent him from taking part in peaceful activities prior to and during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings which will be held in Jakarta in mid-November.

Dr. Aditjondro has been subjected to intimidation in the past for his criticism of the Indonesian Government. In March 1994, he received publicity in Australia and Indonesia for research he conducted on human rights and environmental concerns in East Timor. In the following days his house in Salatiga was stoned and he was questioned by local military authorities.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The imminent arrest of Dr. George Aditjondro is symptomatic of a marked escalation in official harassment and intimidation of alleged government critics in recent months. These measures have included prevention or breaking up of meetings and seminars, the arbitrary arrest of human rights activists, and the torture or ill-treatment of some political detainees. Amnesty International believes that the use of these measures has increased in preparation for the APEC meetings in November, which will attract considerable international and domestic media coverage. Many non-government organisations are believed to be stepping up their peaceful protests prior to the APEC meetings. It is understood that some will attempt to raise human rights and environmental concerns with high level participants at the meetings, including United States President Bill Clinton.

RECOMMENDED ACTION:

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

- expressing concern that Dr. George Aditjondro is in imminent danger of arrest for the peaceful expression of his views;

- urging that the charges against Dr. Aditjondro be immediately and unconditionally dropped;

- expressing concern about the current level of intimidation and harassment of alleged government critics, including academics, lawyers, journalists and human rights activists.

APPEALS TO

Minister of State:

Drs. Moerdiono [Salutation: Dear Minister Moerdiono]

Menteri Negara

Jl Veteran No 17, Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: (c/o Foreign Ministry) + 62 21 36 0517 or 7781 or 7782

Telegrams: Menteri Negara, Jakarta, Indonesia

Military Commander Region

IV/Diponegoro:

Brig Gen. Soerjadi [Salutation: Dear Brig Gen. Soerjadi]

Pangdam IV/Diponegoro

Markas Besar KODAM IV Diponegoro Semarang, Jawa Tengah, Indonesia

Telegrams: Pangdam IV/Diponegoro,

Jawa Tengah, Indonesia

Chief of Police for Yogyakarta:

Gen. (Pol) Drs. Madra S Banurusman

[Salutation: Dear Gen. (Pol) Banurusman]

Kapolda Yogyakarta

Markas Besar Kepolisian DIY

Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Telegrams: Kapolda Yogyakarta, Indonesia

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE

FOLLOWING:

Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Ali Alatas SH

Menteri Luar Negeri

Jl Medan Taman Pejambon No 6

Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: (6221) 36 0517 or 7781 or 7782

National Commission on Human Rights:

Ali Said SH

Ketua Komisi Nasional Hak Azasi

Manusia

Jalan Veteran No 11

Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: (c/o Ministry of Justice) + 62 21 314 1625

PLEASE SEND APPEALS

IMMEDIATELY. Please do not send appeals after 17 November 1994.

FOLLOW-UP FROM AI, OCTOBER 12. AI FI369/94

AI Index: ASA 21/46/94. Further info on UA 369/94 (ASA 21/45/94, 6 Oct.)

Dr. George Aditjondro, a prominent Indonesian academic at Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, Central Java, remains at risk of imminent arrest for his peaceful academic and political activities. He was not arrested on 8 October because he was not in the country at the time. He has since returned, and on 12 October, Dr. Aditjondro received a second summons on charges of "insulting a government authority or body," under Article 207 of the Indonesian Criminal Code, a charge which carries a maximum penalty of 18 months imprisonment. If detained, Dr. Aditjondro would be a prisoner of conscience.

The second summons requires him to report to Yogyakarta police at 10am on 15 October. It does not clarify whether Dr. Aditjondro is wanted as a witness or a suspect. If held and questioned as a suspect, Dr. Aditjondro could face prosecution and imprisonment.

The pretext for the charge against Dr. Aditjondro appears to arise from comments he made during a panel discussion at the Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII) in Yogyakarta in August. Amnesty International believes, however, that the authorities are attempting to punish Dr. Aditjondro for his past criticism of government policy relating to human rights and environmental concerns in Indonesia and East Timor and, further, that the charge may be intended to prevent him from taking part in peaceful activities prior to and during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings which will be held in Jakarta in mid-November.

Amnesty International is also concerned that, since the issuance of the first summons on 5 October, Dr. Aditjondro has been subjected to intensive surveillance by military intelligence officers from the Resort Military Command (KOREM) in Salatiga, both at his home and his place of work. Under Indonesia's Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP), the police and not the military, bear sole responsibility for the arrest of suspects. Since military intelligence authorities have no lawful role to play in Dr. Aditjondro's case, Amnesty International considers their activities in recent days to be a form of harassment.

ADITJONDRO GETS SECOND POLICE SUMMONS

TAPOL Report, 12 October 1994

A second police summons was delivered to Dr. George Aditjondro, senior lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, Central Java, at his home in Salatiga today, Wednesday, 12 October 1994. The summons, from the Head of Investigation of the Yogyakarta Police, requires him to present himself at the police command on Saturday, 15 October, for investigations under Article 207 of the Criminal Code.

The summons states that he is to be interrogated as 'accused/witness' for insulting a state authority. The first summons which was served while Aditjondro was still abroad, specified that he was being interrogated as a 'witness.' George believes that the failure to delete one of these two words suggests that the summons was produced in haste. He has no reason to believe that he is under investigation as an 'accused' but is ready for all eventualities.

George travelled to Yogyakarta today to grant power of attorney to three lawyers from the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute, LBH, to represent him during his forthcoming dealings with the police investigations. He will be going to Yogya on Saturday to respond to the summons. His team of lawyers consists of Artidjo Alkostar (head), Budihartono and Budi Santoso.

George told TAPOL that the police in Yogya had told his lawyers that 'our phones haven't stopped ringing' with calls from the local military, wanting to know whether the second summons had been served. Their impression is that the police are under strong pressure from the army to pursue George.

The second summons is issued by a captain; the first was issued by a major. The officer conducting the interrogation is to be a sergeant, whereas previously, the captain who signed the second summons was named as the interrogating officer. This lowering of ranks may be further evidence that the police are giving the case lesser significance and suggests a reluctance on the part of the police to press ahead with this case.

Another sign of the army's eagerness to have him investigated is the fact that plainclothes army intel officers have constantly been watching his home and the university where he works since before he returned home from abroad, wanting to be sure that he has returned. The intelligence chief of the local military command also paid a visit to his home to check on his whereabouts.

Press conference in Yogyakarta

George was surprised to see quite a crowd of supporters waiting for him when

he turned up at the LBH office in Yogyakarta this morning. Among the supporters were a number of students from Universitas Islam Indonesia, where he spoke during a panel discussion about Suharto in August. This talk is believed to be the formal reason for the police investigation. Other students were also there, as well as members of the Yogya Young Lawyers' Club who offered to take on his defence. A lawyer from the Bar Association, Ikadin, made a similar offer. At present, while interrogations proceed, George feels he is adequately served by his three lawyers.

Members of the press were also there to follow up a story in the local press about his case. Under the circumstances, an impromptu press conference took place.

George stressed that the principles at stake in his forthcoming encounter with the police are: academic freedom and freedom of expression. He also announced for the first time that he was in Portugal attending a conference about East Timor when the first summons was delivered to his home last week. He received it by fax just before leaving Lisbon on his way back to Indonesia. He also told the press that four other Indonesians attended the East Timor conference in Portugal.

George told TAPOL he was deeply moved by the strong moral support for him in Yogyakarta, coming especially from students at the Universitas Islam Indonesia.

ACADEMICS BACK JAKARTA CRITIC

*From The West Australian 15 Oct. 94
(abridged). By Michael Casey*

PERTH academics have appealed to the Indonesian and Australian governments on behalf of intellectual George Aditjondro, who is to be interrogated by Indonesian police today.

A letter from members of Murdoch's Asia Research Centre was sent to Indonesian State Minister Moerdioni, urging him to intervene and drop charges that Dr. Aditjondro insulted a government official.

The statement was written by James Warren, who convened the Asian Studies Association of Australia Conference in Perth in July at which Dr. Aditjondro was a keynote speaker.

A centre specialist on Indonesia, David Hill, has called on Foreign Minister Gareth Evans to criticise the Indonesian Government for its treatment of academics and the Press.

"If Gareth Evans is right and the relationship (between Australia and Indonesia) is now at its best point ever, then why is he

not prepared to speak on these crucial areas?" Dr. Hill said.

"The very fact that he is not demonstrates the insecurity that he must harbour about the state of the relationship."

Copy of the letter faxed 14 Oct. 1994

Asian Studies Programme
School of Humanities
Murdoch University, Western Australia
Fax (09) 310 6285

Drs. Moerdiono
Menteri Negara Jalan Veteran No.17
Jakarta INDONESIA
FAX (c/o Foreign Ministry) 62 21 36 0517
(or 7781 or 7782)

Dear Minister Moerdiono,

I am writing to express my concern that Dr. George Aditjondro is in imminent danger of arrest for the peaceful expression of his views.

In July of this year the Asian Studies Association of Australia Conference, the major Asian Studies event in this country, drew more than 600 participants from Australia, Europe, North America and throughout Asia. The general theme of this Conference was Environment, State and Society in Asia. The Conference aim was to address environmental degradation and the changes facing nations of the Asian region. The outstanding range of keynote speakers, especially Dr. Aditjondro, was of immense benefit to all who attended the Conference. Dr. Aditjondro presented a balanced informed assessment of environmentalism as a social force within the political culture of Indonesia since the mid 1970s. His keynote address was enthusiastically received by all who attended the Conference. As the former Convenor of that Conference, I wish to express my grave concern over the police authorities issuing a warrant for his arrest on charges of insulting a government official.

I and my colleagues feel it is a grave mistake to stifle Dr. Aditjondro's peaceful academic and political activities and urge that the charges against him be immediately and unconditionally dropped. The Government's current level of intimidation and harassment of Dr. Aditjondro, for his past criticism of government policy relating to human rights and environmental concerns in Indonesia, and other alleged government critics, including lawyers, journalists and human rights activists, raises serious questions in the minds of all concerned individuals about Indonesia's 'openness' policy, well-being and future. Again, Dr. Aditjondro is an internationally recognised researcher whose right to comment on human rights and environmental concerns in Indonesia should be fully respected.

Sincerely yours

Prof. J. Warren
Head, Asian Studies Programme
ASAA Convenor 1994

We, the undersigned, concur with the sentiments and concerns expressed in Professor Warren's letter regarding the imminent danger of Dr. George Aditjondro's current situation:

Assoc. Professor Tim Wright
Dr. Krishna Sen
Dr. Mark Berger
Dr. David T. Hill
[of the Murdoch University Asian Studies Programme]

AAAS ALERT ON GEORGE ADITJONDRO

17 October 1994

**AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE
HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION NETWORK
(AAASHRAN)**

**INDONESIA—Threat of Imminent Arrest
and Denial of the Right to Freedom of
Expression of Dr. George Aditjondro**

CASE NUMBER: 9408ADIT—
UPDATE OF ALERT ISSUED ON 14
APRIL 1994.

ISSUES: Denial of the right to freedom of expression; security of the person; arbitrary arrest

FACTS OF THE CASE: AAAS has received reports indicating that there has been an increase in instances of official harassment and intimidation of those expressing criticism of the government. Meetings and seminars have been disrupted or prevented from taking place. Human rights activists have been arbitrarily arrested, and the torture or ill-treatment of some political detainees has been alleged. It has been suggested that recent government actions are in preparation for the upcoming Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting.

Once specific case that deserves the special attention of the scientific community involves Dr. George Aditjondro, a sociologist and anthropologist, and senior Lecturer at the Post-Graduate Studies Program of Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, Central Java. Dr. Aditjondro, who was the subject of a previous AAASHRAN alert dealing with the censorship of his publications on the subject of East Timor, is now reported to be in danger of arrest because of his peaceful academic and political activities. The first warrant for his arrest was issued while Dr. Aditjondro was lecturing in Lisbon on 5 October 1994. The arrest warrant

required Dr. Aditjondro to report to the Yogyakarta Police at 10:00 am on 8 October 1994. He was unable to comply with the first warrant because he remained out of the country. A second warrant for his arrest was delivered to his home on 12 October 1994 requiring him to present himself to police command on 15 October for investigation under Article 207 of the Indonesian Criminal Code according to which it is a criminal offence for any person to insult a government official or institution, either orally or in writing. Dr. Aditjondro plans to comply with the summons.

Reports indicate that police are under strong pressure from the army to deal aggressively with Dr. Aditjondro. They have been repeatedly phoning the police station to verify that the second summons was served. In addition, plain-clothes army intelligence officers have constantly been conducting surveillance of activities at his home and the university where he works. It is feared that his interrogation after his arrest on 15 October could last days or weeks. If convicted, Dr. Aditjondro faces a maximum of 18 months in prison for the alleged offence.

It is suspected that the charge of insulting a government official may be based on comments made by Dr. Aditjondro during a panel discussion at the Islamic University of Indonesia in Yogyakarta in August. It is reported that during that discussion, Dr. Aditjondro, among others, commented on the issue of presidential succession. While this may be the immediate cause for the arrest warrant, there is reason to believe that the arrest may be an attempt to punish Dr. Aditjondro for his past criticism of government policy relating to human rights and environmental concerns in East Timor. This could also be an attempt to prevent him from participating in the APEC meetings to be held in Jakarta in mid-November. Dr. Aditjondro believes that the four other Indonesians attending the August meeting may also be at risk.

Dr. Aditjondro was the subject of an AAASHRAN alert issued on 14 April 1994 when he had been threatened with dismissal from his position at the University as a result of the publication of scholarly articles in Australian newspapers dealing with environmental degradation and human rights violations in East Timor. It was suggested that the articles could not be published in Indonesia because they may have been embarrassing to the Indonesian government. The articles were critical of the Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor and documented the damaging impact it has had on the environment and the life of the indigenous people. Following the publication of the articles, his house in Salatiga was

stoned and he was subjected to questioning by local military authorities.

In addition to constituting grave violations of human rights norms, such actions are contrary to the basic principles of scientific and academic freedom guaranteeing that members of the academic community must not be threatened or subjected to violent attack because of the exercise of internationally protected rights. This includes the right to freedom of expression on public policy and political matters as well as freedom to be free of controls on academic activities.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted without opposition by the United Nation's General Assembly on 10 December 1948, incorporates many universal principles binding on all nations as part of customary international law. Provisions which may be cited as especially relevant to this case are the following:

- Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of the person. (Article 3)
- No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. (Article 9)
- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. (Article 19)

[Sources of information on this case include Amnesty International, The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, and previous AAAS Human Rights Action Network appeals.]

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telexes, telegrams, faxes, or airmail letters:

- expressing concern that Dr. George Aditjondro is in imminent danger of arrest for the peaceful expression of his views;
- urging that the charges against Dr. Aditjondro be immediately and unconditionally dropped;
- expressing concern about the current level of intimidation and harassment of alleged government critics, including academics, lawyers, journalists and human rights activists.

Another way of exerting pressure on the police who may be interrogating George Aditjondro is to make phone calls to the Yogyakarta police command where the interrogations will take place to express concern about Dr. Aditjondro's treatment. These calls should be directed to:

Police Lieutenant-Colonel Dr. Zairin Bustami, 011-62-274-51-2940, or Chief of Investigations, Major Anton Tabah, 011-62-274-62-159

(same additional names as AI alerts)

UPDATE ON ADITJONDRO

TAPOL Report, 18 October 1994

A new police summons has been issued to George Aditjondro for 10am Saturday, 22 October 1994. The summons was issued when the head of the Yogyakarta Criminal Investigation Bureau personally visited George at his home in Salatiga yesterday.

George told TAPOL that the officer apologised for having twice issued summonses that were faulty. This time, he asked George to name a day that would be convenient for him; it was mutually agreed that the interrogation would take place next Saturday.

Although the officer asked George not to make the issue public, the fact is that these developments are being reported in the press, including an item in today's Kompas.

It is important to note that the summons is not headed 'Pro Justicia.' This means that the interrogation is for internal police purposes only and will not have judicial consequences, that is to say, it will not be passed on to the public prosecution for possible prosecution. This appears to suggest that the police have toned down their handling of the 'case.' Apparently, the sheet of paper that had been rolled into the type-writer last Saturday ready to record the interrogation that, in the event, did not take place, also lacked the words, Pro Justicia.

It is likely that this shift in position has been brought about as a result of the international interest in George's case so please keep up the pressure.

Carmel

HE TOUCHED ON VERY CRITICAL MATTERS

Commander on Aditjondro lecture

Suara Merdeka, 19 October 1994. Abridged

Salatiga – The commander of Central Java, Major General Soeyono told students in Salatiga that Dr. George Junus Aditjondro, lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University (UKSW) in Salatiga, touched on very critical matters during his talk some months ago at the Islamic University of Indonesia (UII) in Yogyakarta.

Major-General Soeyono was replying to a question from a student of UKSW after giving a talk to students in Salatiga as part of the 1994 Student Week.

When pressed to say what Aditjondro had said in his lecture, the commander was not prepared to say anything.

"Ask him yourself. He's the one who spoke. He lives here, doesn't he?" the commander told Suara Merdeka after the meeting in Salatiga.

He said that the interrogation of Aditjondro was taking place in order to uphold the law, so that the general public knows what's going on. "The international community should know that we're not up to anything. We're only seeking an explanation. We just want to know why he spoke in the way he did."

He added that the interrogation had nothing to do with imposing restrictions on a very vocal intellectual. "If what he says is correct then we in the armed forces will certainly back him up. But if it's not correct, then of course we won't back him up. That's all. It's as simple as that."

The rest of the item gave an account of the commander's lecture. The theme was that if the general public is not well informed, this could be the cause of social unrest.

CHRONOLOGY IN ADITJONDRO CASE

A TEST CASE IN REPRESSING ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN INDONESIA

A Chronology of the 'Universitas Islam Indonesia' (UII) 'George Junus Aditjondro' Case in Yogyakarta

Four waves of repression have hit the Indonesian pro-democracy movement during the last semester. The first were the attempts to crush the independent trade union SBDI, with the detention and subsequent trial of Dr. Muchtar Pakpahan, chairperson of SBSI's national board, and a number of his fellow labour activists in Medan. The second wave consists of attempts to crush press freedom in Indonesia and East Timor. The most outstanding cases are certainly the banning of three weeklies in Jakarta, - *Tempo*, *Editor* and *DeTik* - and the prohibition of journalists who have joined the independent journalists' association, AJI (Aliansi Jurnalis Independen), to cover the upcoming APEC conference in Jakarta. Meanwhile, the less publicised cases as the harassments of journalists in East Timor and Irian Jaya by the local security and information officials. After the burning of the only car of 'Suara Timor Timur' daily in Dili, one of the paper's journalists, Carolus Irawan Saptono is currently being 'deported' by the security apparatus from East Timor. Meanwhile, four indigenous Irianese journalists in Jayapura, Kristian Ansaka, Albert Yogi, Yan Warinussy and Hendrikus Abraham Ondi, have received summonses from the Irian Jaya provincial information service head, (Col.?) Michael Soenjoto, for their articles and letters to the editors in the local papers, with which they have refused to comply.

The third wave of repression consists of numerous attempts to disband NGO meetings in Java, combined with attempts to intimidate NGO leaders - such as Mulyana W. Kusuma, executive director of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) - through interrogations at the HQ of BIA, the Indonesian armed forces intelligence agency, in Jakarta. The last and certainly not the least harmful wave of repression has just begun recently, which is an attempt to use Indonesia's legal system to curtail academic freedom on campuses in Indonesia. My ongoing interrogation in the Yogyakarta municipal police station (Polresta, Yogyakarta) which began on 15 October and is going to be continued next Saturday, 22 October 1994, seems to be not only an attempt to 'punish' me for my public opposition to Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, but also seems to be an attempt to discourage further critical debates about Indonesia's political system on our campuses. In the following chronology, I will describe the unfolding 'UII drama' and analyse it as well.

8 August, 1994: Police commander of the Yogyakarta Special Territory (Kapolwil Yogyakarta), Col. (Col.) Drs. H Anwari SH, issued a letter with No Pol. B/2140/VIII/94/IPP, addressed to the Rector of Gadjah Mada University, stating that all academic activities - seminars, panel discussions, workshops, etc. - organised by the students on-campus, which would invite speakers from outside the academic community, require police permits. For events at national level requests for permission should be submitted to the National Police (Jakarta) at least 30 days in advance. For provincial level events similar requests should be submitted to the provincial police at least 14 days in advance, and for local events in Yogyakarta requests should be submitted to the Yogyakarta Police (Polwil Yogyakarta) at least seven days in advance. All these request should be addressed to the Police Intelligence divisions at all those levels (see attached copy).

A similar letter may have been sent to all other Heads of Higher Educational Institutes in Yogyakarta, the 'student capital' of Indonesia.

9-10 August: A seminar was held at the Indonesian Islamic University (Universitas Islam Indonesia - UII) at their main campus in Jalan Cik di Tiro No. 1, Yogyakarta organised by the UII's Student Executive Board (LEM-UII - Lembaga Eksekutif Mahasiswa UII). The theme was "The Urgency of Political Development in the Democratization Process in Indonesia" (Urgensi Pamban-

gunan Politik dalam Proses Demokratisasi di Indonesia). Several outspoken social critics were invited to speak at that seminar among others (Ret.) Lieut. General Ali Sadikin, spokesperson of the dissident group, Petisi 50, and Dr. Adnan Buyung Nasution, chairperson of the YLBHI. Both of them spoke on the first day. On the second day, Dr. George Junus Aditjondro, lecturer at the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga (Central Java), appeared as discussant for two speakers, namely (Ret.) General Rudini, former Minister of the Interior, and (Ret.) General Soemitro, former head of the extra-constitutional body, the Kopkamtib (Security and Order Restoration Command).

Between the sessions of Rudini and Soemitro, another outspoken critic appeared on the podium, namely Dr. Sri Bintang Pamungkas, a young Islamic politician from the United Development Party (PPP), whose ascendance into the leadership of the PPP was recently blocked by the pro-government faction in the party. During Sri Banting's session, Dr. George Aditjondro left UII for an interview with journalists from PIJAR, a critical magazine of the Philosophy students of Gadjah Mada University.

This seminar was well attended by students from Yogyakarta as well as other cities in Indonesia, since many student councils from all over Indonesia had been invited by LEM-UII. It was also well attended by intelligence agents from the Indonesian police and army dressed in mufti, who tried to record the speeches as well as the debates between the panelists and between the panelists and the audience from the loudspeakers inside and outside the seminar room.

As the first on-campus seminar which took place after the Yogyakarta police decree came out, this seminar on the UII campus already attracted a lot of attention in relation to its police permit. When the seminar was opened on Tuesday August 9, 1994, the organisers had not yet received their police permit for this seminar in their hands. One day before the opening day, however, on Monday August 8, 1994, the organisers had received a phone-call from the national police headquarters in Jakarta that their permit was ready to be picked up in Jakarta. Hence, on the evening of that day, a UII employee, Pak Kasim, was ordered to fly to Jakarta to pick up that police permit. He only came back two days later, on Wednesday, August 10, 1994 with the permit, the day that was going to become my 'unlucky day, precisely in time to prevent the police from disbanding the seminar for procedural reasons.

11 August until 5 October 1994: Various events took place during this period, which dates have not been able to be delineated exactly.

– Only in some days after the seminar was over, the Yogyakarta and Central Java police and army commanders had already listened to the tapes recorded by the intelligence agents who had attended the seminar. Consequently, at the Yogyakarta municipal police station, the agents had to work hard for days to make a verbatim transcript of one copy of the

tape, and consequently, type it down in a readable form. A police agent told me that they also had to write a summary of the whole text. Based on that tape, or copies of it, so it seems, the security apparatus of Yogyakarta and Central Java decided that I had to be interrogated and possibly taken to court.

– A judge from the Sleman region in Yogyakarta, Oscar Wahid, who seemed to have access to those security apparatus coordinative meetings, had told the Deputy Rector of UII, Dr. Mahfud, SH, a long time before this case surfaced, to keep the seminar tapes recorded by the organizers in a safe place.

– More or less a week after the seminar, two UII students – Djufri Taufik from the seminar's steering committee and Johan Hendrawan from the organizing committee – were invited for “cordial talks” with the Yogyakarta municipal police. Unfortunately, I have not been able to speak directly with Djufri, who, after graduating from the Law Department of UII, does not live in Yogyakarta any more. I have also not been able to speak directly with Johan. But from friends who had spoken with them, it seems that the police's “friendly talks” had focused on the presence of Dr. Sri Bintang Pamungkas and on my oral statements during that seminar. Bintang Pamungkas' presence was questioned, because his name had not appeared on the seminar's proposal, which had been submitted to the police to obtain the permit.

It seems that more than the local police were annoyed by Bintang's presence in the seminar. Because during a meeting with officials from the Department of Interior, when the seminar organizers were trying to ask the Interior Minister to speak at the conference as well, they were urged not to invite Sri Bintang Pamungkas. The officials argued that if Bintang is going to be invited, he would use that seminar as a campaign podium for the upcoming PPP Congress, where Bintang was as a favourite candidate for chairperson among the party's younger sympathizers. However, as it turned out, Bintang came to the seminar on the second

day, and was sitting in the front row, face-to-face in front of me, during my first session with General Rudini. Which for me is a bonus, if he agrees to become my *a de charge* witness in the interrogation, or even in a court trial.

As far as myself was concerned, what I had heard indirectly from the students who had been questioned by the police, some of my oral statements were regarded to agitate the students to become more radical and others were regarded to insult certain government officials. Which statement that were, and which government officials were insulted by my statements were not specified.

– Two local journalists, Daniel Tatag from the Bernas daily (Yogyakarta) and Santoso from the Surya daily (Surabaya) had also been invited for “friendly” or “cordial” talks with the Yogyakarta municipal police. But when they were asked to act officially as witnesses in this case, their editors declined those offers based on journalists' immunity as guaranteed by the press law and the criminal prosecution code.

– More or less in early Sept. 1994, some journalists in Yogyakarta contacted me to inquire whether I had already received a summons for interrogation by the police in Salatiga or Yogyakarta. After that event, I also heard from a colleague from Satya Wacana, who frequently met students and other intellectuals in Yogyakarta, that the security authorities in that city were seriously considering taking me to court. Yet until that time I had not yet received any word from the Yogyakarta nor Salatiga police.

– It took a “change of guards” in the Yogyakarta municipal police station to launch the “legal intimidation” against me. Both the former municipal police chief, Lieut. Col. (Pol.) Mohammad Saudi, as well as his deputy, (Mayor?) Susno Duadji, seemed to be very reluctant to carry out such an unpopular case. Saudi had only been in that post for 23 months, while Duadji had been there more than 3 years. So, it was only until 5 Oct. 1994, that the summons was actually signed and brought to my house in Salatiga by two police agents from Yogyakarta. The signatory of the first summons was Mayor (Pol) Anton Tabah, the new deputy chief of the Yogyakarta municipal police (Wakapolresta), who had just been in that position for two days. Anton Tabah signed the summons on behalf of the chief, Lieut. Col. (Pol) Dr. Zairin Bustami, who was still doubling as police chief in Batang, Central Java, which is further located than Klaten, where Anton Tabah himself was still doubling as police chief.

5 October 1994: At about 4:30 p.m., Sergeant Subagyo from the Yogyakarta municipal police came to deliver the first summons to my home, accompanied by another sergeant who seemed to be the driver of the police car. The summons was received and signed by my wife, Mrs. Esti Aditjondro, after they had typed correction to the spelling of my name and had called their superior in Yogyakarta, whether it was allowed to deliver the summons to my wife, since I was not at home.

6 October 1994: The interrogation summons was faxed to me in Oporto, Portugal, where I decided to fly back immediately to Jakarta via Cologne, from where I already had a return ticket to Jakarta. In the evening my wife and a friend of hers took the bus from Salatiga to Jakarta, to pick me up at the Cengkareng airport on the following day.

7 October 1994: According to a student who guarded our house to accompany our son and our maid, four intelligence agents in plainclothes from the Salatiga army unit (Korem) inquired at my house, whether I had already returned from Germany or not.

8 October 1994: The Lufthansa flight from Cologne via Frankfurt which I had boarded arrived in Cengkareng at night. I was welcomed by my wife and several journalists and activists, who had been informed with my flight number.

10 October 1994: I met lawyers and journalists friends in a friend's office in Jakarta, from where I called the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH Yogya) to ask their willingness to become my legal advisers in the upcoming interrogation. I set up an appointment to meet them in their office in Yogyakarta on Wednesday, 12 Oct. 1994, at 10:00 a.m., to discuss our strategy to face this interrogation.

Meanwhile, two intelligence agents in plainclothes paid a visit to my home in Salatiga, to inquire whether I had already returned from Germany or not. They strongly persuaded our maid to enter the house, to check whether I was actually hiding in the house, but our maid refused to allow them to enter the house. On Sunday evening, my wife and I took a Merpati flight from Jakarta to Semarang, and eventually a brother of mine drove us from the Semarang airport back to our house in Salatiga.

11 October 1994: Two intelligence officers in plainclothes from the Salatiga Korem paid a visit to our house at 7 a.m. I told them strongly but politely that my family and I felt very annoyed with such

kind of visits, since I had not yet been proven to trespass any law in Indonesia, and that the law allows three summons to pass by before a suspect is taken with force for interrogation.

12 October 1994: Due to some delays in obtaining a taxi in Salatiga, I arrived at the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute at 11 a.m. After discussions with Nur Ismanto, SH, the director of LBH Yogyakarta, we decided to limit my legal aid team with three persons, all from LBH Yogyakarta, namely Artidjo Alkostar, SH, as the team's coordinator, Agustinus Budi Hartono, SH, and Budi Santoso, SH. This decision was immediately presented in the impromptu press conference at the LBH Yogyakarta office.

Coming home from Yogyakarta to Salatiga at about 5:30 p.m., two police agents from Yogyakarta were already waiting at my house, to deliver the second summons to report for interrogation at the Yogyakarta municipal police station on Saturday 15 Oct., at 10:00 a.m. After I had signed the summons and the two policemen had left, a friend of mine pointed out a mistake in the summons, namely that my status as "suspect" or "witness" had not been ticked consistent with the first summons.

13 October 1994: I heard from some sources that a special meeting took place in Yogyakarta during this evening/night, attended by representatives of the police, the provincial prosecutors' office (Kejaksaan Tinggi), the court, the regional army's security and order coordination office (Bakorstanasda) and even the national prosecutor's office (Kejaksaan Agung) to discuss the consequences and follow-up of my case.

[note: the next few lines are unreadable in the fax as received]

... an undated letter from a feminist research organization, Lembaga Studi dan Pengembangan Perempuan dan Anak (Institute for Women and Children Studies Development) that their permit for a seminar that was going to be held on Saturday, 20 Oct. 1994, would not be granted (by the police?) if I was still going to be invited as a speaker. so, they regretted that they had to cancel the invitation to me to speak about "the women's movement as an alternative stance towards global issues." They did, however, still strongly state their solidarity with my attempt to uphold my universal human rights through legal means.

14 October 1994: I came to Yogyakarta with a car lent by a friend of mine, to discuss with my legal advisers the strategy for the next day's battle. I also took the opportunity to discuss with journalist

friends the "macro" political climate in relation to my case.

15 October 1994: At 10:00 o'clock, as required in the second summons, my lawyers and I reported to the interrogator, Sergeant Eko Wahyudi, in interrogation room No. 23 in the Yogyakarta municipal station. Before taking down my identity and inquiring about my health and readiness to face the interrogation, the interrogator immediately told me that this interrogation was in relation to my speeches at UII and began to play what was supposedly the tape recording of those speeches. Only after the tape sounded very unclear, did he begin to take down my identity, asked about my health and asked whether I was ready to face the interrogation. At that moment I protested, telling him that I first wanted my status to be clarified, since that column was not ticked appropriately in my second summons, which made it legally invalid. In addition to that request, I also told him that I also wanted to inquire which police station - Salatiga, my home town, or Yogyakarta, where the interrogation took place - would cover my transportation and accommodation costs during this interrogation process, as delineated in Article 119 of the Criminal Procedural Code (KUHP).

With those two questions of mine, the interrogation process stopped abruptly and my three layers and myself were left behind in the open-door interrogation room, where three plainclothes police agents took turns in guarding us. Only after two hours did the interrogator return, closed the session officially, asked me to read and sign the brief interrogation report (BAP = Berita Acara Pemeriksaan) and asked us to meet the Investigation Chief (Kaditserse), Captain (Pol) Budiarto, to obtain a new summons.

Before submitting the new summons to me, the police officer went at length to explain to me that this was only a "non pro justicia" interrogation, that is why my status is not important. It was only for internal police purposes and not for further processing to the prosecutor's office. He also pleaded with us to continue with the interrogation and offered us to have lunch at the police station. After we turned down the request firmly but politely and agreed to continue with the interrogation on Tuesday, 18 Oct. 1994, in a "non pro justicia" fashion, he handed over the new summons to us to read carefully before signing. So, all four of us read the new summons carefully, before I signed all the copies and was handed over the original form.

Then, out of courtesy to the deputy chief, Mayor (Pol) Anton Tabah, we paid a

visit to his office on our way out of the police station. In a polite but intimidating manner, the police officer made it clear to us that we should differentiate 'Anton Tabah as a columnist' and 'Anton Tabah as an aparat.' He stated that he agreed with academic freedom and he pointed out how he also gave speeches at student meetings. But he stated that there are limits to academic freedom. What are the limits, I asked him. "Just read what Pak Muladi [the Director of Diponegoro University] has written in Suara Merdeka yesterday. And mind you, that is the opinion of a member of the Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM)," said the captain. "But that is only the opinion of one member of the Commission," so I protested, "Other members of Komnas HAM, for instance Asmara Nababan, may have other opinions [In fact, the Secretary General of Komnas HAM, Baharuddin Lopa, strongly deplored the action taken against me in a public speech on Monday, 10 Oct. 1994, at the same university where I presented my oral statements. According to him, the police request for information was not in accordance with Article 28 of the 1945 constitution, which guarantees every citizen's freedom of speech. Only if there are indicators or facts indicating that that person wanted to rebel or create an uprising (could that person be interrogated) (Republika, 12 Oct. 1994)]." His reply, still with a broad smile on his face, was ice-cold: "Just tell that to the court later." I protested again asking him how he was so certain that I was going to be taken to court. He hesitated, saying: "Who knows."

Back at the LBH Yogyakarta office, a friend who read the summons more quietly and carefully than us at the police station, found out that a second mistake had been made. Instead of typing "18 October 1994," the police had typed "18 August 1994" as the day of the coming interrogation. So we decided that I should not come for interrogation on the next Tuesday, 18 Oct., since, legally, I was not asked to appear on that day.

17 October 1994: After finding out in the morning that the correction to the second summons contained a serious mistake, Captain Budiarto reported to his superiors in Yogyakarta. In the afternoon, accompanied by two police agents, Budiarto paid a visit to my home in Salatiga, apologised for the two mistakes in a row and stated that it was not done intentionally. He pleaded with me to tell my lawyers and the press in Yogyakarta, not to blow the second mistake up in the media. I refused, saying that the media had already received photocopies of the wrong summons on Saturday and that I

could not & would not tell the journalists what they could & could not write. After that I was presented with a new summons to appear, as I requested, on Saturday, 22 Oct. 1994, at 10:00 o'clock.

After the three policemen had left, a friend of mine who analysed the new summons more carefully than I had done in the presence of the police agents, found two important points which differentiated the 17 Oct. 1994 summons from the 5 Oct. 1994 one, namely:

the police report referred to as dasar (bases) for summoning me in the first summons of the 5 Oct. 1994 had the following number - "LP/K/32/VIII/1994/OPS," whilst the number of the police report referred to in the summons of 17 Oct. 1994 was the following - "K/32/VIII/1994/Ops." The difference lies in the letters 'LP' and 'OPS,' not 'Ops,' which could legally refer to a completely different police report;

the charge, according to Article 207 of the Criminal Code, in the summons of 5 Oct. 1994 was: "Menghina Suatu Kekuasaan yang ada di Negara Indonesia dengan kata-kata / ucapan secara lisan." while the charge, according to the same Criminal Code article, in the summons of 17 Oct. 1994 is: "Menghina suatu kekuasaan yang ada di Negara Indonesia baik dengan perkataan lisan ataupun tertulis."

The difference being that now I am also charged for insulting a government official in 'written' (tertulis) as well as in 'oral' (lisan) forms.

I intend to raise these points in the next interrogation, next Saturday.

18 October 1994: Invited by Satya Wacana. Major Gen. Soeyono, commander of the Diponegoro division which covers Central Java & Yogyakarta gave a speech at my campus. In a response to questions from a student and later also from journalists, he commented very briefly on my case. According to him, my speeches has touched upon very critical things (ceramahnya sungguh soal yang sangat kritis - Suara Merdeka, 19 Oct. 1994). He also said that if one is 'vocal' but 'right' that can be tolerated, but if one is 'vocal' but 'not right,' especially if it contains "unsur memecah-belah persatuan dan kesatuan serta menyimpang dari UUD 45" (difficult to translate - GJA), then action will certainly be taken [against that person] (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 19 Oct. 1994). See attached press clippings.

19 October 1994: I received an invitation from LSPPA to come to the one-day seminar on the women's movement, to be

held on Saturday, 22 Oct. 1994, as a participant. Salute to this courageous feminist group!

20 October 1994: I received a letter from a congregation, cancelling an earlier invitation to speak at their meeting on 5 Nov. 1994, on the topic of the global & regional economic system and how it affects the lowest & poorest strata of the society in the Asia-Pacific region. Interesting - but saddening - to see how the state's repression is reproduced, even by so-called religious organisations.

ADITJONDRO INTERROGATED FOR SIX HOURS

TAPOL Report, 23 October 1994

Dr. George Aditjondro, senior lecturer at the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, was subjected to a grueling six hours of interrogation by low-ranking police criminal investigators in Yogyakarta on Saturday, 22 October.

The session commenced at about 10.30. By 4 pm George insisted that the session should end, saying that he could never do more than two and a half hours lecturing at a stretch because of the intense concentration involved, and he should be allowed to rest. After on-the-spot medical checks which showed that his blood pressure was much too high, the interrogation was suspended with the agreement of a senior police officer, Captain Budiarto. It will be continued at 8 am on Monday 24 October.

The two officers who interrogated him were Eko Wahyudi and Bambang Suherlan, both sergeant-majors (serka).

The first couple of hours was devoted to establishing his curriculum vitae, starting with his education at primary school and going through every stage of schooling and other aspects of his life in minute detail.

Then, armed with a list of fifty questions, they proceeded to deal with the substantive issues. By the end of the session on Saturday, they had only reached question number seventeen.

The thrust of the questioning so far is directed at proving that it was he who took the initiative to go to the Universitas Islam Indonesia to give a talk. This is at variance with what actually happened; George went there at the invitation of the student body that was organising the panel discussion at which he spoke.

In order to bring charges under Article 207, the police would need to prove that his talks at the UII were a premeditated act on his part. The Article reads in part 'Barangsiapa dengan sengaja... menghina sesuatu

kekuasaan yang ada di negeri Republik Indonesia' or 'whosoever deliberately... insults an official of the state of the Republic of Indonesia.'

The facts are that George was initially invited to go to the UII as the discussant in one session of a panel discussion at which the main speaker was General Rudini, former Home Affairs Minister. Subsequently he was also asked to stand in as discussant for another session at which the main speaker was General Sumitro, former commander of the security agency, Kopkamtib, because the person invited to do this was unable to come.

Then on the day of the panel discussion, General Rudini's flight from Jakarta was delayed for more than an hour because of bad weather so the organisers invited George to fill the gap by delivering a lecture. He agreed to do so and took as his topic the issue of democratising the political system. It was here that he made his remarks about the 'four H's' clique effectively in power - (Su)Harto, (Bob) Hasan, Harmoko and Habibie.

The interrogation on Saturday was aimed at getting him to admit that he was concealing the facts about how he came to go to the UII. He was pressed hard on questions like - when was he first asked to come, was it in writing or by phone, who asked him, etc., etc.

The interrogators said that they had already interrogated a student named Esti (the same name as George's wife) who claimed that the students had been contacted by George two days in advance of the event about going there. Moreover, the police claimed that George's name was not mentioned on the application for police permission submitted for the panel discussion.

George's lawyers have submitted a request that Generals Sumitro and Rudini should also be summoned for interrogation either as co-suspects or as witnesses. The police have indicated that this is under consideration. George's defence team is concerned that one police tactic is to isolate George from the others who spoke at the panel discussion, in particular these two very senior retired officers.

George told TAPOL that he was very exhausted by the end of the session. By late afternoon when he asked for the questioning to stop, his blood pressure tested at 100:160 (two police doctors were called in to examine him) as compared with his normally high count of 80:120.

He said he will certainly have to devote considerable time and energy to fighting this case. He could not judge whether the authorities were intent on pressing ahead with formal charges or whether the purpose was

to intimidate him and others in the academic world.

On Sunday, 23 October, the first secretary of the Australian embassy in Jakarta went to Yogyakarta to ask George whether he had any objections to the Australian government publicly taking up his case with the Indonesian government. George told him that he needed all the international support he could get. The Australian government's move should be seen in light of the representations already made on George's behalf by a number of academics at Murdoch University, Perth.

It is important that so far, the Indonesian press is showing considerable interest in the developments surrounding George's interrogation.

NINE HOURS MORE FOR ADITJONDRO

TAPOL Report, 25 October 1994

The second round of the police interrogation of Dr. George Aditjondro, senior lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University, took place yesterday at the Yogyakarta municipal police headquarters. It lasted nine hours and completes the interrogation for the time being.

The police spent most of the time yesterday asking George to clarify quotations from the speeches he gave at the panel discussion at the Islamic university, UII on 10 August. George refused to answer any of these questions, saying that they had been taken out of context and in any case, they had nothing to do with Article 207 under which the interrogation was taking place.

George said that about half the 50 questions sought clarifications about quotations while the other half were related to his alleged intent to speak at the university.

He said that the session proceeded more smoothly this time as he was well prepared and had had time to rest from the build-up of tension that occurred during the 6-hour session on Saturday.

As a 'suspect' George and his defence lawyers have asked that seven people be called as 'a de charge' witnesses (for the defence). They are: Sri Bintang Pamungkas, member of the DPR for the PPP who was present at the meeting when he spoke at the UII (and who spoke himself in another of the sessions), (ret'd) General Rudini whose discussant he was, Arief Budiman who is knowledgeable about the procedures and problems involved in convening panel discussions, and the German philosopher, Dr. Franz Magnis Suseno (lecturer at the Theological High School in Jakarta), as well as three UII students who were involved with

the arrangements for convening the panel discussion.

George told TAPOL that after the end of the Monday session, the police were still checking on his whereabouts. Someone by the name of Sitorus who said he was from the police phoned his home in Salatiga early Tuesday morning to ask his wife Esti whether he had returned home yet.

George is now back home in Salatiga

ARIEF BUDIMAN FIRED FROM UKSW

From The West Australian, Perth

Edited version of a report by Michael Casey, to appear on Tuesday, 25 Oct.

Outspoken Indonesian academic George Aditjondro was suffering from hypertension after seven hours of intense police interrogation on Saturday, his colleague Arief Budiman said yesterday.

And in another development, Dr. Budiman himself was sacked from his position as senior lecturer in sociology at Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, shortly after he spoke to *The West Australian*. ...

Dr. Budiman, a leading Indonesian social commentator, said Dr. Aditjondro was held in questioning from 9am to 3pm on Saturday and was forced to answer 17 questions from a prescribed list of 50.

At 3pm a doctor arrived, measured Dr. A's blood pressure and said it was an abnormally high 160 over 100.

Dr. A was then released from interrogation but was made to stay in Yogyakarta and answer the remaining 33 questions yesterday. ...

After receiving a letter of dismissal yesterday, effective October 31, Dr. Budiman said he had been sacked for making unauthorised statements that "damaged the image of the university" but that specific details were not cited.

The dismissal comes after a year-long public battle between Dr. Budiman and the university's rector, John Ihalauw.

Dr. Budiman has publicly accused the University Foundation of undemocratically appointing Dr. Ihalauw, who has sought to restrict the public statements of dissenting faculty members.

URGENT ACTION APPEAL FOR DR. ARIEF BUDIMAN

From: Heri Akhmadi, October 26

Re : The unhonorable discharge of Dr. Arief Budiman from University of Satya Wacana, Salatiga, Indonesia

Dr. Arief Budiman, one of the most consistent defenders of freedom of speech in Indonesia and an outspoken critic of Indo-

nesian government, was fired from his position as a senior lecturer in the Post Graduate Department at the Christian University of Satya Wacana (UKSW), Salatiga, Indonesia. The letter of dismissal that will take effect on October 31st, 1994, was issued on October 17th, and was cosigned by Prof. Haryono Semangun (Chairman) and Drs. Nelky Oemboe Nganggoe (Secretary) of the University's Board of Trustees.

The letter said that Dr. Budiman has been un honorably discharged because of not following the critique ethics adopted by the University. He was also accused of circulating issues discrediting the University's Board of Trustees and Rector. What Dr. Budiman actually did was only publicly expressing critical opinion against the Board's controversial decision on the appointment of the new Rector, Dr. John Ihalauw. Previously, Dr. Budiman received two letters of reprimand from the Board, but no specific "misconduct" was mentioned in both letters.

Two additional notes must be mentioned. First, over the year the Board has been under constant pressures from the majority of the faculty members, students, and administrative staffs of the University to revoke the appointment of the new Rector, which was considered illegitimate. The same academic community has expressed public support for Dr. Budiman's initiative to file a lawsuit against the Board.

Secondly, all of this is taking place as an increasingly sweeping clamp-down of intellectual activism has been heightening in the past two weeks, presumably in preparation for the upcoming APEC Summit in Jakarta this November. There is a possibility that this dismissal was also intended at punishing Dr. Budiman and closing his opportunities to continue expressing his criticism to the Indonesian authorities. In a separate case, Dr. George Junus Aditjondro, another UKSW's lecturer and a close friend of Dr. Budiman, is still under police's interrogation for insulting the state authorities while speaking in a seminar in another campus.

This arbitrary measure against Dr. Budiman has demonstrated how such an academic institution as UKSW has violated the principles of freedom of speech and has threatened the democratic atmosphere within the academic community. His dismissal will be detrimental not only to the world-wide known reputation of UKSW as one of more committed universities, but also to the dynamic of Indonesia intellectual and academic life as well. As members of academic communities and individuals who are concerned with the maintenance of freedom of speech, we should express our concern to this arbitrary action.

Please send letter, fax, or make a call to the Board of Trustees of UKSW for :

- expressing concern at the unhonorable discharge of Dr. Arief Budiman
- asking the Board to reconsider the decision and to give Dr. Arief Budiman an opportunity to defend himself in front of the University's Senate and academic community in general.

Mailing address :

Prof. Dr. Ir. Haryono Semangun
Ketua Umum Dewan Pengurus
Yayasan Perguruan Tinggi Kristen

Satya Wacana

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SUPPORT ARIEF, SUPPORT DEMOCRACY

Report from Binny Buchori, Oct. 26

Around 500 students and a number of lecturers of the private university, Satya Wacana in Salatiga, Central Java rallied a protest on Tuesday (October 25, 1994) following the firing of Dr. Arief Budiman on Monday (October 24, 1994). Newspapers reported that students strew flowers symbolising the death of democracy in the Satya Wacana Campus. Students also brought posters protesting the firing of the scholar, so close to them.

"We do not only defend Arief, but also democracy," students cried. Arief was fired by the Satya Wacana Foundation on the basis not respecting the ethics of criticism. Arief Budiman, a prominent Indonesian scholar, and an avid defender of democracy, criticised the election of Satya Wacana's rector, which according to him was held unfairly. In his interview with Kompas daily, Arief Budiman said that The Advisory Council of Satya Wacana appointed the present rector, Johan O. Ihalauw, even though he was defeated in the preliminary elections. Arief and his colleague, Ariel Heryanto, criticised the decision by exposing the issue to the mass media.

According to Arief, the university in March reprimanded both Ariel Heryanto and Arief Budiman for exposing the problem to "outsiders."

However, Arief decided to keep lecturing despite the letter. He considers the letter violates labour regulations.

Meanwhile Republika daily reported that lecturers also joined the student protest. In the free forum held by students, a number of lecturers said they would resign following the dismissal of Arief Budiman.

Satya Wacana is a small well-respected university that has scholars committed to the practice of democracy. George Aditjondro, also a lecturer of Satya Wacana is currently under police interrogation in Yogyakarta for his statement on Indonesian government. George is actively involved in East Timor movement.

Arief Budiman, in telephone conversation with Nusanet Wednesday (26/10) that the protests continued. "Students and lecturers decided to stop all academic activities until there is the review of the appointment of the present lecturer. Now only one faculty that still gives lectures," Arief said.

INTERROGATION "PREVENTIVE"

Forum Keadilan, 27 October 1994. Translated from Indonesian and excerpted

ABRI spokesman Brig-Gen. Syarwan Hamid says the interrogation of human rights activists George Aditjondro, Mulyana Kusuma (LBH) and Standarkiaa (Aldera), the latter two by security agency BIA, is meant as a 'preventive' measure to ensure 'things don't get out of hand' just before the APEC meeting of which Indonesia is the host.

[Remark: this confirms speculation that the police summons against Aditjondro is motivated not from within the police force but by the intelligence agencies that dominate BIA. GvK].

JOSÉ ANTONIO NEVES GOES ON TRIAL

NEVES ON TRIAL IN MALANG

Kompas, 13 October 1994.

Translated from Indonesian, Abridged

Malang – The trial of José Antonio Neves (identified in the report only as JA de JDN), a student of philosophy, began in Malang on 12 October. He is described as the leader and person responsible for the Clandestine Front. The prosecution accused the defendant of engaging in rebellion against the government from the beginning of 1992 until mid 1994.

The defendant is accused of six offences, the first being that he waged rebellion to separate East Timor from Indonesia. He did

this in collaboration with the leader of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, Xanana Gusmão, its representative in Sydney, Ramos Horta, Fernando Araujo of Renetil, Mau Leto, coordinator of the Clandestine Front in Timor and Freezip Saky (sp?), a student member of the clandestine front in Surakarta.

He is charged with having made contact with people abroad to seek support for his rebellious acts against Indonesia. He sent leaflets abroad entitled, Appeal for Solidarity, which were faxed to Australia and West Germany.

The methods he used, according to the prosecutor, included making contacts by phone and meeting other members of the clandestine front. He also sent letters to the Japanese Prime Minister Hosokawa in August 1993 and the Secretary-General of the UN Boutros-Ghali asking for support

INDONESIA TRIES TIMORESE UNDERGROUND LEADER

Reuter, October 19. abridged

Jakarta – An Indonesian court in the east Javanese city of Malang is trying a leading member of the East Timorese underground for seeking foreign support for his cause, defence lawyers said on Wednesday.

They said José Antonio Neves, who was arrested on May 20 after allegedly trying to fax letters to East Timorese exiles, appeared in court for the second time on Wednesday on charges of opposing the 1976 annexation of East Timor into Indonesia.

One of three defence lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute in east Java's Surabaya told Reuters by telephone that he and his colleagues had urged the court to drop all charges.

"According to international law, seeking support is not a crime," the lawyer, Indro Sugianto, said.

Exiles said that Neves, a student at a theological institute in Malang, 900 km (600 miles) east of Jakarta, was leader of the student group Renetil.

According to the indictment read to the court when the trial began on October 12, the defendant had established contacts with, among others, human rights groups in Australia and Japan to express his opposition to integration.

The trial was due to continue Oct. 26.

DEFENCE REBUTTAL

The following is the defence rebuttal (ek-sepsi) delivered at the trial of José Antonio de Jesus das Neves by his defence team at the Malang District Court on 19 October 1994. [This is the defence document that follows after the prosecution presents its indictment.]

The four members of the defence team are: Indro Sugianto, Luhut MP Pangaribuan, Edo Nuryanto and Eko Sasmito of the LBH in Jakarta and Surabaya.

Extracts only, taken from the second section of the Rebuttal which deals with the substantive legal issues.

The accused is being charged under the following Articles of the Criminal Code:

The primary and the first two subsidiary charges are under Article 106 which relates to the crime of Rebellion, namely "with intent to bring the territory wholly or partially under foreign domination or a separate part thereof." The maximum penalty is life imprisonment or a maximum imprisonment of twenty years."

The third subsidiary charge is made under Article 111 for which the maximum sentence is six years, for "colluding with person(s) outside Indonesia with intent to induce such person(s) to provide aid in preparing, facilitating or causing a revolution..."

The fourth subsidiary charge is made under Article 155 for which the maximum penalty is four years and six months for "disseminating... feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt for the Government of Indonesia..."

The fifth and final subsidiary charge is under Article 157, for which the maximum penalty is two years and six months, for "disseminating (by) openly demonstrating or putting up a writing or portrait where feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt against or among groups of the population of Indonesia are expressed with intent to give publicity..."

.....

'The Status of East Timor under International Law

'The accused has been charged in connection with his activities to seek support for RENETIL (Resistencia Nasional dos Estudantes de Timor Leste) in Malang which is organisationally an integral part of the Conselho Nacional de Resistencia Maubere (CNRM) the resistance organisation of the people of East Timor which, is lawfully recognised under international law and also by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. These proceedings cannot be divorced from international law insofar as they concern the acquisition of the territory

of East Timor by the state of the Republic of Indonesia.'

The Rebuttal then gives a summary of the principles of international law regarding the acquisition of territory, pointing out that such acquisition is unlawful if it is done by means of military force. International law also provides that a non-self-governing territory placed under the UN Trusteeship Council shall have a referendum, as was the case with the territory of Irian Jaya.

If a territory is acquired in ways that do not conform with international law, its status remains a matter for the UN Trusteeship Council and it shall continue to have the right to an act of self-determination.

Since 1975, East Timor has remained on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly as no agreement has yet been reached for it to be recognised as part of a territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Since 1975, there have been eight resolutions of the General Assembly (the resolutions are listed).

'It is therefore undeniably true that what happened can be classified as an acquisition of territory that does not conform with international law or respect for the right of every nation to be independent. The juridical consequence is that the struggle of the people of East Timor for independence, for their own government - not under the Republic of Indonesia - as has been waged by the accused as an activist of RENETIL which is an integral part of the CNRM that has been legally recognised under international law, is justified according to the principles of international law.'

The Rebuttal then quotes from a number of international declarations and resolutions which affirm that any acquisition of territory should not be recognised by other states when that acquisition took place in contravention of the principles of international law.

.....

'Other undeniable facts of law which show that the acquisition of the territory of East Timor did not conform with international law are as follows:

'1. The Security Council of the U.N., in a resolution concerning the invasion of East Timor by Indonesian troops (on 7 December 1975), called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the territory of East Timor. This resolution opened the way for the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination in a fair, proper and democratic way, according to international principles.

'2. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that: "Everyone has the right to Life, Liberty and

the Security of the Person." Therefore the people of East Timor are entitled to create their own independent state.

'3. The resolutions of the UN from 1975 until 1982 state that the Portuguese Government holds responsibility for the territory of East Timor.'

The Rebuttal then states:

'Law 7/1976 affirming the integration of East Timor into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Balibo Declaration of four parties that did not have the support of the majority of the people of East Timor and did not include Fretilin which enjoyed majority support of the people of East Timor is juridically flawed because the aforesaid Declaration was adopted by an assembly that did not conform with UN Res. 3537 of 1976, meaning therefore that the aforementioned law was adopted by an assembly that had no authority to do so, and furthermore, was enacted while the country was in a state of war.'

Turning then to the status of the CNRM and RENETIL, the Rebuttal states that the prosecutor argues that the accused's organisation is illegal and therefore asserts that all his activities on RENETIL's behalf are criminal acts. It is essential, the Rebuttal argues, to have a correct understanding of the status of the organisations of resistance of the people of East Timor referred to in the indictment.

'The struggle of the people of East Timor for their independence is organised by the CNRM. In 1987, Xanana Gusmão brought all existing political forces, the UDT, Fretilin and independent groups favouring independence into the CNRM under the concept of 'National Unity' and adopted a strategy of winning the sympathy of the international community.

'The CNRM, by means of a Peace Plan proposed by Xanana in 1992 initiated a series of proposals for peace in East Timor. This Peace Plan was presented by the spokesperson of the CNRM, José Ramos Horta, to senior officials of the United Nations Secretariat in New York.

'In political terms, Indonesia has recognised the existence of the CNRM by commitments it has made under the tripartite consensus between Indonesia and Portugal under UN auspices. It was agreed on 6 May 1994 that dialogue would take place with various East Timor factions, including those that are pro-integration and those that are pro-independence. In realisation of this, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas agreed to hold a dialogue with representatives of the CNRM, led by Ramos Horta.

'These above facts means that,

'First, the dispute over East Timor is a dispute about the acquisition of the territory

of East Timor which has not yet been resolved.

'Second, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia has, under law, recognised that the CNRM and all its organs, including RENETIL, must be respected as a form of struggle under international law which has the legitimate right to take action and undertake efforts to seek support, as was done by the accused.

'It therefore follows the activities of the accused as a RENETIL activist are not criminal acts.

'If, contrary to the above, the prosecutor nevertheless proceeds to classify the activities of the defendant as being against the legal interests of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia which has clearly recognised the legitimacy of the CNRM and its organs, including RENETIL... the prosecutor should first deal with the legal position of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, in this case, the Foreign Minister, which has given clear juridical recognition to the CNRM as the resistance organisation of the people of East Timor which is lawful under international law.'

The Rebuttal then concludes that the activities of the accused cannot be classified as criminal insofar as they were part of the efforts to seek support for the resistance organisation (the legitimacy of which has been recognised by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia), in opposition to the process of acquiring their territory by another state in contravention of the principles of international law.

The Rebuttal ends by asking the Court to accept these arguments, to affirm that the indictment has no basis in law and is therefore unacceptable, and furthermore to state that the activities undertaken by the accused are not criminal acts.

The Rebuttal is signed by the four members of the Defence Team:

Indro Sugianto SH
Eko Nuryanto SH
Luhut MP. Pangaribuan SH, LLM
Eko Sasmito S

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORTS

AMNESTY REPORT: INDONESIA & EAST TIMOR: POWER AND IMPUNITY

THREE DECADES OF SUFFERING

From International Secretariat of Amnesty International, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ (Tel +44-71-413-5500, Fax +44-71-956-1157), 28 September

AI INDEX: ASA 21/WU 10/94

Against a backdrop of professed political openness and the push for economic development, the Indonesian Government has turned on human rights defenders, trade unionists and other activists as the latest targets in three decades of systematic human rights repression, Amnesty International said today.

On the eve of the anniversary of the military coup that brought the New Order government to power on 1 October 1965, the international human rights organization said that the strong arm tactics initially used to stamp out communism are now being used to wipe out new waves of dissent.

During a visit to Indonesia last week (20-25 September), an Amnesty International researcher found that the government has once again stepped up its intimidation of alleged critics and journalists. He also met three men who were tortured two days earlier because they had released balloons bearing pro-democracy messages.

"What's scandalous is that foreign governments have let the Indonesian authorities get away with it for so long, apparently seeing the country only as an economic prize and strategic lynch pin," Amnesty International's Secretary General Pierre Sane said at a press conference in Bangkok.

Tourist brochures on Indonesia show a country thronging with happy people in an idyllic setting; financial institutions portray the country as an emerging economic success story. But in a major report titled *Power & Impunity* released today, Amnesty International documents another reality – a country ruled with an iron rod, where dissent is punished by imprisonment, torture and death.

Since the 1965 coup, hundreds of thousands of people have been killed, prisoners have been routinely and sometimes fatally tortured and thousands have languished in jails after show trials – all in the name of stability and order.

In recent years, aggressive economic development policies have involved banning free trade unions and evicting farmers from their land for hydroelectric and real estate projects and golf courses. This in turn has led to increasing industrial unrest and widespread rural opposition to which the government has reacted with deliberate harassment, arbitrary imprisonment, torture and killings.

Since 1989, the Indonesian Government's much vaunted era of new political openness has spurred journalists, students and political activists to demand greater political freedom and respect for human rights, only to find themselves banned, jailed or "disappeared."

In late June, three leading Indonesian magazines were forced to shut down and more recently six East Timorese were sentenced to 20 months in prison for unfurling a banner in front of foreign journalists in Dili in April.

During his visit, Amnesty International's researcher also observed the trial of banned trade union leader, Muchtar Pakpahan, one of ten labour activists currently detained or being tried for "inciting" workers to demonstrate and strike. Based on this observation and the examination of trial documents, the organization has been able to confirm that Muchtar Pakpahan is a prisoner of conscience. Amnesty International said it feared the same might be true for the other nine labour leaders.

The comments of the former military commander for Central Java, Major General Hariyoto, in 1991 reveal the true nature of political openness in Indonesia: "We hope for openness, but openness of course has limits. If it goes beyond the system that we have arranged, then it is not allowed."

Some of the most dramatic violations in recent years – including mass killings – have occurred in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony illegally occupied by Indonesia since 1975, and other regions where the government faces armed opposition such as Aceh and Irian Jaya. Yet human rights violations are pervasive throughout Indonesia, even in areas commonly portrayed as stable and harmonious such as Java and Bali.

"The government tries to brush off these violations as isolated incidents or the work of a few poorly-disciplined soldiers, when in fact they are the byproduct of a network of institutions, procedures and policies which the government uses to crush perceived threats to stability and order," Pierre Sane said.

In recent years the government has taken some measures to counter criticism of its poor human rights record, establishing a National Human Rights Commission and punishing a few soldiers and police officers.

But it has failed to address the root causes of human rights violations. The arbitrary use of repressive measures is reinforced by the fact that the security forces have been free to commit human rights violations without fear of punishment.

Although the New Order leadership claims to rule "in accordance with the law," the country's legal system simply reflects and reinforces executive and military power, with a judiciary that is neither independent nor impartial. And while Indonesia has been a member of the United Nations Human Rights Commission since 1991, it has still not acceded to any of the major international human rights standards.

The Indonesian Government has until recently largely escaped international condemnation of its human rights record. Uncritically accepting arguments about "Asian values" and "development," many governments have continued to offer abundant economic, military and political support, while ignoring clear evidence of systematic human rights violations.

"Foreign governments will have to stop putting economics ahead of human rights, if we are to see the fundamental policy changes necessary to restore human rights to the people of Indonesia and East Timor," Pierre Sane said.

[Copies of the report can be obtained from Amnesty International or ETAN/US for US\$8.00 plus postage.]

MARKED DETERIORATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN RECENT MONTHS

From AI News Service, Sept. 28, 1994

AI INDEX: ASA 21/WU 14/94

Government intimidation of lawyers, journalists and activists has escalated in Indonesia and East Timor in recent months in the run up to the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) meeting being held in Jakarta in November, Amnesty International found during a research trip to the country last week.

The deterioration in the human rights situation has also affected alleged criminals as the government has resorted to arbitrary killings and the death penalty in an apparent attempt to control rising crime.

During the trip (20 - 25 September), Amnesty International's researcher on Indonesia and East Timor, Dr. Geoffrey Robinson, interviewed victims of human rights violations, and also met local human rights lawyers, pro-democracy activists and journalists.

He also visited Medan, North Sumatra, to observe one session of the political trial of the national chairman of the independent

trade union SBSI (Indonesian Prosperous Workers Union).

CLIMATE OF INTIMIDATION AND FEAR

In recent months there has been a marked escalation in official harassment and intimidation of alleged government critics, and in particular of human rights activists and members of non-governmental organizations. Despite continuing claims of a commitment to "political openness" and international human rights standards, the government has displayed increasing contempt for basic civil and political rights, including the rights to freedom of assembly and freedom of the press.

1) Freedom of Assembly

Using a law directly inherited from the Dutch colonial era, police and government officials have intervened on numerous occasions to prevent or break up seminars, cultural events and professional meetings. Within the past five weeks alone, the authorities have broken up or prevented: a speech at a university seminar by the director of the leading human rights organization (Indonesian Legal Aid Institute) LBH, Dr. Adnan Buyung Nasution (29.8.94); a seminar on land rights organized by the LBH in Jakarta (7.9.94); a poetry reading and a speaking engagement on freedom of expression by the well-known Indonesian poet, Emha Ainun Najib (2.9.94 and 30.8.94); a meeting between an LBH lawyer and a group of workers who are his clients in Malang, East Java (19.8.94); and a discussion of a draft Presidential Decree that would impose severe restrictions on Indonesia's non-governmental organizations (22.9.94).

Where they have referred to the law at all, the authorities have invoked Article 510 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP), which stipulates that any gathering of more than five people requires police permission. Within the past two weeks the LBH has filed a legal suit against the government and armed forces, in which it argues, among other things, that the article is unconstitutional and that its use contradicts government claims about its commitment to political openness.

2) Freedom of the Press

The banning of Indonesia's three leading news magazines - *Tempo*, *Editor*, and *DeTik* - in late June has contributed to a deepening climate of fear among journalists and editors, resulting in the widespread practice of self-censorship. Limitations on the freedom of the press have also further restricted the channels available to human rights activists and other peaceful critics of the government to air their views. The climate of fear has been exacerbated by the heavy-handed re-

sponse to peaceful protest against the bans. (See Amnesty International document, *Indonesia: Free Speech Protestors Detained and Beaten*, (ASA 21/27/94), 29 June 1994).

3) Attack on NGOs

A draft Presidential Decree imposing severe restrictions on all domestic non-governmental organizations - now in its final stages of official approval - has been denounced by Indonesian NGOs as an unacceptable attempt by the government to restrict their lawful activities.

The draft decree will require all NGOs to adopt the official ideology Pancasila and to report all their activities and financial arrangements to the powerful Ministry of Home Affairs.

The draft decree stipulates the fields of activity which NGOs are permitted to be involved in and explicitly forbids involvement in any political activity. Any NGO which in the government's view does not comply with the provisions of the decree could be disbanded or refused official recognition.

The draft decree was published in February this year, and because it is a Presidential decree rather than a law the opportunity for public debate has been severely restricted.

RECENT INFORMATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

1) Pro-democracy activists

Military and police intervention in recent months has led to serious human rights violations, including the arbitrary arrest, torture and ill-treatment of peaceful human rights demonstrators.

During Dr. Robinson's trip, he met with three men shortly after their release from military custody, where they had been interrogated and tortured for more than two days.

They were among four men who were arrested on 21 September in Jakarta after releasing balloons bearing pro-democracy messages, such as "Uphold the Rights of Workers," "The 1945 Constitution Guarantees Freedom to Organize," and "Free Muchtar Pakpahan."

The men - an artist, lawyer, human rights activist, and law student - were seriously ill-treated while being interrogated about their political activities and beliefs, with the worst treatment meted out at the regional military intelligence headquarters (Bakorstanasda).

There, military officers forced the men to strip to their underwear, beat and kicked them, and administered electric shocks - both with an electrified baton about two feet long, and through a hand-operated generator from which bare copper wires were attached to the detainees thumbs. Two of them were

threatened with execution and another had a pistol held to his head.

The interrogation and torture took place under the supervision – and in some cases with the direct involvement – of high ranking military intelligence officers.

2) Labour activists

Violations against labour leaders and workers also continue unabated, as witnessed by Dr. Robinson during the trial of trade union leader Muchtar Pakpahan last week.

Dr. Pakpahan, the chairman of the independent trade union SBSI, is one of 10 labour activists currently on trial in Medan, North Sumatra accused of “inciting” workers to demonstrate and to strike. Scores of workers have already been sentenced or are awaiting trial for allegedly committing acts of violence during widespread labour unrest in the Medan area in April this year.

Dr. Robinson attended the second session of Dr. Pakpahan’s trial on 21 September, during which he read his initial defence statement before collapsing due to illness. In that statement, Dr. Pakpahan said that “what is on trial here are not my actions but my ideas.”

After examining the prosecution’s charge sheet, and discussing the case with defence lawyers, Dr. Robinson confirmed Amnesty International’s earlier concern that the allegations against Dr. Pakpahan were politically-motivated, even though the charges brought were criminal.

The actions described as “incitement” by the prosecution – such as urging workers to protest peacefully to demand an increase in the daily minimum wage and calling for official recognition of the SBSI – are, in principle, guaranteed in Indonesia’s Constitution (Article 28), and in ILO (International Labour Organization) conventions to which Indonesia is a party.

Based on this assessment, Amnesty International has concluded that Dr. Pakpahan is a prisoner of conscience and is urging his immediate and unconditional release.

The other nine labour activists currently in jail or awaiting trial have been charged with similar offenses. Though Amnesty International has not yet been able to examine their trial documents, it believes that they too may have been held for their non-violent political or labour rights activities.

3) Pro-independence/Political Activists

Pro-independence activists in East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya continue to be subjected to serious human rights abuse, while the military authorities responsible for past abuses have yet to be brought to justice.

During his visit to Indonesia, Dr. Robinson gathered evidence indicating that at least

six East Timorese had been sentenced to between 20 months and two years in prison for their part in a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in front of a delegation of foreign journalists in April 1994. According to reliable reports, none of the six was accompanied by a lawyer during his trial or while under interrogation.

4) Death penalty

Like some of its ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) neighbours including Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines, the Indonesian government has in recent months begun to use the death penalty with increasing frequency to tackle rising violent crime and drug abuse – despite evidence that the death penalty does not deter crime.

During the week that Dr. Robinson visited Indonesia three people were sentenced to death (two of them Thai and one an Indian national) while at least four others (one a Thai and another a Malaysian) have recently had their appeals for Presidential clemency rejected. This means they could be executed at any time.

Human rights lawyers in Indonesia have expressed concern that those sentenced to death may have had unfair trials – and that they may in fact not be guilty of the crimes for which they were convicted.

5) “Operation Cleansing”

Official efforts to tackle crime and to ensure a “clean and stable” environment for the forthcoming APEC talks in Jakarta, have resulted in an increase in human rights violations against alleged or suspected criminals.

The military-led campaign, called “Operation Cleansing” (Operasi Bersih) has entailed the deployment of some 15,000 special troops in the city. Operasi Bersih units - drawn from both police and military forces - have used excessive force in breaking up peaceful demonstrations.

During the same period, scores of alleged criminals have been shot dead in Jakarta in suspicious circumstances. The killings have given rise to fear of a return to the officially-sponsored death squads which left some 5,000 people dead in the mid-1980s. In 1989 President Suharto referred to the “mysterious killings” (petrus) as “shock therapy” designed to bring crime under control.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL LAUNCHES NEW CAMPAIGN

Voice of America, 9/28/94. By David Butler, Bangkok

Amnesty International has launched a new campaign highlighting alleged human rights abuses in Indonesia (Wednesday).

David Butler reports from our southeast Asia bureau in Bangkok that the London-based human rights group is accusing western countries of ignoring the problem.

At a Bangkok press conference, Amnesty International secretary general Pierre Sane accused the United States and other western countries of ignoring Indonesian human rights abuses in East Timor and elsewhere in the country for economic gain and strategic interest.

Mr. Sane said the repression has been stepped up recently in anticipation of November’s summit meeting in Jakarta of the Asia-Pacific economic cooperation forum. U.S. president bill Clinton is among the leaders scheduled to attend the summit.

Mr. Sane said Indonesian authorities are rounding up and torturing dissidents in advance of the November meeting in a campaign called operation cleansing.

An Amnesty International report called power and impunity, released Wednesday, claims that since a military coup in 1965 hundreds of thousands of people in Indonesia have been killed, prisoners have been routinely and sometimes fatally tortured and thousands have been jailed after show trials.

The Amnesty report says the abuses are carried out in the name of stability and order.

The report says aggressive economic development policies have involved banning free trade unions and evicting farmers from their lands for hydroelectric and real estate projects and golf courses.

Geoffrey Robinson, Amnesty International’s researcher for Indonesia, was in the country for five days last week. He told the press conference he met with three men who had been tortured two days before he arrived for releasing balloons bearing pro-democracy messages. Mr. Robinson said the closing of three influential magazines in June had closed off one of the last avenues for peaceful criticism of the government.

Mr. Robinson also said the United States has assured Indonesia it will not raise human and labor rights issues at the November meeting. He called this development hypocritical.

The Clinton administration earlier this year delayed by six months a decision on whether to limit some Indonesian imports if Jakarta improves its record on workers’ rights.

Mr. Robinson said that in recent months what he called Indonesia’s small middle class has begun to experience the human rights violations suffered for 20 to 30 years by farmers, workers and pro-independence activists in Aceh and in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

“What has happened in recent months is that in addition to violations being suffered by ordinary people – by farmers and by workers and pro-independence activists – we are seeing Indonesia’s middle class becoming the victims of the latest wave of violations. This is quite significant. It means that journalists, writers, intellectuals – members of that small middle class – are feeling for the first time what ordinary Indonesians and East Timorese have been feeling for 20 to 30 years.”

The Indonesian government Wednesday called the Amnesty report unfair and one-sided.

ELECTRONIC PUBLISHING PILOT PROJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL GOES ON LINE

Notification, Sept. 30

As a pilot project, Amnesty International is making the full text of all materials for its current campaign on Indonesia available, free of charge, on global computer networks.

Publications for the Indonesia Campaign, launched today, include a 90 page Report and an eight page Briefing as well as an archive of all the campaign photos for which the organisation holds copyright. The information is available to computer network users in English, Indonesian, French and Spanish in a variety of different computer formats.

Normally Amnesty International offices around the world charge for the hard copy versions of these materials. One of the aims of the pilot project is to assess the impact of free electronic distribution on sales and campaigning activities. The movement hopes to get an indication of whether hard copy income does actually drop or whether the increased exposure of material on computer networks stimulates sales and increases the effectiveness of the human rights campaign. This electronic publishing pilot project also aims to help the human rights organization to assess the potential that on line electronic publishing tools offer for campaigning work in the future.

Computer networks, such as the Internet, are notoriously difficult for governments to monitor so Amnesty International will also be studying the impact of making campaign materials easily available in the Indonesian language to computer users inside Indonesia.

The material is available via e mail, ftp, gopher and WWW on the Internet. These services are available through a Canadian Internet access provider, Internex, that is working in partnership with the Canadian

English speaking Section of Amnesty International on this project. Documents are also available from members of the Association for Progressive Communications (such as GreenNet in England and PeaceNet in the US) and the GeoNet network. Additionally the material is being circulated on Fidonet networks in South East Asia, including the Pactok network.

Computer network users who want to receive electronic copies of the Indonesia Campaign material or to find out more about the electronic publishing pilot project should send an e mail to amnesty-l-request@io.org with the one line message ‘info amnesty-l’ (without the quote marks) in the body of the message.

HOW TO ACCESS MATERIAL ELECTRONICALLY

1. By auto-mailer: send an e-mail to amnesty-l-request@io.org for a full list of the documents available by e-mail. In the body of the email, include the following one line message:
info amnesty-l
- To subscribe to Amnesty International’s mailing list, send an email to amnesty-l-request@io.org with the following line in the body:
subscribe amnesty-l
2. By ftp: ftp to ftp.io.org; cd to pub/human-rights/Amnesty/ Indonesia
3. By gopher: gopher to gopher.io.org; select ‘pub,’ ‘human- rights,’ and ‘Amnesty International’
4. By WWW: URL:
ftp/ftp.io.org/pub/human-rights/Amnesty/home.html
5. For users with a mailbox on one of the systems belonging to the Association for Progressive Communications (e.g. PeaceNet, Web, GreenNet etc.) the ai.Indonesia conference carries all the campaign materials.

‘INTRODUCTION’ PAGE FOR AUTOMAILER

From: Mike Blackstock <blackie@io.org>

The material listed below from the Indonesia campaign electronic publishing pilot project is available by sending email to blackie@io.org

1. Contact details from Amnesty International sections worldwide. Please request this list to make a donation to Amnesty International and to make membership enquiries. Send email to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘contacts.’

INDONESIA CAMPAIGN MAIN REPORT

Please note that items 2 to 5 are between 242,000 and 341,000 bytes in size so they may take a long time to transmit.

2. English in ASCII format. Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘report.english.ascii.’
3. Bahasa Indonesian in ASCII format. This document is not yet available. Current estimate for availability is end October 1994. (When the document does become available: Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘report.bahasa.ascii.’
4. Spanish in ASCII format. Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘report.spanish.ascii.’
5. French in WordPerfect 5.1 format. Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘report.french.wp51.’ NOTE: This file is uuencoded.

INDONESIA CAMPAIGN BRIEFING DOCUMENT

Please note that items 6 to 9 are between 57,000 and 104,000 bytes in size.

6. English in ASCII format. Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘briefing.english.ascii.’
7. Bahasa Indonesian in ASCII format. This document is not yet available. Current estimate for availability is end October 1994. (When the document does become available: Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘briefing.bahasa.ascii.’)
8. Spanish in ASCII format. Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘briefing.spanish.ascii.’
9. French in WordPerfect 5.1 format. Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘briefing.french.wp51.’ This file is uuencoded.

OTHER MATERIAL

10. News release in English in ASCII format about the electronic publishing pilot project. Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘press.release.pilot.’
11. User feed-back questionnaire concerning the Indonesia Campaign electronic publishing pilot project. Send an email to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘questionnaire.’
12. Information sheet about how to access Indonesia Campaign material electronically. Send an e-mail to blackie@io.org and request the file ‘access.methods.’

OPENNESS IS ILLUSION, SAYS AMNESTY

BANGKOK, Sept. 29 (IPS) - In recent years, diplomats and foreign journalists have been hailing signs of political openness and pluralism in Indonesia.

But this is little more than an illusion, according to Amnesty International, which claims in its latest report that the Indonesian military and President Suharto have continued crackdowns on dissent through the last three decades of power.

"Claims of greater political openness and a newfound commitment to human rights have never amounted to much for those outside Indonesia's small political elite," said Pierre Sane, Amnesty International secretary-general.

Human rights violations have continued unabated, even in parts of the country portrayed as stable and harmonious, Sane added.

The Amnesty official is in Bangkok to launch a campaign against human rights violations in Indonesia, which the group says have no prospect of improvement unless concerted international pressure is applied on Jakarta.

"What's scandalous is that foreign governments have let the Indonesian authorities get away with it for so long, apparently seeing the country only as an economic prize and strategic linchpin," he said.

Sane said the November summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in Indonesia will provide an important opportunity for member governments to show they are serious about human rights not just in Indonesia and East Timor but throughout the region.

He said the international community must act now because of the danger that Indonesia would take advantage of its high profile in groups like the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) to reshape the human rights agenda.

In the run-up to the APEC summit, 15,000 troops have been deployed in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta to ensure a 'clean and stable' environment for the meetings. The military-led campaign called 'Operation Cleansing' has been used to break up peaceful demonstrations forcibly since April.

Amnesty says strong-arm tactics used to stamp out communism during the Suharto regime's first years are still being used to suppress dissent. The international human rights watchdog chose to launch its campaign on the eve of the anniversary of the Oct. 1 1965 coup that brought Suharto's 'New Order' government into power.

An Indonesian government spokesman interviewed by the BBC has called the Amnesty campaign part of the organisation's unfair treatment of the South-east Asian country. He said the charges made by the group were "totally without factual basis."

According to Amnesty, there has been a marked rise in official harassment in recent months as Jakarta cracked down on human rights activists, trade unionists and other alleged government critics.

In the last five weeks alone, Indonesian authorities have broken up or prevented seminars and cultural events throughout the country, invoking an obscure law that requires police permission for meetings of more than five people, Amnesty said.

A draft presidential decree now in its final stages of approval will also bar non-government groups from any involvement in politics and impose strict state controls on their activities and finances.

Last week, four men were detained by intelligence officers and tortured for two days for releasing balloons with pro-democracy slogans, reported Geoffrey Robinson, Amnesty researcher for Indonesia and East Timor, who interviewed the four after their release.

Alleged criminals have been shot dead in Jakarta under suspicious circumstances, giving rise to fears of a return of officially-sponsored death squads that left some 5,000 people dead in the 1980s.

While Jakarta was talking about political openness, Amnesty reports were showing an unchanged human rights situation, said Robinson.

"It may have changed within a small circle of the Jakarta elite where there was a certain openness and some magazines were allowed to be published," he said. "But the day-to-day reality of ill-treatment, military custody, political imprisonments, and killings in Aceh and East Timor had not changed."

In its report, 'Indonesia and East Timor': Power and Impunity,' Amnesty says some of the most serious human rights violations have occurred in East Timor, the ex-Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1975, and in areas with insurgencies like Aceh and Irian Jaya.

The Indonesian government spokesman told the BBC: "We have demonstrated our willingness in the past to address criticisms of our policy in East Timor. The problem is that Amnesty's position on Timor is one-sided and unfair."

But Robinson says there has been a shift in the focal point of human rights violations in Indonesia in recent months. The banning of Indonesia's three leading newsmagazines in June, for instance, has deepened the cli-

mate of fear among journalists and intellectuals.

Said Robinson: "Members of the Indonesian middle class are feeling for the first time precisely what ordinary Indonesians and East Timorese have suffered for 30 years."

AI: POWER & IMPUNITY — EXCERPTS

AI Index: ASA 21/17/94

[Only the Introduction and certain East Timor sections are included here. The complete report can be purchased from Amnesty International or ETAN/US.]

Inside back cover:

Indonesia's rulers came to power in 1965 in the wake of one of the worst massacres in recent history; in less than a year up to one million people were killed and at least as many jailed. Indonesia's New Order Government has remained in power for almost three decades. It continues to murder, torture and jail people, often for nothing more than disagreeing with the state ideology, Pancasila.

Despite its chilling human rights record, this same government has consistently enjoyed support and succor from the world's most powerful nations and the prime movers of the international community. Only human rights violations in East Timor, illegally occupied by Indonesia since 1975, have touched the international conscience.

In this report Amnesty International shows that human rights violations are widespread, not only in East Timor but throughout the Indonesian archipelago. They are part of a pattern of systematic human rights violations which has unfolded over more than a quarter of a century. The report describes the structure of state and military power in which human rights violations have become institutionalized. It also contains recommendations to the international community as well as the Indonesian Government, which Amnesty International believes are essential to human rights protection.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia's New Order Government has been responsible for human rights violations on a staggering scale since a military coup brought it to power in 1965. Hundreds of thousands of civilians have been killed, their mutilated corpses sometimes left in public places to rot; prisoners, both political and criminal, have been routinely tortured and ill-treated, some so severely that they died or suffered permanent injury; thousands of people have been imprisoned following show trials solely for their peaceful political

or religious views; scores of prisoners have been shot by firing-squad, some after more than two decades on death row.

Signs of increasing political openness in Indonesia have recently raised hopes for human rights. However, grave human rights violations continue unabated. In this report Amnesty International examines why the violations continue and why, unless concerted domestic and international pressure is applied on the government, there can be little prospect of real improvement.

This report describes the historical pattern of different kinds of violations - political killing, torture and ill-treatment, political imprisonment and the death penalty - paying particular attention to the period since 1989, when the government began publicly to assert a commitment to protecting human rights. It describes the different groups of people who have been targeted, as well as the official agencies responsible for the violations. Finally, the report contains recommendations which would help to end the most serious violations if the government and the international community were to implement them.

East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and still occupied in defiance of United Nations (UN) resolutions, has seen some of the worst violations. The seriousness of the problem was brought home to many in November 1991, when Indonesian troops gunned down as many as 270 peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital. Political killings are not a new phenomenon in East Timor. They are part of a broader pattern of violations which has persisted for nearly 20 years.

Similar patterns of human rights violations have been documented during counter-insurgency operations in Aceh and Irian Jaya where the government faces both peaceful and armed opposition. In these areas, as in East Timor, military authorities have been free to employ virtually any means to maintain national security, order and stability.

Systematic violations have also occurred in parts of Indonesia generally portrayed as stable and harmonious, such as the islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali, Sulawesi and Kalimantan, the regions of Nusa Tenggara and Maluku, and even the capital city, Jakarta. Throughout the country, serious human rights violations have been part of the official response to political opposition and "disorder," and the means of removing perceived obstacles to economic policies. This response has become known in Indonesia as the "security approach."

Wherever they occur, the violations by government forces show a remarkable uniformity. That uniformity stems from certain

basic features of the Indonesian political system. The armed forces, and particularly military intelligence and counter-insurgency units, have enormous influence. Counter-insurgency strategies in Indonesia entail both deliberate and unintended violations of human rights. The President and the executive have virtually absolute power which is used arbitrarily, without any effective domestic check. Ideological conformity is enforced at gunpoint. The legal system reflects and reinforces executive and military power, and the judiciary is neither independent nor impartial. Those responsible for human rights violations are almost never brought to justice.

These are the principal factors behind the pattern of human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor. The violations are not isolated occurrences, nor are they the work of a handful of poorly disciplined soldiers, as the government has sometimes claimed. They are the product of a network of institutions, standard operating procedures and ideological assumptions which underpin the government's response to expressions of dissent or signs of disorder.

Indonesia became a member of the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1991. The government has since adopted a cynical stance on human rights. In response to criticism at home and abroad it has taken a number of steps to demonstrate its commitment to protecting human rights. It has hosted human rights seminars, established a National Human Rights Commission, and punished a small number of soldiers responsible for human rights violations. At the same time the government has continued to brand human rights activists "subversives" and "enemies of the state." It has also failed to address the root causes of human rights violations. Until this is done, there can be little hope of any real change in the human rights situation.

Human rights under the New Order: an overview

Political killings provide the most dramatic evidence of the magnitude of the human rights problem in Indonesia and East Timor. The slaughter which followed the 1965 coup - between 500,000 and one million people were killed - appears to have established a precedent for dealing with political opponents. In East Timor 200,000 people, one third of the population, were killed or died of starvation or disease after Indonesia invaded in 1975.

In Aceh some 2,000 civilians were killed between 1989 and 1993 during counter-insurgency operations. Hundreds of people have been extrajudicially executed in Irian Jaya over the past 15 years. The killings have also occurred outside counter-

insurgency operations. Soldiers and police have opened fire on peaceful protesters, resulting in hundreds of deaths over the years. Scores of civilians were killed by government troops in the Tanjung Priok area of Jakarta in September 1984, ostensibly in an effort to control a riotous crowd. At least 40 civilians, and possibly as many as 100, were killed in February 1989 when government forces launched a combined land and air assault on a village in Lampung, which the military claimed was harbouring a Muslim rebel gang. In September 1993 soldiers opened fire on a peaceful protest by farmers in Madura, killing four. The list of victims continues to grow.

Convicted criminals have also been singled out and arbitrarily killed. Between 1983 and 1985, government death squads summarily executed an estimated 5,000 alleged criminals in Indonesian cities. In 1989 the President boasted that the killings were deliberate government policy: "shock therapy" to bring crime under control. The government's "mysterious killing" campaign, as it was known, drew to an end in 1986, but police forces have continued to employ excessive force in dealing with suspected criminals. In early 1994, the Jakarta police force launched "Operation Cleansing," aimed at ridding the city of criminal elements before the November summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

The torture and ill-treatment of political detainees, civilians in areas of rebel activity, and criminal suspects has become commonplace. Many of the victims have died as a result. Torture and ill-treatment have been used to obtain political or military intelligence, to extract confessions, and to terrorize and thereby seek to control individuals or whole communities.

Ever since 1965, arbitrary arrest and detention have formed an essential part of the government's armoury for suppressing dissent, gathering military and political intelligence, and maintaining "order." More than one million people were detained for involvement with the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) after the 1965 coup. Hundreds of thousands were held without charge or trial for up to 14 years. In recent years, those most likely to be arbitrarily arrested have been alleged rebels or people living in areas of suspected rebel activity. In East Timor the authorities have employed a system of short-term detention, torture and ill-treatment. In other areas victims have been held incommunicado for longer periods without charge or trial. In Aceh several hundreds, possibly thousands, of people were arbitrarily detained by military forces between 1989 and 1993, some of them for up to two years. Only about 50 were ever

brought to trial. Peaceful protesters, strikers, farmers, students, and human rights activists have also been arbitrarily detained.

In Indonesia and East Timor more than 3,000 people have been tried and sentenced to lengthy prison terms, or death, for alleged political crimes since 1965. They include some 1,000 people accused of involvement in the 1965 coup or membership of the PKI, at least 25 of whom are still in jail almost 30 years later. Other political prisoners include some 500 Muslim activists, preachers and scholars; several hundred advocates of independence for East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya; and scores of university students, workers, farmers and human rights activists. Many had neither used nor advocated violence. Some 350 political prisoners are still serving sentences of up to life imprisonment.

Political trials in Indonesia and East Timor have consistently fallen short of fair trial standards, and have often not conformed to Indonesia's own Code of Criminal Procedure. This has been particularly true in trials of people charged under the Anti-Subversion Law, which permits the suspension of the minimum guarantees and safeguards contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure. This law carries harsh punishments, including the death penalty. Virtually all political trials in Indonesia and East Timor have been show trials, intended partly to substantiate the claim that the New Order is a state based on the "rule of law," and partly as a warning to potential dissidents. Only one of thousands of defendants is known to have been acquitted of a political crime in Indonesia or East Timor.

The government has also used the judicial death penalty, particularly against its political opponents. Of the 30 people executed since 1985, 27 were political prisoners, most of whom had served more than 20 years in jail. The timing of the executions suggests they were the result of political considerations.

The periodic execution of political prisoners has served simultaneously as a reminder of the purported need for "vigilance" against subversion and as an expression of the ultimate power of the state.

Army personnel and members of elite military units, such as the Special Forces Command (Kopassus), the paramilitary Police Mobile Brigade (Brimob) and the anti-riot squads, have been responsible for most grave violations against suspected political opponents. Fewer abuses are attributed to members of regular police units, mainly because they play a minor role in counter-insurgency operations and in the arrest of political suspects. However, police personnel are chiefly responsible for the torture, ill-treatment and sometimes death,

of criminal suspects. Serious violations have also been committed by members of government-sponsored military and police auxiliary forces, and by prison guards and officials.

The victims of human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor have come from all religious and ethnic groups, with little regard to age, gender or social standing. But the poor and the dispossessed, including farmers, urban slum dwellers and workers, make up the majority of the victims.

International acquiescence

The international community has, until recently, remained silent in the face of systematic human rights abuse in Indonesia and East Timor. There is a simple reason for this silence: from its inception, Indonesia's New Order government has been an important friend and ally to the West, and has been spared criticism by its Asian neighbours and member states of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

With the fourth largest population in the world, a vast store of natural resources and a huge supply of cheap labour, Indonesia has always been seen as an economic prize. The decimation of the PKI in 1965 and 1966, the overthrow of the militant nationalist Sukarno and his replacement by a staunchly anti-communist military regime dramatically improved economic opportunities and, just as importantly, offered substantial political benefits to the West at the height of the Cold War. Sitting astride critical sea-lanes of Southeast Asia which link the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Indonesia was then, and remains today, of considerable strategic importance. As a result, from 1965 and throughout the Cold War, the United States of America (USA) and many other western countries provided abundant economic, military and political support, and found it expedient to ignore clear evidence of systematic human rights violations.

Since the Cold War ended, the political imperatives of anti-communism have been supplanted by a preoccupation with "democratization" and "good governance." Some western governments have now begun to voice concern about Indonesia's human rights record, particularly in East Timor. Many expressed outrage over the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991; condemnation followed the sentencing of East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusã in May 1993; and a series of UN resolutions and statements in 1992, 1993 and 1994 openly criticized Indonesia for its poor human rights record in East Timor. In a significant shift from previous practice, some governments have taken concrete

measures to underline their human rights concerns. In the aftermath of the Santa Cruz massacre, for example, the Netherlands announced plans to link economic assistance to human rights improvements. Canada and Denmark temporarily froze new development aid commitments, although aid already in the pipeline continued to flow. In 1993 Belgium made bilateral aid commitments conditional on respect for human rights. In mid-1993 Italy ended all military transfers to Indonesia, citing human rights concerns.

The US Congress and Administration have also taken significant steps. In 1992 and again in 1993, Congress cut funds for military education and training to the Indonesian armed forces, subject to substantial improvements in human rights practices. In 1993 Congress prevented the sale of fighter jets to Indonesia on human rights grounds. The US Government has also warned the Indonesian Government that it might lose its trading privileges unless it substantially improves labour rights.

Nevertheless, the international community's response to Indonesia's human rights record leaves much to be desired. Many governments, while publicly professing concern over human rights in Indonesia and East Timor, continue to supply military equipment to Indonesia - equipment which could be used to commit human rights violations.

Others have provided military training to, or have conducted joint exercises with, Indonesian armed forces' units well-known for human rights abuse. In 1993 the British Government approved the sale of 40 jet fighters to the Indonesian Government; Germany sold three submarines and 39 other navy vessels, some equipped with missile launchers; and the Swiss Government approved the sale of ammunition and parts for anti-aircraft guns. In mid-1993 the Australian military conducted joint exercises and training with Indonesia's counter-insurgency unit, Kopassus, which has been responsible for grave abuses over many years. In October 1993, the European Commission rejected proposals for an embargo on arms sales to Indonesia.

While some governments have linked economic assistance to human rights performance, most aid donors have increased their level of aid to Indonesia. In the two years since the Santa Cruz massacre, the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), a development aid consortium which meets annually to agree bilateral and multilateral development assistance, has consistently increased its total disbursement.⁽¹⁾ Nor has concern for human rights had any noticeable impact on trading patterns. The willingness

of foreign governments to conduct business as usual sends a clear signal that human rights take second place to economic interests.

Not only do foreign governments continue to provide economic and military support to the government, they also turn away refugees from repression in Indonesia. Several European governments, including Finland, Sweden and the Vatican, have violated their obligations under international law when dealing with asylum-seekers who sought refuge in their diplomatic premises in Indonesia. Several Asian states, including Japan, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea, have either refused protection to asylum-seekers who entered their embassies, or have forcibly returned them to Indonesia despite the serious risks. Some governments have attempted to justify their actions by citing assurances from the Indonesian authorities that the asylum-seekers would not be persecuted if returned or transferred. However, official Indonesian assurances of the safety of asylum-seekers have been routinely breached.

An even more fundamental problem is that the international community has focused almost exclusively on the human rights problem in East Timor and, even there, only on the most dramatic incidents such as the Santa Cruz massacre.

Grave violations committed by Indonesian forces in Aceh, Irian Jaya, Java, the capital city, Jakarta - and throughout the archipelago - have gone virtually unnoticed. On the few occasions when human rights violations outside East Timor have troubled the international conscience, these have been treated as isolated incidents. This report shows that human rights abuse is not confined to East Timor, and that the killing, torture and political imprisonment reported from various parts of Indonesia are far from isolated incidents; they are part of the pattern of systematic human rights violations which has unfolded over more than a quarter of a century.

Only the East Timor sub-sections are included in the following excerpts:

2 ARMED OPPOSITION AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY

The island of Timor lies some 400 miles to the north of Australia and about 1,300 miles from Jakarta. The eastern part of the island, East Timor, was a Portuguese colony until 1975. In November 1975, following a brief civil war, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) declared East Timor's independence. The following month, on the pretext of ending the

civil war, Indonesian forces invaded the territory and have occupied it ever since.

Indonesia declared East Timor its 27th province in July 1976, but its sovereignty has never been recognized by the UN. Some governments, such as the USA, have given de facto recognition to Indonesia's claim; the Australian Government has formally recognized Indonesian sovereignty. However, by mid-1994, the people of East Timor had yet to exercise a free and fair act of self-determination.

Armed and peaceful opposition to Indonesian rule has continued since 1975 in spite of a massive Indonesian military presence and widespread human rights violations. For much of that time, resistance was spearheaded by Fretilin, and its armed wing Falintil.

In the late 1980s a united front - the Maubere Council of National Resistance (CNRM) - was formed, which incorporated Fretilin, the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) and other pro-independence groups. Although a small guerrilla force still operates in East Timor, most opposition to Indonesian rule takes the form of non-violent underground resistance by farmers, students, young people and civil servants.

The Indonesian Government has repeatedly announced plans to withdraw troops from the territory. However, according to official military figures, nine army battalions - some 6,000 troops - were deployed in the territory in early 1994. One battalion was withdrawn in late 1993, but was replaced almost immediately by other forces, including 200 combat troops of the elite Strategic Reserve Command (KOSTRAD), and a unit of the Police Mobile Brigade (Brimob).

4 EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTION

As many as 270 civilians were killed on 12 November 1991, and immediately thereafter, when government troops opened fire on a peaceful procession at the Santa Cruz cemetery, in Dili. Most were shot while attempting to flee and others were beaten and stabbed. There were reports that dozens of people, including witnesses, were killed in the following weeks; some were recovering from their wounds in a military hospital. The victims were among some 2,000 people who had joined a procession to the cemetery following a memorial mass for Sebastião Gomes, reportedly killed by Indonesian security forces on 28 October 1991. The shooting took place five to 10 minutes after the crowd had reached the cemetery. Some banners had been hung, people talked among themselves and a number shouted pro-independence slogans such as "Long live East Timor!." At that point, a large contin-

gent of armed soldiers arrived, some on foot, others in vehicles.

Tension rose as the soldiers approached; people began to move away in fear. According to eye-witnesses, the foot soldiers marched to the entrance of the cemetery, formed a line about 12 men abreast, then opened fire on the crowd. No warning was given. Many of the dead were shot in the back.

The walls of the cemetery and the large number of people made it difficult to escape, but the shooting continued even as people tried to flee. An eye-witness said that minutes after the shooting began he saw about 100 bodies lying on the ground. Witnesses who had taken cover inside the cemetery said they saw soldiers beating wounded people with truncheons and the butts of their weapons. One foreigner, discovered by soldiers while hiding in the cemetery, said:

"I left the crypt with at least 10 people bleeding profusely and several dead. All the way to the entrance of the cemetery I was confronted by soldiers brandishing knives and thrusting them towards my face. I was kicked and beaten and had guns put to my head while they screamed at me."

One of the dead was Domingos Segurado, who taught at the Portuguese language school in Dili. An activist in the underground resistance, he was one of the organizers of the protest, and had been in hiding for several weeks before. A reporter whom Domingos Segurado helped, remembers him as "an extremely gentle man... trying to bring about change in a non-violent way."

After the massacre, the bodies of the dead were loaded onto military trucks and buried in unmarked graves or dumped at sea. At least 91 of the wounded were taken to military hospital and an estimated 300 people were arrested in mopping-up operations. There were credible reports that some of those in hospital were ill-treated, and that some were deliberately "finished off." Military authorities prevented relatives, the UN Special Rapporteur on torture and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) from visiting those in prison and hospital.

There were unconfirmed reports that another 60 to 80 people were killed on 15 November, and their bodies buried in large unmarked graves outside Dili. According to these reports, the victims were taken in military trucks from various prisons in Dili to a place on the outskirts of town. Before being loaded onto the trucks, the prisoners were reportedly made to strip naked, blindfolded and had their hands tied behind their backs. They were reportedly taken to the

edge of newly dug ditches and shot with automatic weapons.

Facing a storm of local and international protest, Indonesian government and military authorities expressed regret at the loss of life at Santa Cruz and promised a prompt investigation (see pages 44 to 45). However, from the outset, they attempted to justify the action of the security forces and to place responsibility for the massacre on the mourners themselves. Military authorities claimed that soldiers had been forced to shoot when "the mob attacked them brutally." Such claims were at odds with eyewitness testimony, and other evidence including film footage, that the procession was peaceful and that the soldiers fired without warning and without provocation. Some military officials took a more bellicose stance. One day after the massacre, the Commander of the Armed Forces (now Vice-President), General Try Sutrisno, said that people in the procession had spread chaos" by unfurling posters with slogans discrediting the government, and by shouting many unacceptable things." In response, he said, the soldiers had fired shots into the air, ..."but they persisted with their misdeeds...In the end, they had to be shot. These ill-bred people have to be shot...and we will shoot them."

5 TORTURE, ILL-TREATMENT AND DEATH

Since the invasion of 1975, real and suspected supporters of independence for East Timor have been routinely ill-treated and tortured by Indonesian military personnel. Torture has been facilitated by the practice of unacknowledged, arbitrary detention, by the existence of numerous secret detention centres and by the virtual autonomy granted to the military in East Timor to crush all opposition. Speaking to a journalist in April 1993, the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Belo, said that political prisoners there are tortured "just like two plus two equals four." In his January 1992 report the UN Special Rapporteur on torture concluded that torture was common in East Timor, and offered 11 concrete recommendations to prevent it. In 1992 and again in 1993 the UN Commission on Human Rights urged the government to implement these recommendations. The government promised to do so but, by mid-1994, it had begun to implement only one of them, with the formation of a National Human Rights Commission.

An East Timorese youth arrested in September 1992, eight months after the UN appeal, gave the following account of his treatment in custody:

"I was accused of being the leader of the clandestine group...Since I de-

nied this, they began again with their dreadful torture: electric shocks, beatings with a club and, while forced to kneel on sharp rocks, I was burned with cigarettes and electric irons. Today my whole body bears the scars resulting from this torture.

"During the interrogations one of my colleagues...was also brought in and subjected to torture. When I first saw him, I was totally unable to recognize him because of the physical state he was in."

Torture has sometimes resulted in hospitalization and death. Two youths, among 20 students arrested during a military operation in Baucau district in December 1992, reportedly died as a result of torture. Adelino Gomes Fonsesca was one of them. After being interrogated he was returned to a room where another student was being held. He had been badly beaten, was bleeding and his eyes were so swollen he could barely open them. He was suffering from severe pains in his chest and was breathing with difficulty. He died in the early hours of 25 December.

Torture and ill-treatment in East Timor is not confined to those suspected of political opposition. The relatives of real or suspected political opponents - including young girls and elderly men and women - have also been subjected to torture and ill-treatment, including rape, in an effort to obtain information on the whereabouts or activities of their relatives, or to force those being sought to give themselves up.

One woman and her family suffered several days of torture in Baucau by soldiers searching for her son whom they suspected of membership of a pro-independence group. The woman was arrested on 8 September 1992 and interrogated. When she denied knowing where her son was, she was stripped naked, beaten and kicked and given electric shocks.

Three days after her arrest, one of her nephews and her sister-in-law were called in for questioning and were also tortured. The 19-year-old nephew was beaten, kicked and given electric shocks; he was stripped naked, lighted cigarettes were applied to his genitals and his pubic hair was set alight. The sister-in-law was beaten, kicked, stripped naked and tortured with electric shocks, and repeatedly sexually abused by soldiers during her five days in detention. The Indonesian authorities have consistently denied allegations of ill-treatment and torture in East Timor, and have instead questioned the political motives of those who have reported them. The authorities have sometimes promised to investigate reports of torture, but have seldom actually done so.

6 POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT AND UNFAIR TRIAL

Many thousands of East Timorese have been detained without charge or trial since the invasion of 1975, several hundreds of whom subsequently "disappeared." Hundreds of others have been convicted of opposing Indonesian rule in show trials that began in the mid-1980s. As the UN does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, the competence of Indonesian courts to try East Timorese for opposition to Indonesian rule is open to question.

As of mid-1994 some 20 East Timorese were serving sentences ranging from a few years to life imprisonment for subversion, "expressing hostility" to the government or other political crimes. Most were accused of organizing the procession to the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991, or the peaceful protest against the massacre held in Jakarta later that month. Many were held incommunicado and tortured while being interrogated. The comments of prosecutors and judges during their trials indicated that they were being punished principally because they had contributed to the government's international embarrassment.

Among those tried in 1992 were Francisco Miranda Branco, who was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, and Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, sentenced to life imprisonment. They were convicted of subversion for organizing the procession to the Santa Cruz cemetery. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha said that he and other detainees had been "...obliged to give an explanation in accordance with the wishes of the investigators, not according to the true facts." Fernando Araujo and João Freitas da Camara were also convicted of subversion. They were sentenced to nine and 10 years' imprisonment for organizing the Jakarta protest march. In his verdict the judge said that Fernando Araujo was guilty of "undermining the Indonesia government and disgracing the nation in the eyes of the international community," because he had sent information about human rights violations to the ICRC and to Amnesty International.

The prime example of a political show trial in East Timor was that of Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for rebellion and illegal possession of firearms on 21 May 1993. Conscious of the strong international criticism of its human rights record in East Timor, the government took unusual steps to make Xanana Gusmão's trial appear open and fair.

Selected foreign journalists, diplomats and some international human rights organizations were allowed to observe the trial. In an effort to further appease international

opinion, in August 1993 the President reduced Xanana Gus ã's sentence to 20 years' imprisonment. However, long before the trial started it was clear that Xanana Gus ã was unlikely to get a fair hearing.

Xanana Gus ã was captured on 20 November 1992, and held in secret military custody for 17 days before ICRC representatives were permitted to see him. He was denied access to a lawyer while under interrogation, and was not allowed to appoint legal counsel of his choice, as required by law. Lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute were not permitted to visit him, despite having been given power of attorney by his relatives. A defence lawyer was finally appointed on 26 January 1993, six days before the trial began.

The trial itself was marked by the violation of basic international and domestic standards of fairness. Prosecution witnesses, many of them political detainees, were subjected to undue pressure from military authorities. Fear of official reprisals meant that few witnesses would testify for the defence. Neither Xanana Gus ã nor many of the witnesses were fluent in Indonesian, the language of the proceedings; the translation provided was incomplete and inaccurate. Most importantly, the judge allowed Gus ã to read only two pages of his 29-page defence plea, claiming that it was "irrelevant."

In addition to those tried, at least 400 East Timorese have been held without charge or trial, for periods ranging from a few days to several months, since late 1991. Many were denied access to their relatives, lawyers and the ICRC; some were ill-treated and tortured. About 70 East Timorese were arrested after the November 1991 Jakarta protest; 46 were detained for two months without charge. As a condition of release, all were made to sign affidavits renouncing their peaceful political beliefs and stating their willingness to face legal sanctions should they commit "offences" in the future. Shortly before a visit by UN envoy Amos Wako in February 1992, security forces briefly detained scores of East Timorese youths and sent them on "guidance courses" for the duration of the visit. The capture of Xanana Gus ã sparked off a further wave of arrests. More than 70 people, including several of his relatives, were taken into custody. Most were held incommunicado and some were tortured. Further detentions preceded a visit to the territory by a delegation of US House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee staff in September 1993. The practice of short-term arbitrary detention continues.

PIERRE SANE SPEECH ON INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

Opening statement by Pierre Sane, Secretary General Amnesty International Bangkok, 28 September 1994

AI INDEX: ASA 21/WU 16/94

Exactly one week ago, four young men were detained by military intelligence officers in Jakarta. Over two days and nights, they were grilled about their political beliefs and activities; they were beaten, kicked and given electric shocks by their interrogators.

Holding a pistol to the head of one of the men, a military officer said: "This gun is loaded. I have the right to kill you."

What provoked this assault? The four men had released balloons with pro-democracy slogans like "Uphold the Rights of Workers" and "The Constitution Guarantees Freedom of Assembly."

These four men are not alone. Arbitrary arrest and torture of suspected government critics has been routine in Indonesia and East Timor for years. But as Geoffrey found during his trip last week, there has in recent months been a dramatic escalation in this kind of official harassment and intimidation.

In the last five weeks alone, the authorities have broken up or prevented seminars, cultural events, and professional meetings throughout the country, invoking an obscure law that requires police permission for meetings of more than five people.

The banning of Indonesia's three leading news magazines in June has deepened the climate of fear among journalists.

A draft Presidential Decree now in its final stages of official approval will prevent NGOs from any involvement in politics and allow strict government control of their activities and finances.

And in the run up to November's APEC meeting, the government has flooded Jakarta with 15,000 military and police officers to clear the streets of political and criminal "undesirables" in what they call "Operation Cleansing."

Some Indonesia watchers consider these recent developments to be a momentary setback in a general trend towards increased "political openness."

But claims of greater political openness and a new found commitment to human rights have never amounted to much for those outside Indonesia's small political elite.

For most ordinary Indonesians and East Timorese, the repressive power of Indonesia's military and executive have remained intact throughout. What has changed in recent months is that the small middle class

has found that its own freedom is under threat.

The major international campaign we are launching today focuses on the last five years – and shows how hollow the government's human rights pledges have been.

In that time, human rights violations have continued unabated, even in parts of the country portrayed as stable and harmonious.

The police and military torturers and killers have continued to get away with their crimes.

And the government's human rights activities seem to be designed mainly to improve its image in international circles.

This, of course, is not the first time that the government's actions have not lived up to its words.

In March 1966, only months after the military coup which brought the current government to power, General (now President) Suharto promised that his "New Order" would "restore the rule of law" and would be free from "any form of oppression or exploitation."

Yet even as he spoke, Indonesian military forces were taking part in a grim campaign against the Communist Party, leaving more than half a million dead, and a similar number imprisoned without charge or trial.

Now, they target those who organize trade unions, oppose land developments, or test the limits of political freedom by criticizing the government or its policies.

The tensions and targets may have changed, but the premium placed on maintaining national security at all costs has not.

The government tries to brush off these violations as isolated incidents or the work of a few poorly disciplined soldiers, when in fact they are the by-product of a network of institutions, procedures and policies which the government uses to crush perceived threats to stability and order.

What's scandalous is that foreign governments have let the Indonesian authorities get away with it for so long, apparently seeing the country only as an economic prize and strategic lynch pin.

In the aftermath of the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991, a handful of governments suspended certain kinds of aid and military transfers.

But their efforts were short-lived and most have since returned to their previous habit of paying lip service to human rights while taking few concrete measures to back up their words.

Some governments have continued to supply military equipment which could be used to commit human rights violations. Others have turned away Indonesian and East Timorese asylum-seekers, and may do so again.

Foreign governments will have to stop putting economics ahead of human rights, if we are to see the fundamental policy changes necessary to restore human rights to the people of Indonesia and East Timor.

There is now a real opportunity for the international community – and that must include ASEAN governments – to act in a way that will make a difference.

Despite the government's insistence that outside scrutiny of human rights matters is unwarranted, past experience shows that scrutiny, fair criticism and concrete measures can make a difference.

The Indonesian government's increasingly active role in a human rights fora brings with it a special responsibility to accede to and abide by international human rights instruments. This is something that other governments should urge Indonesia to do.

The APEC summit which I mentioned earlier will provide an important opportunity for member governments to show that they are serious about pressing for human rights change, not only in Indonesia and East Timor, but throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

But there is now more than an opportunity to act. There is a pressing need.

Unless the Indonesian government is held to account in deed – and not just in words – there is a danger that it will continue to take advantage of its high profile within the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and within ASEAN, to re-shape the human rights agenda in a way which threatens the fundamental principle of universality.

These are the points I will be raising when I visit the governments of Japan, New Zealand and Australia over the next two weeks.

To the Indonesian government, we are making more than 20 concrete recommendations on ways to improve the human rights situation. A few of the key ones are:

- to permit independent human rights monitors to conduct thorough investigations into all violations, and ensure that the suspected perpetrators are brought to justice quickly in a civilian court
- to prevent torture and ill-treatment by giving detainees regular access to lawyers, and ensuring that statements extracted under torture are not allowed in court
- to release all prisoners of conscience, repeal the notorious Anti-Subversion Law and all other legislation that can be used to jail people for their peaceful activities or beliefs

- to permit regular and unhindered human rights monitoring by domestic and international NGOs, including Amnesty International.

Systematic human rights abuse has continued in Indonesia for nearly 30 years, and in East Timor for almost 20. We owe it to the people of Indonesia and East Timor, to make our voices heard, and to insist that our governments listen.

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT COMMENTS ON AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

From: Embassy of Indonesia <indonesia@DGS.DGSYS.COM> in Washington. September 29, 1994

The Government of Indonesia today responded to the announcement by Amnesty International that it will conduct a campaign on human rights in Indonesia, targeting the countries of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the regional trade liberalization forum. Indonesia, the current Chair of the 18-member forum, will host the forthcoming APEC leadership meeting on November 15, 1994.

The spokesperson of Indonesia's Department of Foreign Affairs, Information Director Irawan Abidin, said today: "We have long recognized the important role that organizations like Amnesty International play in highlighting human rights abuses in countries around the world. Amnesty International serves an important and honorable purpose, and the Government of Indonesia supports its objectives. But frankly its new campaign against Indonesia is a thinly veiled fundraising effort, knowing that it can increase its own visibility in this period leading up to the APEC leadership meeting in Jakarta. It is a heavy-handed tactic that ill-serves the cause of human rights."

Director Abidin went on to say, "It is discouraging, given Indonesia's record and progress on human rights, that it should launch such a campaign at this time. Amnesty's timing is unmistakably political and could back-set meaningful progress. As Amnesty International knows very well, Indonesia is now working in accordance with the UN Charter to cooperate with international organizations and with the other nations of the Asia Pacific region."

The Foreign Information Director stressed that Indonesia is deeply committed to the promotion and protection of human rights in view of the following:

* Indonesia has been a member of the United Nations Commission of Human Rights (UNHCR) since 1991 and adheres to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

* Indonesia is a signatory to the Bangkok Declaration on Human Rights which is a commitment to the observance and protection of human rights.

* Indonesia established a National Commission on Human Rights in 1993.

* Indonesia invited the United Nations Special Rapporteur to review claims of human rights abuses in July 1994. A full UN report on his finding will be published in 1995.

* Indonesia has recognized in March 1994 by the UNHCR for the "positive measures" it had taken to improve to promotion and protection of human rights in the country.

* Indonesia has permitted a wide range of official delegations – including parliamentarians, members of church organizations, journalists and representatives of various human rights organizations – to come to explore means of making further progress on human rights.

Director Abidin said: "Without doubt, we still have more progress to make here in Indonesia on the human rights front. But, we are proud of the achievements we have made in recent years and look forward to even more progress. It certainly would be more constructive having organizations like Amnesty International play a cooperative role than engaging in political rhetoric."

AMNESTY REPORT GETS THUMBS DOWN

By Yuli Ismartono

JAKARTA, Sept. 30 (IPS) - It is not surprising for the Indonesian government to dismiss allegations of abuse by human rights organisations as fabrication, but Amnesty International's hard-hitting report on Indonesia this week has got a surprising thumbs down from many Jakarta-based diplomats and political analysts.

They do not deny the existence of continuing political repression in Indonesia, but say the latest Amnesty report seems to reflect a failure to grasp the complicated nature of Indonesian politics and power play in a country of diverse ethnic and cultural groups.

They say it exaggerates abuses and does not give the government credit for progress.

"It is not inaccurate, but there seems to be a loss of perspective on the actual situation of human rights in Indonesia," says a Jakarta-based Western diplomat who has been monitoring political developments in Indonesia for the past five years.

"There is no denying political repression exists in Indonesia," the diplomat, who could not be named, said. "But to say 'ideological conformity is enforced at gunpoint' is clearly an exaggeration."

The international human rights watchdog released the report, titled 'Indonesia and East Timor: Power and Impunity' Wednesday.

day in Bangkok, where its regional office for Asia is located.

According to the organisation, the torture and killing of trade human rights activists and workers is the latest feature of the repression that it said has persisted in Indonesia for the last 30 years.

Its report covers the five-year period from 1989, the start of the Indonesian government's much-vaunted era of political openness, and asserts that there is a historical pattern of human rights abuse in the South-east Asian country.

"The violations are not isolated incidents nor the work of poorly disciplined soldiers ... but the product of a network of institutions, procedures and policies which underpin the government's response to dissent or signs of disorder," the group said.

It said Jakarta's human rights violations has been highlighted by its annexation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975, where 200,000 people had been estimated to have been killed or died of starvation and disease after the Indonesian takeover.

The United Nations has yet to recognise Indonesia's claim on East Timor, although neighbouring countries like Malaysia, the Philippines and Australia have already done so.

A wing of the ruling Australian Labour Party (ALP) has been pushing for Canberra to withdraw its recognition of Jakarta's sovereignty over East Timor.

But the Indonesian news agency Antara reported from Hobart Thursday that the ALP has softened its position during its National Congress and has merely requested Jakarta to minimize military presence in East Timor and to ensure that human rights are upheld.

Jakarta's reaction to the Amnesty report was predictably negative. Irawan Abidin, spokesman of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry told the press Thursday: "We strenuously object to the continued misleading and unfair treatment of Indonesia by Amnesty International."

So far, local papers in the Indonesia capital have chosen to ignore the report. One newspaper editor comments: "It's the usual hysterics by Amnesty, nothing new, and as usual very little proof."

Indonesian officials and diplomats here questioned the motivation of the London-based group for its unusually scathing report, with claims of torture and killing of labour activists and workers.

An Asian diplomat here says the latest incident involving a labour leader deals with the ongoing trial of Mochtar Pakpahan, accused of leading strikes in north Sumatra that left an ethnic Chinese dead.

The diplomat says he is hard-pressed to cite cases of maltreatment involving trade union members other than the infamous 1990 murder of Marsinah, a woman labour leader, who was found killed after leading a strike against the management of a firm in East Java.

"The Amnesty report seems to rake up old cases, and making them appear as new ones without much evidence," says the diplomat. "Perhaps it's their way of keeping the issue alive."

Indonesian legislators meanwhile say the human rights group has singled out Indonesia for special attacks and ignoring other governments "with similar human rights records."

Some Indonesian believe the release of the report may have been timed for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit that takes place in November. APEC chair Indonesia plays host to 17 heads of government, including U.S. President Bill Clinton.

About 2,500 foreign journalists are expected to cover the event. Officials fear the East Timor issue and other cases of political repression in Indonesia, will be raised by the foreign press.

The report's release also coincides with a current informal talk in London between East Timorese representatives from Indonesia and Portugal. The meeting, coordinated by the Portuguese-Indonesian Friendship Association headed by a daughter of Indonesian President Suharto, is the third in a series of talks between the two parties.

DEATHLY SILENCE OF THE DIPLOMATS

The Guardian (London), October 12. By John Pilger

For the first time, Amnesty International has effectively declared a leading government criminal. This is the sum of a remarkable report, just published, on Suharto's military dictatorship in Indonesia, the world's fourth largest nation. Entitled *Power and Impunity*, its 126 pages document systematic barbarities, perpetrated or condoned by the regime, "on a staggering scale."

"Hundreds of thousands of civilians," says the report, "have been killed, their mutilated corpses sometimes left in public places to rot; prisoners have been routinely tortured, some so severely that they have died or suffered permanent injury: thousands of people have been imprisoned following show trials solely for their peaceful political or religious views; scores have been shot by firing squads, some after more than two decades on death row."

Amnesty confirms that 200,000 East Timorese - a third of the population - have died under Indonesia's Illegal occupation; yet its indictment is not just about East Timor. Thousands of murders by death squads, torture, rape, wrongful imprisonment and terror have occurred "with impunity" throughout Indonesia itself, from the "harmonious" tourist island of Bali to the capital, Jakarta.

Moreover, says Amnesty, "the violations are not isolated occurrences, nor are they the work of a handful of poorly disciplined soldiers, as the government has sometimes claimed. They are the product of a network of institutions, standard operating procedures and ideological assumptions," which have continued unabated since Suharto and his fellow generals took power in the mid-1960s after "one of the worst massacres of the 20th century. In less than one year between 500,000 and one million were killed."

It is a measure of the strength of purpose behind this study that it emphasises the complicity of a "silent" international community, which has notably "spared criticism of an important friend and ally." In return for this appeasement by the West, the regime "has adopted a cynical stand on human rights ... It has hosted human rights seminars, established a National Human Rights Commission and punished a small number of soldiers responsible for human rights violations." At the same time it has branded human rights activists "subversives" and "enemies of the state" and ensured that terror remains "commonplace." Fully aware of this, western governments have supplied the regime with arms and have trained Indonesian troops whose role is "to deal with domestic rather than international threats."

This collusive cynicism is exemplified by the role of the British government, one of Jakarta's staunchest friends. For example, before the massacres of scores of East Timorese in the Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd urged the European Community to cut aid to countries that violated human rights. Shortly after the massacre, the British government increased its aid to the Suharto regime by a record 250 per cent on the previous year.

Britain is Jakarta's biggest arms supplier. The British arms industry has provided a prop to Jakarta since 1970, when a Labour foreign secretary, David Owen, echoed Indonesian propaganda that the number of East Timorese dead was "exaggerated" and sold the regime eight Hawk ground-attack aircraft. Since then, inspired by Margaret Thatcher's obsession with selling British arms to as much of the world as possible, Britain has sold, or agreed to sell, an estimated 40 Hawks. These are in addition to

Wasp helicopters, Sea Wolf and Rapier SAM missiles, Tribal Class frigates, battle field communications systems, sea-bed mine disposal equipment, Saladin, Saracen and Fernet armoured vehicles, a fully equipped Institute of Technology for the Indonesian army and training for its officers in Britain.

The correlation of "aid" and arms deals that is undeclared British policy is vividly illustrated in the relationship with Indonesia. In April last year, Douglas Hurd flew to Jakarta and agreed to give Suharto 65 million in "soft" loans. Six weeks later, Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind followed him and tied up the Hawks deal. A week later, Britain pledged 81 million in "aid" to Indonesia. Last year, 57 per cent of all Export Credit Guarantees financed arms sales to Asia, principally the Indonesian Hawks deal.

Does this sound familiar? In November 1988, shortly after the gassing of 5,000 Kurds by Saddam Hussein, Trade Minister Tony Newton flew to Baghdad and gave the Iraqi dictator 340 million in Export Credit Guarantees. The following year, an ECG department memo said that British goods were "destined for Iraq, to be incorporated into a chemical weapons factory."

Central to British policy has been propaganda. Indeed, Foreign Office disinformation on Indonesia provides a valuable model of the way a "civilised" government protects and promotes the interests of a criminal elite while excusing its "excesses" and misrepresenting its true nature. If you write to the Foreign Office about East Timor, you are likely to receive this statement: "Indonesia's human rights record remains imperfect, but progress is being made. The Indonesian government has declared its commitment to human rights."

Set against Amnesty's evidence of "casual mass murder," this is a breathless claim, though no more so than the deception that British officials are engaged in "quiet diplomacy" to improve human rights in Indonesia. According to secret telexes leaked to the Guardian's Margaret Coles last year, Foreign Office officials lied to the Labour MP, Greg Pope, that the Government was pressing Jakarta to allow access to the imprisoned East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão. False assurances given to the MP, said an internal memo from a senior official, "are for stonewalling."

The official briefer currently dealing with East Timor and Indonesia at the FO is Carol Robson, deputy head of the South East Asian Department. Robson says she has studied human rights for years. The enthusiasm with which she defends the Suharto tyranny has greatly impressed those who have attended her briefings. When Indonesian troops brutally attacked religious dem-

onstrators in East Timor in July, this was dismissed by Robson as "squaddie indiscipline." She has worked hard, and unsuccessfully, at trying to discredit East Timorese eye witness accounts of bombing by British Hawks. "It takes 20 years' planespotting," she said, "to identify a Hawk." Robson's comments were shown to a former British Aerospace engineer who replied that "the Hawk is a distinctive aircraft, easily recognisable by anyone being attacked by them."

Robson claimed that the Indonesians lacked the technical skills and equipment to convert the Hawks from trainers to attack aircraft. The engineer pointed out that BAe promotional material made it clear that "Hawks can be modified on site to the five pylon ground-attack standard" and that conversion was "relatively simple." Mark Higson, the former Foreign Office official who gave evidence to the Scott Inquiry on arms sales to Iraq, told me that "everybody at the FO knows that the Hawk can be utilised as an offensive weapon and that so-called assurances from Jakarta are worthless."

Since the 1960s, British policy on Indonesia has been, as the CBI once put it, to exploit the "enormous potential" of the "favourable political climate" that followed the bloodbath of Suharto's coming to power. In British high street shops, the labels on many of the cheapest bags, jeans, trainers, toys and other consumer goods say "Made in Indonesia." They are made on huge sweatshop estates, most of them run by famous-name multinationals, employing some of the cheapest labour in Asia; Indonesian workers, mostly females, earn around 90 pence a day, usually less. The factories are infiltrated by goons of state intelligence; "troublemakers" are kidnapped and "disappeared," and often murdered.

In covering for Indonesia's appalling human rights record, Douglas Hurd has led the way. In a speech at the Indonesian foreign ministry in Jakarta last year, Hurd congratulated the Suharto regime on "recognising human rights as an important element in man's freedom." What the regime had achieved was "proof of its recognition of basic freedoms, such as freedom of unions, freedom to express opinion, and press freedom, as a fundamental right."

But Amnesty's report is full of the bearing stones of Indonesians who have tried in vain to claim their "fundamental right."

Trade unions have been a particular target; Marsinah, a factory worker, aged 25, was "disappeared," tortured, raped and murdered in East Java last year because of her work as a labour activist. According to Amnesty, all the evidence points to the regime as her killer. The only independent trade union, SBSI, was banned this year and

its leader, Muchtar Pakpahan, put on trial for "inciting worker unrest."

Hurd also praised "the freedom to express opinion." As a novelist himself, he may have heard of Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Indonesia's most distinguished novelist, who was imprisoned for 14 years. All his books are banned and students have been sentenced to long prison terms for possessing them. As for "press freedom," three magazines were banned this year, and protesting journalists beaten in the streets of Jakarta. "The domestic and international media operate under restrictions," says Amnesty, "which require minimal intervention. Censorship usually takes the form of a telephone call or a visit from Ministry of Information officials or military intelligence ... By denying visas to foreign journalists, the authorities have encouraged self-censorship." The reporting of Jakarta-based correspondents reflects this. It is often anodyne, at worst deferential to the regime. The coverage of the recent visit by five British MPs, led by Patrick Nicholls, a Tory backbencher who is virtually Jakarta's spokesman in Britain, was not untypical. Nicholls was reported as saying that the "human rights situation in East Timor is improving" and he congratulated the regime for guaranteeing press freedom and responding to criticism "in a positive manner," ad nauseam. No reference was made to Nicholls's record of closeness to the regime, to the fact that his absurd statements are used in official propaganda, that his expenses were paid by the regime, that the more visible troops were taken off the streets of Dili, East Timor, during the visit of his "all party" fact-finding mission, which included not a single Opposition MP.

Next month the Asian Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) will be held in Jakarta. President Clinton and other heads of government are going. The regime is understandably nervous. While the presence of its allies and backers will provide some respectability, the role of some 2,000 expected foreign journalists is less than certain, especially if the popular resistance - including scores of banned Indonesian journalists - once again brave the military's truncheons on the streets.

The military commander of Jakarta, Major-General Hendro Priyono, has warned that if anyone protests, "I'll cut them to pieces." His words may well have been reported from Jakarta, but I have yet to see them. Perhaps they were intercepted by the "media centre," which has been set up for the APEC meetings with the aim of "tackling bad news." According to Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, the media centre "will provide immediate and precise responses to issues with a negative tone against Indonesia

from abroad on human rights, democratization, workers' rights," etcetera.

THE general's threat to cut protesters to pieces was, however, reported by one of the many courageous Indonesian journalists who put their Western colleagues to shame. He is Ahmad Taufik, a young writer on the banned weekly, *Tempo*, who has helped to set up the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI). Taufik was in London last week. He saw Carol Robson at the Foreign Office and she told him that the British government had protested at the press bans. Taufik replied that this was news to him. She said the protest had been delivered "in private." She also told him that the "human rights situation is improving." He told her that this wasn't true. She said the "lighter punishment" given out to protesting journalists (who were beaten by police) was proof that "conditions have improved." He said she was referring to people whose crime was to have read poetry in public. Such is her dedication.

My own meeting with Ahmad Taufik made me proud to be a journalist. He described the terrible psychological pressure on the banned journalists and their supporters - phone calls through the night, threats, arbitrary interrogation. He is worried about Mulyana Kusuna, who heads the Legal Aid Institute and has been interrogated almost daily. Was he concerned for himself when he returned? "I must speak the truth," he said.

I asked him if British and other Western support for the regime was important. "It is extremely important," he said. "It means that the regime can go on ignoring human rights. At the very least, Britain should not sell them weapons. This reinforces their will to stop the movement towards democracy. Is that what the British want?"

TIMOR GAP TREATY

100 MILLION BARREL OIL STRIKE IN TIMOR GAP

Heard on ABC (Australia)-TV news Oct. 10, and summarised.

Woodside Petroleum announced today that it has discovered a deposit of oil at Laminaria One, in the Timor Gap. There could be more than 100 million barrels of crude oil in the 102m column.

Australia currently imports crude oil, so when this deposit comes on stream it will benefit Australia's balance of trade.

Further oil discoveries are possible, as the area around the strike is relatively unexplored.

AUSTRALIA ON TRIAL

Expresso, 8 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon - Australia is going to be put on trial in January by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for having reached agreement with Indonesia to embark on joint exploration of oil and natural gas deposits in the Sea of Timor. This revelation, which emerged during the week in which Lisbon and Jakarta agreed to initiate talks with Timorese factions both for and against integration of East Timor with Indonesia, was made to *Expresso* by Miguel Galvao Telles, the attorney of the Portuguese State in the legal action against the Canberra Government.

The complaint, lodged by Portugal as soon as the treaty was signed by the Australian and Indonesian Governments in February 1991, will be considered at a preliminary public hearing on 30 January at the headquarters of the ICJ in The Hague. At this hearing, lawyers for both countries will present their statements of defense. Although the seventeen judges are not bound to pronounce their verdict within any specific time period, Miguel Galvao Telles pointed out that the "decision of the ICJ is binding." In other words, if Australia is found guilty, it will have to abandon its claims on the Sea of Timor, an area covering over 60,000 sq. kms., the oil resources of which are estimated to be in the region of five billion barrels.

However, an ICJ diplomatic source insisted that the Court is unlikely to rule that the Jakarta-Canberra bilateral treaty be abolished, but rather recommend that Australia be held internationally accountable for having agreed to exploit the natural resources of a territory being occupied illegally.

"BUS THE TIMOR GAP" PROTEST, DARWIN

Report by Rob Wesley-Smith on protest action in Darwin 14 Oct.

This protest in Darwin was part of a national day of action called by various East Timor support groups nationally. In Darwin the organization was done mainly by Sally of University Students for East Timor (who provided a bus) and Tim of the 'Resistance,' but in fact supported by the usual rather small band of dedicated supporters and a handful of East Timorese, including José Gusmão, Veronica and Tony Maia.

The format was very successful, opening some eyes especially mine to the benefits of sitting inside an air-conditioned bus in the tropics, with signs and banners all over it, and driving around taking the message to the people instead of standing in one spot in the

heat and waiting for them to come to us! It also made for some fun as our good sports police tried to anticipate our next destination, or to follow through city traffic and lights - a cheer went up for our driver Emma as she just caught the lights leaving police stranded.

We targeted 2 oil Companies and the National Bank which is a major corporate investor in Timor Sea oil companies. All 3 groups had agreed to meet us, but were quite nervous, not being used to contact with normal human beings. Santos was the first stop and we talked to a sympathetic technical manager, a Scot, still after his self-determination he said.

Good vibes. BHP (The Big Australian) turned out to be the ugly and greedy Australian, insisting on a confrontational meeting on the footpath in the blazing sun. José Gusmão pointed out they would have to deal with East Timorese one day. The National Bank had no desire to speak to us having got the letter in the mail.

The very large friendly police presence was I believe due to there being a new Commissioner, the presence in Darwin of the Indonesian Asst. Attorney General, and a recent proactive anti-uranium demo a week or so earlier. We now need to compile responses from around the country to decide on likely best targets for further protests and cooperation, looking to build some productive relationships for the future.

Coming Events:

16/10 is the anniversary of the murder of 5 journalists at Balibo, East Timor, 16 Oct. 74, by Indonesian forces.

Saturday 12/11 is Dili Massacre anniversary (12/11/91)

Tuesday 15/11 start of APEC conference in Jakarta, 2000 journos expected, many to go East Timor after. So this time is a good time to be visiting East Timor if ever you were to.

Wednesday 7/12 is full-scale invasion anniversary (7/12/75)

Also 11/11/94 in Sydney will see the premiere of an audio-visual music theatre piece "Quito" by Martin and Peter Wesley-Smith, about an East Timorese man, his life and tragic death. Further info ph: (+61) 02 8102238 or from myself (+62) 089-831113.

Last week July 1995... conference and action in Darwin? Expressions of interest welcomed. AFFET ph/fax 61 89 832113.

OIL FIND RAISES STAKES IN COURT BATTLE

By Kalinga Seneviratne

SYDNEY, Oct. 24 (IPS) - A major oil discovery in the Timor Sea has raised the stakes in the legal battle being fought be-

tween Portugal, – supported by the East Timorese resistance movement – and Australia at the World Court, say activists here.

The oil find, announced last week by Woodside Petroleum, is believed to be anything from 100 to 300 million barrels. Shortly after the news broke, the West Australia-based firm's share prices jumped from 21 cents to 3.64 dollars.

But the discovery also lies just outside the boundary of the Australia-Indonesia Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation, and activists say it is yet one more proof that the disputed area has the potential of being one of the most important offshore oil fields in the world.

Indeed, the newest find in the Timor Sea has added more fuel to activists' accusations that Australia's tacit support for Jakarta regarding East Timor has more to do with oil than with keeping friendly relations with its big Asian neighbour.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and formally annexed it a year later. But while neighbouring countries including Australia have recognised Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor, the United Nations still regards Portugal as the administering power there.

Timor Gap is the 60,000 sq. km stretch of deep water between the north-western coast of Australia and Indonesia's extreme south-east. In 1990, the two countries signed a treaty under which they would share the oil wealth believed to lie in the sea bed.

The Gap has since attracted nine of the world's biggest oil companies, which have ploughed more than 250 million dollars in exploration efforts there. These firms have signed contracts to drill 23 wells in the Gap by early 1995, and another 22 by the end of 1997.

But Portugal, which was the colonial ruler of East Timor for almost 500 years until 1975, has mounted a legal challenge against Australia in the World Court in The Hague over the Timor Gap Treaty. Supporting Lisbon in the suit is the East Timor independence movement, the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM).

Sydney-based CNRM leader José Ramos Horta says they have no particular objection to Australian oil drilling activities in the Timor Sea region. What they object to, he says, is Australia entering into a treaty with Indonesia for exploiting the resources.

In its papers filed last year at The Hague, Portugal has argued that Australia infringed on international law by negotiating a treaty with Jakarta and not with Lisbon. Australia subsequently submitted a reply, and the World Court is expected to make a ruling on the case next year.

If the World Court rules in Portugal's favour, the 1990 treaty between Australia and Indonesia that permits drilling in the Timor Gap will be revoked.

But international law expert Rafiqul Islam of Sydney's Macquarie University says it may be difficult for Portugal to convince the World Court about its case.

He says the outcome of the case hinges on whether or not an 'act of self-determination' has taken place in East Timor – in other words, if a majority of the East Timorese have endorsed Indonesia's annexation of their homeland. Jakarta claims this has been done, although many scholars and political analysts say it has not.

For the Timor Gap Treaty to be judged a flagrant violation of international law, Islam says it should first be established that the East Timorese are entitled to self-determination. It could then be argued that the East Timorese, not the Indonesians, are entitled to share the oil wealth in the Timor Gap.

Last February, the Elang-1 well became the first significant – and commercial – oil find inside the disputed zone when it showed an output of 5,800 barrels a day from a depth of 3,006 metres.

Last week's discovery lies about 70 km north-west of the Elang-1 well, just outside the zone's boundary. According to Woodside Petroleum, which has a 50 percent stake in the oil well, the Laminaria-1 well had flowed light oil at a daily rate of 5,900 barrels during a ten-hour testing period.

Stuart Cave, a spokesman for the Australia-Indonesia Joint Authority for the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation, told a local magazine this month that the world average is one discovery per 20 wells. But in the Timor Sea, it has been one discovery in 11.

Estimates of the Gap's oil wealth runs from three to seven million barrels.

In August, the Australian High Court ruled against a petition filed by Horta and two other Timorese exiles challenging the validity of the treaty. According to the court, the treaty was valid under the Australian constitution.

But the judgment left a question mark over the treaty's legality under international law, saying this was beyond the jurisdiction of the Australian court system.

INDONESIA FLAUNTS EAST TIMOR'S RESOURCES

ETAN/US Network News, Nov. 1994

The First Energy Indonesia Outlook conference will bring together high-level Indonesian officials with US oil and mining company representatives in Houston. Discussion at the three-day event – sponsored by

the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesia American Business Association, and the East-West Center – will no doubt include the exploitation of oil from the Timor Gap. Oil which rightfully belongs to the people of East Timor.

ETAN/Texas will hold a demonstration on December 7 outside the conference venue (the Wyndham Warwick Hotel) to protest Indonesian expropriation of East Timor's oil wealth and to warn companies about buying stolen property (if they don't already know). December 7 is not only the conference's kickoff day, but also the 19th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor (coincidence or arrogance?). Demonstrators will meet in Houston on evening of December 6 to prepare for an early setup the following morning.

For more information, contact:

ETAN/Texas: Patrick Brooks (713)952-7267 or Gordon Banner (512)339-8265; email: gbanner@igc.apc.org.

UNITED NATIONS ACTIVITIES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTS 158-ITEM AGENDA FOR FORTY-NINTH REGULAR SESSION

Press Release from UN, 23 September, Summary, Excerpts.

New Items Include Situation in Occupied Territories of Croatia, International War Crime Tribunal and Criteria for Observer Status

The General Assembly this morning adopted a 158-item agenda for its forty-ninth session, including a new item on the situation in the occupied territories of Croatia.

That new item will be considered in the Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonization), and another new item on the agenda – question of criteria for the granting of observer status in the General Assembly – will be considered in the Sixth Committee (Legal). The following three new items will be considered directly in plenary: the report of the International Tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991; commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War; and observer status for the South Pacific Forum in the General Assembly.

...

On the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Assembly decided to refer to the Fourth Committee chapters of the report of the Special Committee relating to specific Territories so that the Assembly might deal in plenary with the question of the implementation of the Declaration as a whole.

The Assembly also decided to defer until its next regular session items on the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India and the question of East Timor.

PERSONAL COMMITMENT FROM GHALI ON TIMOR

Publico, 21 September 1994. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Boutros Ghali is going to make every effort to ensure that the talks between all Timorese are extended, and that meetings between Durão Barroso and integrationists, and Ali Alatas and members of the resistance are facilitated. This promise of a personal undertaking by the UN Secretary General to ensure the materialisation of these two initiatives (among the Conclusions of the last negotiating round between Lisbon and Jakarta last May - are contained in a report from Ghali to the UN General Assembly.

“I intend to facilitate these meetings in the near future,” states Boutros Ghali, referring to the contacts between the Ministers and Timorese from the opposing camps. With regard to the extended dialogue, he makes a similar commitment: “I shall soon be carrying out a series of consultations with different Timorese groups and personalities, with a view to facilitating wider discussion among Timorese.”

These efforts will be put into effect before Durão Barroso, Ali Alatas and Boutros Ghali next meet in Geneva next January.

The Secretary General’s guarantees were preceded by his summing up of the negotiations as they stand at present. He referred to the “improved atmosphere” at the last round of talks, but added that “the positions of the two governments on the question of the territory’s statute continue to be far from each other.”

EVENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

WHY DO THEY IGNORE THE TRUTH OF EAST TIMOR?

By Jon Lamb, Green Left Review, Nov. 6.

MANILA - For thousands of East Timorese living outside their homeland, their thoughts often turn to the friends and relatives they have left behind, particularly as November 12 and December 7 (the commemorative dates for the Dili massacre and the Indonesian invasion respectively) approach. Green Left Weekly’s Jon Lamb spoke to Moris, a young East Timorese man now living in the Philippines, about his experience under Indonesian occupation and his hopes for the future.

Question: When did you leave East Timor, and what was the situation there like?

I left just six months after the massacre in Dili. The situation was quite difficult, especially for the youth and those involved in militant activity. The reason I left was not in search of exile - not in the sense to resettle.

On the day of the massacre, I was working in a bank. I was present at the mass in Motael Church, from where the funeral procession began, but I had to return to work. After the murder at Motael Church of Sebastião Gomez [on October 28], the youth and the people involved in activism were determined to demonstrate.

I knew something big had happened when I heard the firing and the sirens - then quiet. The following days and at night, there were no people walking and talking like before. Nobody moved around after the massacre, except for the family members looking for their sons and daughters.

Question: What happened to you and your family after the Indonesian invasion?

When the invasion occurred in 1975, I was 7 years old. We were united with the resistance, particularly Fretilin. My family went to Matebian [mountainous region] from 1976 to 1979 to escape from the Indonesian military. We returned in 1979 to the city, after three weeks of intensive bombing in Matebian. Our experience in Matebian was quite difficult because we did not have enough food and water - just enough to survive.

We returned to Matebian in 1983. My father was arrested and interrogated for three months. His brother was killed because my father had an argument with the military. Another 32 people were arrested,

and only 16 released. I don’t know of the whereabouts of the others to this day.

The following year I went to Dili, to study in a Catholic school, where I came to realise that there was something very wrong with this life. Something had to be done. I joined with others in the youth struggle.

In 1988 I was suspected with others of being a member of the Santo Antonio youth movement. It was a youth organisation, which while not identifying as a political movement, that is what it essentially was. I was arrested one day returning home from school, questioned for three hours and then released.

Question: How did you manage to leave East Timor?

We had a study group, to learn English and other subjects. Our principal told us that if ever we had the chance to leave, we should. Through youth exchange programs we tried. When I found there was a chance to go to the Philippines, I took it.

I left in May 1992. It was quite hard to leave. I was able to leave largely with the assistance of the religious community - but also through contacts in my company and even Timorese police. I was in Jakarta for three weeks while the paperwork was processed.

It was not clear on joining the congregation in the Philippines whether I would become a priest. But what was clear to me was that it was a way out. Especially when my friends that I studied and relaxed with were being arrested, I could not ignore the opportunity to leave.

Question: Have you managed to keep in touch with events in East Timor? Were you able to participate in the APCET (Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor, held in Manila from May 31 to June 4)?

It is difficult to know what is going on in East Timor from here. Sometimes I receive letters from friends in East Timor that have been re-posted from Manila. I don’t know who has sent them. I have sent letters to my family, but rarely do I get a reply.

I planned to leave the Philippines earlier this year to return to East Timor. It’s something I really want to do even though there is a risk in leaving and then returning.

But I received a letter telling me that maybe it would be better to wait for a while. Later I received a long distance phone call and was told that friends would be arriving soon for a conference on East Timor, and they would like me to speak. I was hesitant, primarily for security reasons.

On the second day of the conference I went there and met with the East Timorese, but it was still very risky. We left for a hotel, where I was able to talk with fellow East Timorese.

I was very happy to meet all those who supported the struggle of the East Timorese people. Perhaps for the first time after APCET, the people of Asia and the world found out what was happening on East Timor. It was also very helpful for those still in East Timor - for the youth, for the mass of the people and for FALINTIL, the glorious resistance fighters. I think they were happy for the conference because now the world knows we are fighting for a just cause.

Question: What is your opinion of the Australian government's role in supporting Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. If you had the opportunity to speak to the Australian people, what would you say?

Why is it that Australia, which is very near to East Timor, does not say anything or make a political stand against the Indonesian government - even though the Australian government knew the invasion was to occur and was in violation of international law, even though they knew exactly the suffering of all the people and of the deaths of Australian journalists inside East Timor.

I don't understand why the Australian government will not take a stand, and speak out in the international community, that the East Timorese have a right to self-determination.

During the time of Bob Hawke, he said things against Indonesia, but didn't take any firm action on the issue of East Timor. It is the same today. For the East Timorese and me personally, the stand of Australia is very important for our self-determination.

If I could talk to the Australian people, I would ask them to help East Timor. While it is small country, its struggle for freedom and justice, which we have tried to defend for so long, contributes to these ideals in a global sense.

The Australian government with its focus on economic ties with Indonesia is merely defending the status quo, as is America, Japan, the UK and other Western countries.

The Australian government does not take East Timor seriously. But I think the people of Australia support East Timor. We can see that through the solidarity groups and the many demonstrations in support of our struggle.

Why is the Australian government training these troops of illegal occupation? Why do they ignore the truth of what is happening on East Timor?

SOLIDARITY IN PHILIPPINES

By Carla Gorton, *Green Left Review*, Nov. 6.

MANILA - Amnesty International Pilipinas and Initiatives for International

Dialogue, a Philippines-based NGO, organised an evening of solidarity for East Timor here on October 28.

The theme for the evening was "No to 30! End 29 Years of Repression In Indonesia and East Timor!" An Amnesty International/BBC documentary entitled *In Cold Blood* was screened, and the crowd of more than 150 people was entertained by local band Grupong Pendong and performances of Timorese resistance poetry and song.

East Timorese solidarity activists are also planning activities on November 12 to commemorate the 1991 Dili massacre. US President Bill Clinton, who will be visiting the Philippines on November 12, can expect to be confronted not only on the issue of GATT, but also on justice for East Timor.

Church services throughout Metro Manila on November 13 will draw attention to the ongoing human rights abuses inflicted by Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

WILL INDONESIA LISTEN?

International Herald Tribune on 20 September 1994.

Indonesia's military regime used the occasion of a visit by the Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evans, to urge another democracy to silence protests against Jakarta's lawless grab of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975. A few months ago, Indonesian prevailed on the Philippines to censor a human rights conference that was to discuss East Timor - the instrument of persuasion being the threat to cancel \$700 million worth of Indonesian investments. Now Indonesia urges Australia to crack down on activists who demonstrate in front of the Indonesian consulate in Darwin, the northern Australia city closest to East Timor.

Jakarta's way with dissenters was nicely expressed by the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, at a news conference with Mr. Evans. "These things don't happen in other countries because while freedom of expression is fully honoured, there are ways of arranging things, of channeling things," he explained.

The pity is that Mr. Evans did not seize the chance to assert the principles of free speech, choosing instead to say he understood Indonesia's concern but that his government was unable to stop protests over East Timor. That may well be read in Jakarta as weakness. Still, Mr. Evans is at least no longer completely silent about human rights in Indonesia, Australia's closest and powerful neighbour, which generates

trade worth \$2 billion a year. The nadir was touched when Canberra recognised Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, despite the extinction of nearly a third of the original 600,000 inhabitants under Jakarta's harsh rule.

Australia's silence has been criticised at home. Now Mr. Evans has found his tongue to the extent of calling on Indonesia to grant more autonomy to East Timor and to scale back troops in the territory. Moreover, he has pressed for reopening of the Australian consulate in Dili, East Timor's capital. If that happened it would help vindicate Mr. Evans' brand of diplomacy and for the first time open the closed territory to real international scrutiny. But more than geography divides Australia from Indonesia, where free expression is something to be arranged and channeled, rather than protected and nurtured.

[Although the IHT said it was from the New York Times, the version printed in the NYT was different. Here it is:

Indonesia's Way With Dissenters

A few months ago, Indonesia prevailed on the Philippines to censor a human rights conference that was to discuss East Timor - the former Portuguese colony that Jakarta lawlessly grabbed in 1975. More recently, Indonesia urged Australia's Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, to crack down on activists who demonstrate in front of the Indonesian consulate in Darwin, the northern Australian city closest to East Timor.

Mr. Evans said that he understood Indonesia's concern but that his Government was unable to stop protests over East Timor. That might well have been read in Jakarta as weakness, but at least Mr. Evans broke his country's silence about human rights in Indonesia, Australia's close and powerful neighbor that generates trade worth about \$2 billion a year. That silence has been widely criticized at home, notably by Edward Cardinal Clancy, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney.

Now Mr. Evans has found his tongue to the extent of calling on Indonesia to grant more autonomy to East Timor and to scale back the number of troops in the territory. He has also pressed for reopening of the Australian consulate in Dili, East Timor's capital. If that happened, it would help vindicate Mr. Evans's brand of diplomacy and for the first time open the closed territory to real international scrutiny.

IRISH P.M. IN AUSTRALIA

The Irish Times, 21 September

The first sour note on Mr. Reynolds visit to Australia emerged when the issue of East Timor was raised; Denis Coughlan reports.

Discussions between Mr. Keating and Mr. Reynolds lasted longer than expected and, while the sensitive issue of East Timor was briefly raised by the Taoiseach (Prime Minister), he is said to have received the dusty reply that the matter was an internal one for the government of Indonesia.

The issue of civil rights in the "incorporated territory" of East Timor has divided Australians since a former Prime Minister, Mr. Bob Hawke, formally recognised the role of the Indonesian government there in 1984.

Trade with Indonesia is extensive and growing rapidly, and the Australian government is clearly anxious to avoid a repetition of events in early 1980's when Australian newspaper reports likening General Suharto, the Indonesian leader, to President Marcos of the Philippines almost led to an embargo on Australian products.

The were also some comments on the arrival of Sutrisno, referred to as the "Butcher of East Timor" by the Irish Times.

TIMOR TALKS

The Irish Catholic, 6th Oct. 1994

Recent talks between the Prime Minister, Albert Reynolds and Australia's Prime Minister, Paul Keating, on the human rights abuses in East Timor have been welcomed by human rights campaigners

Kevin McPartlan of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign said that the raising of the matter of East Timor was a significant gesture by the Prime Minister, "It demonstrated how Ireland is unprepared to ignore genocide, enforced sterilisations, rape and 'disappearance,' he said, adding that it is a move which will consolidate Ireland's position as a guardian of the human rights of the East Timorese.

The Prime Minister was asked by ETISC, opposition parties and members of the Coalition to ensure that East Timor was included on the agenda for talks with Mr. Keating. He was called upon to give voice to the revulsion felt by the Irish people and government over the genocide committed by the Indonesia's illegal occupying force there.

Throughout the occupation the government of Australia has remained indifferent to the plight of the East Timorese and offered Indonesia political support.

In return the Indonesian government has allowed Australia to exploit the oil and gas reserves in the Timor Gap This stretch of

water is recognised by the United Nations as properly within East Timor's territory.

DILI PROTESTERS PICKET SUTRISNO

The Australian, 22 September 1994. By Georgina Windsor/ AAP

AMID tight security, the Indonesian Vice-President General Try Sutrisno, was ushered into a meeting with the NSW Premier, Mr. Fahey, last night after angry scenes in Canberra when East Timorese Protesters burned an Indonesian flag.

Yesterday afternoon about 20 protesters picked the front of the Sydney Hotel where Mr. Fahey was scheduled to meet General Sutrisno, who headed Indonesia's military forces at the time of the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor.

But the time General Sutrisno arrived at the hotel surrounded by both Australian and Indonesian security officers, just a handful of protesters remained.

In Canberra, about 100 East Timorese protesters marched on Parliament House after burning the flag outside Indonesian embassy with large banners suggesting the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, would be meeting a murderer when he met General Sutrisno.

"Try Sutrisno Dili massacre Wire Puller," one banner read, while others called for Indonesia to leave East Timor immediately.

A Canberra lawyer and former ACT Attorney-General Mr. Bernard Collaery, yesterday said he would go to the Federal Court to have General Sutrisno declared a war criminal because of his statements following the Dili massacre.

Mr. Collaery told ABC radio he was acting as a legal adviser for the East Timorese resistance movement in Australia.

He said he would ask the Federal Court to declare that the diplomatic recognition given to the Vice-President during his visit was unlawful because of the crimes of genocide that had taken place in East Timor.

General Sutrisno, who is widely tipped to replace President Suharto when he retires, is the most senior Indonesian Minister to visit Australia since President Suharto visited in 1975.

Last night he met with Mr. Fahey before taking a harbour cruise and is due to fly to Canberra early this morning to meet the governor-general, Mr. Hayden, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans. General Sutrisno will meet Mr. Keating on Friday.

General Sutrisno is expected to lay a wreath at the Australian War Memorial, which the peace group says is "besmirching the honourable memory of the men of Spar-

row Force and the 2/2 independent Company and the 70,000 East Timorese who died at the hands of the Japanese in the World War II."

TIMOR APATHY A TRAGEDY, SAYS AUTHOR

The Canberra Times, 22 September 1994. By Norman Abjorensen

Australia has shown a shameful indifference to the human rights abuse of its neighbours and friends, especially the East Timorese, claims a new book launched in Canberra yesterday on the eve of a visit by the Indonesian Vice-President, Try Sutrisno.

Margareth Kinf Boyce, a retired cultured anthropologist, says if the Australian people could learn the truth about the Indonesian invasion they would be horrified.

The first part of the book, *Eden to Paradise*, is a reprint of her 1963 book detailing the culture of Portuguese East Timor, as it then was, based on field trips; the second part, *Paradise Lost*, looks at East Timor under Indonesian occupation.

Ms Boyce argues passionately that the society of East Timor is in the process of being destroyed since the Indonesian invasion in 1975, and that the major world powers as well as Australia continue to sit by indifferently.

"Australia's political response to Indonesian in recent times, and its continue deafness to the plight of the East Timorese stands at odds with the feelings of the majority of the Australian population, and is indeed an indictment of us all," Ms Boyce said at yesterday's launch at Smith's Bookshop in Civic.

During World War II. the East Timorese had suffered severe personal hardship at the hands of Japanese because of their friendship with their Australian neighbours she writes. Why is Australia now forgetting so conveniently its debt of honour in favour of economic pragmatism?

"The media's systematic refusal to convey the true story about our close neighbours' tragedy denies the Australian population the right to act ethically and to make the Australian Government accountable for its callous behaviour."

Ms Boyce argues that not only is this plight of the East Timorese a tragedy in terms of their denial on human rights, but actions in East Timor are causing massive environmental destruction.

"The green movement cannot remain indifferent to this tragedy, but must stand for the care of the environment in its totality."

The book was launched by Greens Independent, Senator Dee Margetts, who said the Australian Government had been com-

plicit in the occupation of East Timor. "Whitlam was aware of the invasion and offered his support to Suharto before the invasion took place.

"Since then, Indonesia and Australia have carved up the Timor Sea in oil contracts through the Timor Gap Treaty and Australia has channeled millions of dollars of arms, equipment and training to maintain the repressive Indonesian defence force, the elite anti-insurgent troops who are trained as killing machines and the secret intelligence agents that reside in Timor and spy on the East Timorese in order to quell any notion of resistance," she said.

AUSTRALIAN MPS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

The Age, 24 September 1994

An Australian federal parliamentary delegation will visit East Timor next week, the first allowed into the disputed province since troops gunned down scores of civilians in the 1992 Dili massacre. The four member party headed by liberal MP Baden Teague will travel to East Timor next Thursday and Friday to look at the Australian aid projects and to meet local leaders.

'TIMOR PROSPECTS GOOD' - ACTIVIST

By Bernie Brian. Green Left, Sept. 24

DARWIN - A well-known commentator on Indonesia and co-convenor of AKSI (Indonesia Solidarity Action), Max Lane, was here last week for a series of lectures.

On September 22, Lane gave a lecture sponsored by the East Timorese Studies Project at the Northern Territory University. On September 23, he addressed a public meeting at the East Timorese cultural club, Lafaek, sponsored by Green Left Weekly and the Northern Territory University Resistance club.

He also took the opportunity to have discussions with leaders of the East Timorese community.

Lane revealed to the well-attended meetings that the emerging democracy movement in Indonesia is increasingly realising the importance of supporting some form of self-determination for East Timor. This domestic pressure, combined with international pressure and the resistance to Indonesian authority inside East Timor, made the prospects for an independent East Timor good.

"As the inevitable weakening of central control in Indonesia continues, the public debate on East Timor will increase and the democratic groups will seize the opportunity to promote the right of the East Timorese to self-determination."

Even under the tight control inside East Timor, there is strong resistance and protest, Lane said. "Once the control weakens, the protests will be even stronger."

At the moment Suharto's biggest problem is the international pressure, and "he would be keen to remove this acute embarrassment to Indonesia, preferably without providing any real independence or autonomy."

Speaking after the meeting at Lafaek, José Gusmão from the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), warmly thanked Lane for coming to Darwin to inform the East Timorese community and Australian supporters of developments in the struggle inside Indonesia. "I have heard of your name many times during the Manila conference on East Timor, and it is good finally to meet you.

"It gives us encouragement to know we are not alone and that our friends are increasing. Personally I feel privileged to have heard about those fighting for democracy in Indonesia."

Gusmão asked Lane to convey to "our brothers and sisters" inside Indonesia greetings from the CNRM and to thank them for their support.

TIMOR SOLIDARITY GROUPS MEET

By Arun Pradhan. Green Left, Sept. 24

MELBOURNE - Against a backdrop of continuing human rights abuses in occupied East Timor and the visit of Indonesian General Try Sutrisno to Australia, solidarity groups from five states met at a national coordinating meeting here on the weekend of September 17-18.

Aimed at increasing national coordination and communication, the meeting shared the experiences of activists in campaigns, from planning for November 12 rallies to boycott Garuda pickets. Ways in which solidarity groups can work more effectively with East Timorese organisations and others were discussed.

The meeting proposed a broader national conference in January.

East Timor solidarity groups are now active in every Australian capital city as well as smaller cities such as Lismore and Geelong. [For more information about meetings and campaigns in your state, check pages 30-31.]

CALL FOR TOUGHER LINE ON EAST TIMOR

The Age, 26 September 1994. By Mark Baker

The ALP national conference is set to step up demands for a negotiated settlement on the future of East Timor.

A draft resolution to be debated this afternoon also calls on Indonesia to grant clemency to the jailed resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, to account for missing victims of the 1991 Dili massacre and to slash its military presence in the territory.

The draft is believed to have been endorsed by party faction leaders and accepted by Foreign Minister, Senator Evans.

It condemns continuing human rights abuses and particularly the Dili massacre in which at least 200 demonstrators were killed by Indonesian troops.

The draft resolution also calls on the Federal Government in pressure Indonesia to :

- Punish those who have committed human rights abuses.
- Reduce its military presence in East Timor.
- Allow unrestricted access by the media and by humanitarian and human rights organisations.

The draft urges the Federal Government to boost aid and seek approval for an Australian consulate in Dili.

It proposes that the resolution of East Timor's international status be resolved through proper United Nations processes.

Australia is one of the few western countries to accept the 1975 invasion on East Timor. The UN still recognises Portugal as the administering power.

The ALP draft says the Federal Government should encourage the UN and concerned governments to move more quickly towards an internationally acceptable settlement.

Existing ALP policy, while supporting Timorese self-determination, merely calls on the Federal Government to support international efforts to settle the problem.

CNRM ON THE A.L.P. NATIONAL RESOLUTION

From CNRM, September 27, 1994

The National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) welcomes the consensus resolution adopted by the ALP National Conference. To the extent that the ALP resolution underlines essential facts which are the root causes of the conflict in East Timor, namely, the pervasive Indonesian military presence, its brutal behaviour, and

the absence of an internationally-supervised act of self-determination as the only mean to resolve the international legal status of East Timor, it is a significant departure from a previously failed policy.

The CNRM commends the Left of the ALP for its fight on behalf of justice and equally commends Foreign Minister Gareth Evans for his courage in understanding the urgent need to change course in East Timor. The CNRM reiterates its long-standing willingness to a process of dialogue with Indonesia, without pre-conditions, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General and with the full involvement of Portugal as the internationally-recognised administering power of East Timor.

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GARETH EVANS INTERVIEWED ON E. TIMOR

ABC radio national, 26 September 1994. unabridged/transcript. PRESENTER: Monica Attard

MONICA: Well, the National Conference has adopted a resolution on the contentious issue of East Timor, and the continuing conflict with Indonesia. The East Timorese wants independence from Indonesia, but the Labor Party has stop short of endorsing that call. Indeed the Party says that whilst those responsible for human rights abuses ought to be sought out and punished and the presence of Indonesian troops in East Timor ought to be reduced. These are actions which Australia can merely urge the Indonesian to carry out. The Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans supported the motion but he indicated he wasn't entirely happy with it.

GARETH EVANS: The world, the international community through the United Nations or individually is just not in a mood to press this issue to that extent. Whatever the rhetoric you might read about it in the European Parliament or the United States Congress or anywhere else, the mood is just not there, I know because I tested that mood.

MONICA: *The Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, Well, Lindsay Tanner, a Victorian left member with strong feelings about East Timor has joined me in our studio at the Westpoint Casino where the conference is being held. Mr. Tanner thanks for coming in tonight.*

Would you have liked to have seen have something tougher put out on East Timor?

TANNER: Well, personally I would have preferred something which withdrew our the

jure recognition of Indonesian Incorporation of East Timor and also substantially reduce our military links with Indonesia until the issue is resolved to the satisfaction of United Nations. But clearly that was not going to be achievable, the numbers simply weren't going to be there for that short of position, and the basic Government was not going to be drastically altered. However, what we have achieved is a significant step forward with a number of issues incorporated in the resolution that I think we are entitled to feel reasonably pleasant with.

MONICA: *So, obviously you would have leave a lot of people, a lot of people really did want the ALP to come out and say quite forthright, that the East Timorese want independence. What do you do about it?*

TANNER: Yes, but - that has been the case for some considerable time, what in fact we have done with this resolution is to endeavour to commit the Government to pushing both the Indonesian Government and other Governments to progress talks with respect to the future of East Timor much more quickly, to show clemency to Xanana Gusmão and other resistance leaders who are imprisoned and to take much significant steps towards resolving many of the outstanding question that still relate to the Dili massacre. So, there are many worthwhile parts of the resolution, it's certainly not an optimum position from my point of view but the alternative of course was to put up a stronger position and be defeated.

MONICA: *So, what do you say to those people some of them very distinguished Australians, who would say that you're really putting trade before human rights at the end of the day?*

TANNER: I don't agree with that assessment, I think that you've got the situation with a foreign policy that has been in a place for some time with respect to East Timor where both of those issues do have a place.. I think that the Government should be placing greater emphases on human rights and it has. I think it is a bit unfair to say that the Government has placed no emphases on that at all. It's a question of the respective proportions are there, I believe that this resolution will actually improved the position for the Australian Government, it won't produce a dramatic change but it will constitute a significant improvement in the Australian Government position, it gives us something to move around.

MONICA: *But the Foreign Minister has expressed some displeasure of discomfort.*

TANNER: Or certainly, well, it was a standard compromise resolution, where there are things that weren't in it that I

would have liked to have seen in it. There are things that were in it that I am sure Gareth would have prefer weren't there. But he was able to live those things, and I and the East Timorese community and the East Timor talks campaign people were happy to accept on the base of getting a broader overall result.

YESTERDAY EAST TIMOR WAS ON THE AGENDA

ABC RADIO NATIONAL, 27 September 1994. PROGRAM: AM. Unabridged/transcript

REPORTER: Yes, a consensus resolution on East Timor was formed before it came to the conference. And it's a far stronger position on East Timor than we really seeing from this Government for a while, included in the resolution is a call for the Government to continuing pushing for a major reduction in "the oppressive" in military presence in East Timor. And also for the release of leading East Timorese activists. Now the motion was moved by Victorian left winger MP Lindsay Tanner who during the debate said he would have liked the document to go further, but the Foreign Minister Gareth Evans he would have preferred something different but nonetheless joins me now. Senator Evans can you live with this?

EVANS: I can certainly live with this, yes. The language in the resolution although very strong, is really no strong- and that which we have been communicating both publicly and privately and the truth of the matter so as the military presence in East Timor is certainly oppressive in terms of the numbers. There is 8 or 9 battalions as compared with about 2 on average the similar size provinces elsewhere. And there is no doubt that there has been very intrusive in the lives of East Timorese and that there has been insufficient respect for the cultural identity and human rights of those people.

REPORTER: *Now, I understand that this compromise wouldn't have got if you hadn't agreed to it beforehand. So I would have though that Indonesia- you must have a feeling that Indonesia will accept this in some way.*

EVANS: As I can only repeat, this sort of language that is there, the kind of propositions that are in there are ones that we've been advancing and I certainly use that sort of language often enough on the public record and Parliament and elsewhere. The language looks very strong by comparison with that passed by the conference in 1991 which was of course before the Dili massacre. And at a time then, when the East Timor issue seemed to be well on the way towards a final resolution. Dili blew that out

of the water, and obviously, it's necessary for the current resolution to reflect that.

REPORTER: But the move yesterday, apart from amongst other things: to press the Indonesian Government to grant clemency to Xanana Gusmão. Now, do you think the Indonesian Government will do that?

EVANS: Well, they are actively considering a full scale reconciliation process. The East Timor issue is as embarrassing, and difficult and sensitive for the Indonesian Government as it could possibly be. They are very conscious of the international reaction which continues on this issue, and I think they are looking for a way - through the dilemma. As part of the reconciliation process one would obviously be thinking in terms of the resistance Leaders being released from jail. And again that's not a new call for Australia to make. The important thing, I guess to appreciate about the resolution from the other point of view, however, it doesn't backtrack in any way in Australia's recognition of the jure sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor. That's something which many people would ideally like us to see a change. But I think it has been accepted by the Left and everyone else that is simply not realistic in a present environment and the best that we can possibly do is press for change, press for improvement, within that constraint.

REPORTER: So, do you read Indonesian domestic public opinion moving to support a motion like this?

EVANS: Well, It's hard to read Indonesian domestic public opinion, but certainly the Indonesian elites, political and Governmental, media, business and indeed even a number of people in the military would very much like to see this issue resolved. and in a way that most Australians I think would feel comfortable with.

REPORTER: So, in a way you agreed to this because you felt that Indonesian could wear it.

EVANS: Well, I feel that Australia can wear it. What matter is our own national...

(reporter: no, no, I mean our relationship with Indonesia is more important)

EVANS: Sure, but I mean what we've got to make a judgment about it, is what is going to be productive in terms of its utility for the East Timorese people. Is not a matter of weighing the human rights issue against our trade or against our security agenda. It's matter of working out what's going to be productive and my judgment was that this language, whilst strong, was nonetheless familiar enough not to make unproductive any further representations we might make on this issue. I think the Indonesians do

understand very well the strength of feeling which exists in Australia on this issue and certainly within the Labor Party- and they would certainly be expecting something reasonably tough to emerge from the conference, we haven't disappointed them but at the same time, I don't there is anything fundamentally new in the approach that have adopted.

REPORTER: The Australian Government works quite closely with Indonesia on other foreign issue like APEC.

EVANS: We work closely right across the spectrum, and I think that's the point that I have been wanting to make very strongly and Paul Keating has been wanting to make - that if you do want to do the best you can for the East Timorese people - the best context in which to do that is a strong and effective multi-dimensional relationship, in which takes place just as one issue among many rather than being a particular obsession.

EVANS BACKS TOUGH WORDS ON EAST TIMOR

The Age, 27 September 1994. By Karen Middleton, diplomatic correspondent

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, has reluctantly-backed policy changes that toughen the Labor Party's positions on Indonesian human rights abuses in East Timor and demand a negotiated settlement on the future of the former Portuguese colony.

Labor's national conference in Hobart yesterday unanimously adopted a resolution calling for clemency for the jailed East Timorese leader, Mr. Xanana Gusmão, and for greater Federal Government pressure on Indonesian over conditions in East Timor.

Until yesterday, Labor policy supported East Timorese self-determination but was vague about how it should be achieved. now it urges the Government to press the United Nations to convene urgent talks on East Timor with concerned governments.

But despite ultimately supporting the resolution, Senator Evans criticised colleagues who suggested the Government had put trade with Indonesia ahead of human rights.

"There is a broader element in Australian foreign policy which goes beyond dollars and cents, which goes beyond a concern with our own security, which goes beyond a concern with our political relationships in the region or anywhere else," he said.

"There is a crucial element of our foreign policy which revolves around morality - which revolves around being, and being seen to be, a good international citizen and there is a reason in the context of our relations

with Indonesia... to be concerned about that dimension of our foreign policy as well."

Senator Evans said the Government was concerned with the problems in East Timor and continue to deplore both Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975 and the so-called Dili massacre by Indonesian troops in 1991.

But it was seeking an effective multidimensional relationship with Indonesia to "encourage them by every available means to do the right thing."

Senator Evans said Indonesia was "absolutely determined" not to change its positions against self-determination for East Timor leading to statehood because of the implication for other ethnic groupings in the region.

He said he would have preferred some resolutions in the foreign affairs platform to have expressed "a little differently" but that everybody in the party could live with the chosen wording.

A prominent member of the Victorian Left, Mr. Lindsay Tanner, moved the Timor motion and drew comparisons with Australia's backing of the United Nations' recognition 19 years ago of the Russian occupation of the now independent Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

"East Timor, unlike those countries, is in our backyard," Mr. Tanner said. "We can't back away from the issue. what concerns me is that some time in the future we will face the embarrassment of having taken a soft position on the issue and be left isolated as the rest of the world forces Indonesia to deal with the issue."

Other delegates said they believed East Timor could be an independent state by the end of the decade.

The conference has also paved the way for a visit to Australia by Mr. Gerry Adams, the previously banned leader of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army.

WHITLAM ON EAST TIMOR: DISTORTING THE TRUTH

By Rob South. Green Left, Oct. 7.

PERTH - Addressing the inaugural meeting of the Murdoch University Student Law Society on the topic "State Rights versus Human Rights" on August 3, former prime minister Gough Whitlam was confronted with questions on East Timor before the audience of 500.

When asked by representatives of Friends of East Timor and the East Timorese community in exile about his ongoing position on the brutal invasion and occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian

regime, Whitlam responded angrily by repeating his views.

These stand in direct contravention to the principles of the United Nations, international law and indeed the very stance on human rights which he put forward in his keynote address.

By using distortion, half-truths, "straw men" and large-scale omission of relevant facts, Whitlam continued his advocacy for the Suharto regime. From a man highly regarded by many on the progressive side of politics, this advocacy is a major obstacle to the achievement of a just solution for the long-suffering East Timorese people, and for the new democratic movements in Indonesia.

His arguments are the same, if more blatant, as those currently used by the Australian government; indeed, he is widely regarded as the personal architect of the East Timor policy. Whitlam's main strategy in the debate is to blame the victim.

He made almost no reference to the 200,000 people killed since the invasion, except to question the validity of this figure, which is accepted by all major human rights groups, including Amnesty International.

Whitlam concentrated instead on the period prior to the invasion, seeking to discredit the Timorese, the Portuguese, indeed anyone except himself and the Indonesian regime. He grossly exaggerated the disruption caused by the 10-day civil conflict in August 1975, and neglected to mention that this conflict between Fretilin and UDT, who both sought independence, was the direct result of a large-scale Indonesian destabilisation campaign which sought successfully, even if temporarily, to divide the East Timorese political elite.

These 10 days of fighting, sparked by aggressive Indonesian propaganda and infiltration, were tragic. Compared, however, to the civil conflicts that have often accompanied other countries' transitions to independence, including Indonesia's, the fighting between the East Timorese was minor in scale: at most, 2000 people died.

Whitlam felt he could say in 1994, after 100 times that number have been killed by the Indonesian military, that the August 1975 fighting "was a Rwanda," a grotesque statement. That the internal conflict was over by September, and the Indonesians invaded in full-strength in December, was similarly ignored.

Whitlam tried to say that Fretilin's declaration of independence nine days before the invasion somehow obligated the Indonesians to continue their plans. He did not mention that Fretilin repeatedly appealed to the Portuguese and to the world for the colonisers to return and continue the decolonisation process, nor that the declaration was a last-

ditch attempt to gain international attention when the invasion was obviously coming.

Whitlam did not tell those assembled that in 1975 he had rejected out of hand any role for Australia as a mediator, had scorned urgent Portuguese requests to re-establish an Australian consulate in Dili and seized shipments of petrol to East Timor that were vital for the distribution of food aid in mid-1975.

Australia's ambassadors to the United Nations worked with the Indonesians to suppress Timorese appeals to the Decolonisation Committee prior to the invasion. Yet all Whitlam said of his role in that period was, "Suharto and I pressured the Portuguese to return" - a complete fiction.

Eager to portray himself as an anti-colonialist, he has repeatedly railed against the Portuguese as "the last and the worst of the European colonisers." Yet this argument has little relevance, as the East Timorese were undergoing the transition to independence, and can hardly be held responsible for the failings of the Portuguese (who certainly never killed a third of the population).

Whitlam continued his long-standing war of words against Fretilin, accusing its members of "seeking the perks [of office] without elections" - again ignoring the fact that East Timor's first democratic elections for village heads took place in March 1975, and that national elections were planned for as soon as Indonesian border incursions and killings ceased.

The solidarity between Fretilin and other nationalist movements in Portuguese colonies, notably Frelimo in Mozambique, was a target for Whitlam's diatribe. "Mozambique," he said "is hardly a model of democracy." (The logical extension of Whitlam's position would be support for the former South African incursions and sponsored terrorism in that nation.)

The current Indonesian regime is hardly notable for its democratic credentials, yet this did not stop Whitlam from telling the audience, "President Suharto is an honourable man." He went on to describe his first meeting with Suharto, over dinner in 1966, omitting the fact that 1966 was the year of the horrendous military massacres of the Indonesian left, up to 1 million people, which were directly coordinated by the "honourable" Suharto.

It is ironic that Whitlam should be such a staunch defender of the New Order regime, given that an Indonesian who espoused similar domestic policies to Whitlam's would have been killed or imprisoned by Suharto's military.

The specific question asked by Friends of East Timor, regarding Whitlam's uninvited visit to the United Nations in 1982, was never answered. Whitlam addressed the

Decolonisation Committee in that year in a vain attempt to have East Timor removed from its agenda, in direct contravention of ALP policy at the time.

Despite his self-perception as an influential diplomat, the international delegates were unimpressed by his defence of Indonesia's colonialism. The delegate from Guinea-Bissau advised, "You have knocked at the wrong door, Mr. Whitlam." In the words of one observer of the exchange, "Whitlam was embarrassed - but not ashamed."

Whitlam always confronts his critics with the fact that he has visited East Timor and is therefore more informed than his opponents. At Murdoch that evening, he again repeated the lie that his one and only three-day visit in 1982 had been at the invitation of the International Committee of the Red Cross. In fact the visit was arranged solely with the Indonesian authorities, and he spent his time consorting with Javanese generals. The ICRC has formally denied ever inviting him to East Timor.

He also referred to "this false thing about famine [in 1982]," meaning no doubt the well-documented starvation that was occurring in the prison camps of occupied Timor.

Whitlam later discredited himself further when responding to a question from Francisco Soares, Perth's Fretilin representative. Soares, who fought against the Indonesian invasion, and was captured and tortured over a long period of time before escaping to Australia, was told by Whitlam that among migrants to Australia "some of them for good reason have left their countries, others for less valid reasons ... people who have left their country so often have an incentive to justify why they left it."

Whitlam, like Evans, is keen to portray East Timor not as the international crime that it is, but as an internal problem for Indonesia. He said that it was "counterproductive to suggest the break up of Indonesia" - but the East Timorese have never suggested this; they merely ask that Indonesia respect international borders.

Whitlam misrepresented the situation again when he stated that "no-one has recognised East Timor as an independent nation, not even Portugal." The reason for this is that East Timor is not yet an independent nation under international law, but a territory whose decolonisation process is not yet complete. Many countries and the United Nations have repeatedly affirmed the inalienable right, not yet exercised, of the Timorese to choose their own future, with independence as a viable choice.

Similarly, Whitlam did not contextualise his statement that "there has not been a vote in the UN on East Timor for at least 12 years." The simple reason is that in 1982 the question was presented to the good

offices of the secretary-general to find a negotiated solution, which means procedurally that countries are unable to vote on the issue until the secretary-general returns it to the General Assembly.

For Whitlam the problem of East Timor is not the fact that the Indonesian occupation has rivalled the worst excesses of history in its repression and human toll; rather it is a problem of "freelance journalists [who] sell their product through exaggeration."

In a recent interview with Friends of East Timor, Konis Santana, the leader of the armed resistance in East Timor and co-chairperson of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, affirmed that the primary role of solidarity work in Australia must be the reversal of the Australian government's shameful position.

It is important then that we refute the weak, illusory but often repeated arguments trotted out by people such as Gareth Evans and Gough Whitlam, a man so influential and yet evidently so dedicated to absolving himself from any guilt that he is prepared to continue with the distortion and falsehood that encouraged the Suharto regime to invade East Timor in the first place.

AUSTRALIAN DAY OF ACTION FOR EAST TIMOR

Green Left, October 11

This week (October 14/15) a National Day of Action in support of East Timor is taking place around Australia, sponsored nationally by UDT (Union of Democratic Timorese) Fretilin Youth (Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor), Resistance and AKSI (Indonesia Solidarity Action).

Adelaide: Saturday. March 2:00 outside Santos, 39 Grenfell St Adelaide, march past Sagasco (South Australian Gas Company) to Hindmarsh Square. Sponsors include Bougainville Action Group, Campaign for Independent East Timor, Adelaide Uni Community Aid Abroad, Democratic Socialist Party, Environmental Youth Alliance, Flinders University Student Association and Students for an Independent East Timor, Global Education Centre, Peace Action Collective, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Committees in Solidarity with Latin America and the Caribbean.

Brisbane: Saturday, gather 11.00 King George Square, 12:00 march to picket of Petroz (Queen St, City), 1:00 mall speak-out.

Canberra: Friday, 5:00, campaign stall in Civic.

Darwin: Friday. "Bus the Timor Gap Treaty." Meet the bus at 9am at Raintree Park (Smith Street Mall), travelling to BHP, Santos and National Australia Bank. Sponsored by Student Supporters of East Timor.

Melbourne: Saturday. Gather 12:30 at GPO (cnr Bourke and Elizabeth Sts), march to BHP House. Supporters: CNRM (National Council for Maubere Resistance), East Timorese Youth Movement, Australian East Timor Association.

Hobart: Wednesday the 19th. Campaigning forum and showing of John Pilger's *Death of a Nation*. Life Sciences Theatre, University of Tasmania, Sandy Bay (left over the Churchill Ave overpass).

Newcastle: Saturday. Rally 12:00 Beaumont St Mall (Opposite BHP). Sponsored by Asian International Solidarity Network.

Perth: Saturday. Demonstrate 12:00, Murray St Mall, opposite Aherns.

Sydney: Saturday. Meet Archibald Fountain, Hyde Park, 11:30. Speakers from Resistance, AKSI, AETA, Amnesty International, UDT and Fretilin.

Wollongong: Friday. Picket BHP, 2:30-6:00: meet at BHP main gate, Springhill Rd. Sponsored by Wollongong Uni Student Life and the Environment Society.

RALLIES FOCUS ON AUSTRALIAN COMPLICITY

By Wendy Robertson. Green Left, Oct. 19

Hundreds of people rallied in capital cities on October 14-15 to protest against Australian government and business complicity in the 19-year Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

Activists highlighted the fact that Australian-based companies are taking advantage of the Timor Gap Treaty, which contravenes several United Nations resolutions and is likely to be ruled in breach of international law by the International Court of Justice.

The rallies aimed to show the hypocrisy of the Australian government's "quiet diplomacy" approach to human rights in East Timor while it continues to increase economic and military ties with the Indonesian government and military.

The national day of action was organised by Resistance and was sponsored nationally by UDT (Union of Democratic Timorese) Fretilin Youth (Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor) and AKSI (Indonesia Solidarity Action) as well as a range of local solidarity and East Timorese community groups.

In Sydney, Sujatha Fernandes and Trina Markandu report, around 250 people gathered at Archibald Fountain in Hyde Park and marched through the city to Circular Quay. People carried colourful UDT and

Fretilin flags, drums beating and whistles blowing. Passers-by were stopped in their tracks by the lively procession chanting "Australia out of the Timor Gap, Free East Timor Now!" and "ALP, BHP, Out of the Timor Sea!"

At First Fleet Park there were speakers from a broad range of groups, and Peter Hicks singing East Timor liberation songs. Speakers referred to the importance of protests like the National Day of Action in furthering the struggle for Timorese independence.

Brian Da-Luz from UDT and Harold Mucho from Fretilin spoke about the resistance movement in Timor, which has not given up the struggle. Calling for people in Australia to unite with the Timorese, Harold Mucho said, "United we will rock the foundations of our enemy and obtain our liberation."

AKSI speaker Nick Fredman and Max Lane from the Democratic Socialist Party commented on the Indonesian government's suppression of democratic movements in its own country, and they spoke of the importance of Australians supporting movements for democracy and independence in Indonesia and East Timor.

Peter Baird from Amnesty International condemned the rhetoric that has been coming from the government about political freedoms being less important in Asian countries. There was also a speaker from the Australia East Timor Association (AETA).

In Melbourne, 400 people mobilised at the General Post Office. Large numbers of high school and university students and East Timorese participated.

Rachel Evans introduced the day, highlighting the need for ongoing actions to increase pressure on our government. She was followed by Raul Mousace, representative for the East Timorese resistance, who attacked the hollow motion passed at the ALP National Conference on military relations with Indonesia. He also condemned the government's hopes of "zillions" of dollars to be made from drilling for oil in the Timor Gap.

Bernardo Duarte from the East Timorese Youth Movement said that the Australian government was getting rich on gas and oil reserves while the Indonesian repression increases. Jo Brown spoke for Resistance.

The rally then marched to BHP Petroleum, where black coffins were placed. John Sinnott from AETA spoke of BHP profiting from oil while the Timorese were being sacrificed. Carolyn Cartwright from AKSI spoke of the developing movement for democracy in Indonesia.

Samuel Solomon reports from Adelaide that 300 enthusiastic demonstrators demanded an end to Indonesia's bloody occu-

pation of East Timor and the Australian government's support of it.

Speakers from Campaign for an Independent East Timor (CIET), AKSI and Resistance described the brutal repression of East Timorese and called for the end of all military ties with Indonesia. Demanding an end to exploration and licensing of oil drilling in the Timor Gap, and the inclusion of genuine representatives of the East Timorese in any negotiations, the rally was warmly thanked by East Timorese CIET member David Bareto.

Andy Alcock from CIET condemned the Australian government's lack of opposition to the occupation. Andrew Hall from AKSI noted the attempts by the progressive movement in Indonesia to democratise their country and called for Australian unions and community groups to support this as a way of easing the pressure on the East Timorese.

Penny Farrow of Resistance outlined the role of Australian big business - especially Santos, BHP and Petroz - in perpetuating the position of the Australian government.

Following street theatre, the rally marched from Santos through the mall. Passers-by joined the march (including two East Timor activists from Alice Springs who heard the noise and came running), and many others were alerted to the situation in East Timor.

In Newcastle, 60 people gathered at Beaumont St Mall, opposite BHP, for a spirited rally attended by a broad range of activists. It was addressed by John Dos Santos, a local East Timorese exile, and Katherine Fry from Resistance. The rally chanted "No Blood for Oil!" and "Free East Timor." The day was also sponsored by Asian International Network.

Tom Kelly reports that in Darwin a busload of activists visited in turn the offices of Santos, BHP Petroleum and the National Australia Bank. BHP Petroleum and Santos use Darwin as a supply base for their activities in the Timor Sea, and the National Australia Bank has significant investments in these operations.

The head of operations of Santos (NT), Alex Wood, expressed concern over the deaths and torture in East Timor but claimed that he was unable to discuss matters of policy. Representatives of the National Australia Bank were unwilling to meet a delegation to discuss the issue. The protest contingent responded by conducting lively pickets and speak-outs outside two of the bank's Darwin offices.

Tim Larkin, head of operations for BHP, Darwin, refused a delegation access beyond the car park. José Gusmão, representative of the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM) for South-East Asia, pointed out to Larkin that 50,000 East Timorese

gave their lives fighting alongside Australian troops in World War II, and that since 1975 hundreds of thousands of Timorese have been killed by Indonesian troops (including three of Gusmão's own children), and Australia maintains a culpable silence.

Gusmão warned Larkin that the East Timorese would not forget this shoddy treatment when BHP is forced to deal with the East Timorese, the rightful owners of the Timor Gap oil reserves.

In Perth, 100 people joined the demonstration. Speakers included Francisco Soares from Fretilin, Maria Modera from UDT, Corinne Glen and Rjurik Davidson from Resistance.

Two hundred people marched from King George Square in Brisbane to picket Petroz and then to the Queen Street Mall for a speak-out. Speakers included Nick Everrett from AKSI, Phillipa Stanford from Resistance, Lurna Cort-Real from the East Timorese community and Lee Knightingale from the Democrats. The rally signed and presented a list of demands on a postcard to Petroz and placed a wreath of flowers outside the Petroz offices.

All of the activities highlighted the need to build ongoing mobilisations for East Timorese independence. Coming up are November 12 Dili massacre memorial activities.

WRITE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TO RAISE EAST TIMOR AT APEC

Action alert from ETRA, November 3.

We appeal to all Australians to write to the ALP government to raise the issue of East Timor during the APEC meeting. This is a golden opportunity to scrutinise the actions of the Indonesian government on human rights issues and the illegal and bloody occupation of East Timor by Jakarta.

Write letters to the Foreign Affairs Minister and the Prime Minister Paul Keating demanding that they raise the issue of East Timor in Jakarta during the APEC meeting. Make sure you give publicity to your actions in this regard. Demand your Federal MP to raise the issue as well, and try to get press coverage.

Urge the ALP Federal Members to take note of their own resolution passed in the last National Conference in Tasmania.

If you need more information, please contact Matebian News/ETI&DC/CNRM.

CHOMSKY TO CHAMPION TIMOR

Campus Review, Sydney, September 22-28 1994. By Jack Rozycki

Noam Chomsky, the celebrated American linguistic philosopher and critic of US government policy, will visit Australia in mid January next year. Chomsky's trip is being paid for by the University of NSW.

Although invited many times before, his popularity is such that Chomsky's schedule is usually planned some five years in advance. This time, Chomsky is said to have made a special gesture towards the East Timorese exile community in Australia by acceding to a personal request from José Ramos Horta, who is the "special representative" of the National Council for East Timorese Resistance in Australia (CNRM)

Arriving in Sydney on January 17, Chomsky will have a full 10-day schedule, which will range from lecturing on theory of language structure at the University of NSW's Department of Cognitive Science to speaking out in public on East Timor.

Chomsky is a relentlessly critical analyst of the American media, claiming that their role is to "manufacture consent" to American foreign policy rather than to inform or question. Organisers of his visit are hoping to have a nationally televised debate involving Chomsky's most outspoken opponent, Gerard Henderson and a key player in the East Timor imbroglio, Senator Gareth Evans.

One of the organisers, Mr. Gil Scrine, a Sydney film-maker and film distributor who had made "Buried Alive," a film about the people of East Timor, said that Chomsky will give his honorarium for his UNSW lecture to CNRM as a gesture towards the East Timorese people's struggle against Indonesian occupation.

UPCOMING A.N.U. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE, ARTS FACULTY

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE:
PEACEMAKING INITIATIVES FOR
EAST TIMOR

July 10-11, 1995

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Department of Political Science and the Arts Faculty, Australian National University will be hosting an international conference on the theme of "PEACEMAKING

INITIATIVES FOR EAST TIMOR." Contributors will be asked to consider the conceptual, ethical and legal dimensions of peacemaking, and what this entails for the conflict in East Timor - soon to enter its twentieth year. More specifically, contributors will be discussing practical solutions or schemes of action for achieving peace in the territory of East Timor. Abstracts of approximately 200-250 words are required by March 26, 1995.

Please send abstracts and requests for registration forms to:

Conference on Peacemaking Initiatives for East Timor

c/- Sharon Merten, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts

Australian National University, ACT 0200 AUSTRALIA

Fax: +61-6-249 5054, Phone: +61-6-249 2659

For further enquiries contact: Dr. Michael Salla, Ph: -61-6-249 4697; email: michael.salla@anu.edu.au

EAST TIMORESE BARRED FROM CONSULATE

Press Release from Rob Wesley-Smith, Darwin Supporters for a Free East Timor. 4 November 1994. Slightly abridged

In Darwin this morning a small group of Australian resident East Timorese tried to apply at the Indonesian Consulate in Darwin for visas to visit East Timor, and were denied, and the Consulate gates were locked by Police.

They need visas because mostly they hold Portuguese passports. They went as a group for mutual support, as recently an East Timor supporter went by herself to the Consulate and was arrested and charged for trespass by NT Police.

The infamous Indonesian blacklist became public when a man with a name similar to a Darwin activist was thrown out of Bali in 1993. The Consulate admitted then that people active in demonstrations and as spokespersons are put on the blacklist.

The Darwin resident East Timorese were encouraged to think that they could be allowed to visit family in their country of origin by the UN Secretary-General's report of Sept. 1994, A/49/391 16, re progress on the (tedious) talks between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary General.

This states that the two foreign ministers agreed that "... access to East Timor for UN and Human Rights and Humanitarian organisations, as well as visits by East Timorese living abroad, should be continued and expanded." The denial of access in this case is

a clear breach of this undertaking with the Secretary-General.

Why should there be any hindrance of people from the nearest foreign city going to East Timor? What have they got to hide?

It is ironic that this has occurred the morning after a historic address by an East Timorese academic, Mr. Armindo Maia, at the NY University. Mixed messages indeed.

East Timorese in exile demand that a programme be set to ensure that the Indonesian occupation forces are out of East Timor with UN peace-keeping forces in place by March 1995 to protect the people until a valid act of self-determination.

INDONESIA DENIES VISAS TO EAST TIMORESE

Green Left Review, Nov. 6, By Christine Faithful

DARWIN - A small group of Australian-resident East Timorese were refused visas to visit East Timor when they applied at the Indonesian Consulate here on November 4. The consulate gates were locked by police.

This is not the first instance of the consulate black-listing people. Previously, when an East Timorese supporter went by herself to the consulate, she was arrested and charged with trespass.

The Indonesian black list became public when a man, whose name was similar to that of a Darwin activist, was thrown out of Bali in January 1993. The consulate admitted then that activists are placed on the black list.

A United Nations Secretary General's report in September on the progress of talks between Portugal and Indonesia states that the two foreign ministers agreed that "access to East Timor for UN and human rights and humanitarian organisations, as well as visits by East Timorese living abroad should be continued and expanded."

The Australian-resident East Timorese required visas because they hold Portuguese passports. The refusal of visas is a clear breach of the undertaking to the UN.

East Timorese living in exile are demanding that the Indonesian occupation forces leave East Timor by mid-1995, with UN peace-keeping forces taking up positions by March 1995 to oversee the process of self-determination. We do not accept the present situation continuing past the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion.

[Christine Faithful is the coordinator of Friends of East Timor in Western Australia.]

LABOR'S BETRAYAL OF EAST TIMOR

By Max Lane, Green Left Review, Nov. 6

On November 12, thousands of East Timorese and their supporters around the world will be demonstrating in commemoration of the massacre of peaceful protesters in Dili in 1991. Around the world, people will be demanding that Indonesia get out of East Timor, that the East Timorese people be able to determine their own future. In Australia, many people will be making demands not only on the Indonesian regime, but also on their own government, because it has actively assisted the Suharto dictatorship's occupation of East Timor.

Before the invasion in 1975, the Whitlam ALP government embarked on a policy of supporting, if not encouraging, Suharto's plans. It is common knowledge today that the Australian Army's defence signals unit was picking up Indonesian army communications prior to the invasion, but the Australian government did nothing to stop it. Throughout this period, any form of official, or even semi-official, recognition of the East Timorese nationalist forces or any declaration supporting the concept of an independent East Timor would have forced Suharto to rethink the invasion.

The ALP government of the time, however, made it clear that it did not think that "small nations" were viable.

The Fraser Liberal government which followed Whitlam pursued the same policy: recognition of the invasion and annexation as a so-called accomplished fact. During the whole of the Fraser period, and into the first few years of the Hawke ALP government, Australia also continued to provide military support and assistance to Indonesia. In fact, this assistance increased after 1975, despite the fact that the East Timorese were engaged in armed resistance to the occupying Indonesian army.

Australia joined the United States and the United Kingdom in supplying Indonesia with the military equipment it needed to suppress the East Timorese resistance.

Fakery

During its time in opposition, the ALP attempted to present a more critical position. The invasion had provoked extensive hostile public opinion against Indonesia and a relatively strong solidarity movement had developed in Australia. Demonstrations and publicity campaigns were frequent and gained very positive responses. Military aid to Indonesia was very unpopular.

Activists in the left of the ALP became involved in the campaign and took the East Timorese solidarity movement's demands

into the ALP. ALP conferences started to adopt quite severe-sounding resolutions against the Indonesian occupation.

However, the ALP's real policy was revealed when Labor won government in the 1983 elections. Bob Hawke's first overseas state visit was to Jakarta. There he made his famous champagne toast to Suharto: "We know your people love you."

All the severe-sounding ALP conference resolutions went out the window. Australia also went from recognising the annexation de facto to recognising it as legally valid. Australia is one of only two countries that have given this recognition.

The ALP has acted more and more as an active campaigner and supporter of Indonesia on the East Timor issue, and on human rights issues.

After a brief period when Jakarta, offended by Australian newspaper exposure of the corruption of Suharto's family, suspended cooperation, military assistance was stepped up. Although Australia no longer provides equipment aid to Jakarta, training and joint military exercises have increased. Since 1992 there have been regular visits to Australia of KOPASSUS troops, precisely those commando forces used in operations against the East Timorese resistance.

This year, defence minister Robert Ray has taken things a step further and suggested joint manufacture of small arms with Jakarta. He also invited Suharto to send forces to Australia to participate in the Kangaroo 95 war games.

Foreign minister Gareth Evans has become a central figure campaigning in defence of the Indonesian position. Again and again, Evans states that the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia is "irrevocable."

For Evans, and his big business backers, such as BHP, the annexation must remain "irrevocable." To admit otherwise would throw into grave doubt Australian big business's claim to the East Timorese people's oil.

New tricks

The ALP government's campaign received a big blow with the November 1991 Dili protests and the massacre that followed. These events provoked an awakening of public opinion outside Indonesia, including in Australia. Solidarity committees in Australia and in Europe and North America, became active again. East Timorese exile communities began reorganising and increased their activities.

Furthermore, since November 1991, there have been more demonstrations in Dili during the visit of foreign journalist delegations. The East Timorese resistance has been able to speak directly with the outside world through such films as *Death of a Nation* and

through a series of smuggled video recordings and cassettes.

The increase in public campaigning has forced Evans and the ALP to develop a new twist to their argument. The Australian government, Evans now claims, is pressing the Indonesian government to find "strategies of reconciliation" between Indonesia and the East Timorese people and the resistance. This reconciliation is not to be based on recognition of the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination but on things such as "reduction in military presence," "economic development," "recognition of distinctive cultural identity of the East Timorese," and "possibly," adds Evans, in a letter responding to a citizen's inquiry, "some greater degree of autonomy."

This new twist is also reflected in the mealy-mouthed resolutions passed by the ALP conference this year. Following negotiations with Evans, the ALP left was allowed to put up a motion which went through the rituals of deploring what had happened in the past, uttering "concerns" about human rights and expressing vague hopes about a solution through current UN or other talks. But nowhere is there a call for recognition of the right of the East Timorese to self-determination, nowhere is there a demand for Indonesian withdrawal.

The right of the East Timorese people to determine their own future cannot be negotiated away in return for such non-concessions as two battalions of occupation troops instead of five, or classes on East Timorese culture in primary schools.

Furthermore, any autonomy under a dictatorship such as that of Suharto will be autonomy without freedom. There is no freedom of speech, press, assembly or organisation in any province of Indonesia, including those that have some kind of special status.

"Reconciliation" must be on the agenda in the future. But this reconciliation must be between free and independent neighbours. The November 12 protests around Australia should mark the start of a renewed campaign here to force the Australian government to implement a policy that will genuinely help such reconciliation.

Such a policy must be based on withdrawal of recognition of the annexation of East Timor, recognition of the resistance organisations as the legitimate representatives of the East Timorese people and an end to all defence cooperation with Indonesia.

[Max Lane is a member of the national executive of the Democratic Socialist Party.]

SURVIVOR OF DILI MASSACRE SEEKS REFUGE

By Tom Kelly, Green Left Review, Nov. 6

DARWIN - A survivor of the 1991 Dili massacre arrived here on October 21 and is seeking political asylum. Francisco João Nheu flew with his wife and four children from East Timor to Bali and then bribed his way out to Australia.

Nheu was involved in the November 12, 1991, protest at the Santa Cruz cemetery which was attacked by Indonesian soldiers. He escaped the massacre by jumping the back wall of the cemetery. Nheu has also been involved with the underground resistance, passing information to the Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor (Falintil).

Although Nheu has expressed concern that his and his wife's families may suffer reprisals at the hands of the Indonesian authorities, this has not stopped him speaking out against the Indonesian occupation.

He reiterates the right of the East Timorese to self-determination and self-rule, pointing out that the East Timorese as a whole reject so-called "integration" with Indonesia.

"Indonesia maintains its presence in East Timor by force of arms," explained Nheu. "It is sad to see the Australian government lobbying the international community to accept the integration of East Timor in Indonesia. We perceive that this has a lot to do with our oil."

Contradicting recent claims that some Indonesian troops have been withdrawn from East Timor, Nheu explained, "There has been an increase in all major towns and villages of armed military personnel in civilian clothes."

EVENTS IN AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND)

NEW ZEALAND MPS TO VISIT TIMOR

The Australian, 22 September 1994

Auckland: A delegation of New Zealand MPs will spend up to five days in East Timor during an 11-day visit to Indonesia next month, the NZ Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mr. Don McKinnon, announced yesterday.

The delegation follows a petition signed by 51 of New Zealand's 99 MPs urging Indonesia to allow self-determination for East Timor.

The MPs will meet the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, and have been promised unrestricted access in East Timor.

INDONESIAN OBSERVER, 22

September 1994

[These are a few paragraphs added to an item about the British MPs visit to Timor.]

Indonesia's ambassador to New Zealand Tuesday pleaded for a New Zealand parliamentary delegation to keep an open mind when it visited Indonesia and East Timor next month.

Dahlia Soemolung said the delegation, which is expected to fly to Jakarta on 10 October would be able to go anywhere without restrictions. She said delegation members would be escorted wherever they went "because their safety is the responsibility of the Indonesian government."

"I am hoping they will go to East Timor without any prejudice because what I am afraid of is that they are going with fixed ideas. I hope Mr. Phil Goff keeps an open mind," she said.

Goff, one of five MPs to visit, this year organised a petition signed by 51 MPs protesting at alleged torture and killings in the former Portuguese colony.

She said she was frustrated that even when people were given information from her government they did not seem to take the effort to consider it. She could not understand why people kept talking about it 18 years after the event.

"If people only concentrate on one issue and neglect other aspects of the relationship, it is not good ... especially if you want to develop relations with Asia.

INFORMATION ON NZ MPS FACT-FINDING MISSION

From Colin Iles, *East Timor Independence Centre*, Oct. 16

Here are the details of the itinerary for the New Zealand MPs visit as best we know:

Tuesday or Wednesday October 25/26: arrive Jakarta

Wednesday/Thursday, Oct. 26/27, meetings including Ali Alatas

Friday 28 October to Tuesday 1 November in East Timor: including visits to the east of the island - Los Palos, and the west, then a day each in Kupang, Flores and Bali

Five MPs are going:

- Phil Goff - Labour
- Jim Sutton - Labour
- Tau Henare - New Zealand First
- Nick Smith - National

John Robertson has been replaced by Hon Jim McClay. Mr. McClay is a National Government Cabinet Minister and is the only member of the group who did not

sign the petition to the Indonesian Government calling on them to grant self determination to the people of East Timor. Since he is a minister of the current government there is some fear that he will feel committed to maintaining the current government line more supportive of Indonesia.

The MPs are being 'briefed' by the Indonesian ambassador on Wednesday, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Thursday, and by Amnesty International and the East Timor group on Thursday evening this week.

MINISTER (ALATAS) DEFENDS EAST TIMOR SITUATION

THE DOMINION, Wellington, New Zealand. Friday October 28

By *Catriona MacLennan*

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas yesterday told a delegation of New Zealand MPs he was disappointed at their perceptions of the situation in East Timor and said accounts of human rights abuses were overstated.

"Very often things are exaggerated abroad," Dr. Alatas said. "People are not really held or detained for long. What we do want our friends to understand is that not all the alleged human rights abuses are true. You must exercise some critical sense."

Dr. Alatas said he had been "disappointed and surprised" at the language used in a petition earlier this year by 51 New Zealand MPs expressing concern at the situation in East Timor. He said he had sought during a two hour meeting yesterday, to explain to the MPs there was a campaign going on by Portugal and former supporters of Fretilin to discredit Indonesia.

"If you don't know the history of East Timor.... it is easy to fall (into) the trap of believing what is being presented."

He said that the five-member delegation which is due to arrive in East Timor today, would be able to see the situation for itself.

He also guaranteed that the MPs would be able to talk to whoever they wished and there would be no retaliatory measures after the delegation left. "There is no such thing as people being persecuted just for talking."

Roskill MP Phil Goff raised with Dr. Alatas the cases of 22 East Timorese arrested in July. Amnesty International has called for urgent action on their behalf, saying that their whereabouts are unknown and they are at risk of "disappearance."

NZ MPS SEE DILI PRISONERS

From *Jakarta Post*, Wed 2 Nov. 1994

[ACROSS ARCHIPELAGO]

DILI, East Timor: Five New Zealand members of parliament were impressed by the way the authorities treat prisoners at the Becora correctional institution here, the warden said.

Ngaino, director of the institution, told Antara Monday that the parliamentarians were satisfied to see the prisoners were treated "well and humanly," which was more than they expected.

Before they visited the institution, they had an incorrect impression as to the handling of prisoners as they thought inmates were treated inhumanly, Ngaino said.

There are 202 prisoners and 23 detainees at Becora correctional institution.

The parliament members toured East Timor as part of their visit to Indonesia.

Comment: Channel 1 TV New Zealand yesterday (1-11-94) reported that one of the New Zealand MPs visiting East Timor a few days ago described East Timor as "a time bomb."

It could burst any time.

The East Timorese are living under strict surveillance and the military is seen everywhere. People were afraid of contacting the MPs, and despite the military trying to describe the situation as very good, showing how good the army men in the territory are, Bishop Belo denied all military allegations like these. Belo even went further to confirm that human rights abuses did and still do take place.

One of the MPs (who were asked to comment on ET) reiterated that "there must be an internationally acceptable solution for the people of East Timor." And NZ should play a role in such a process.

EVENTS IN JAPAN

JAPANESE TV DOCUMENTARY

On September 22, a 45 minute documentary on East Timor was aired in Japan on the nationwide NHK educational channel at prime time. "The Latest Report on East Timor" included extensive coverage of Max Stahl's reportage on the "second massacre" at the military hospital after the Santa Cruz massacre, coverage of the Japanese Diet members' visit to East Timor in August, coverage of the July 14 demonstration and

crack down at East Timor university as well as commentary from a Japanese authority on international law, SOGA Hideo, professor at Mie University. Professor SOGA pointed out that Japan has voted against the General Assembly resolutions on East Timor, but he called for a change of policy to one of using its political and economic power in the context of the present post Cold War age to work for a settlement of the East Timor issue that guarantees the furthering of human rights. Although sections of the 1992 British TV documentary "Cold Blood" and some of the footage from "Death of a Nation" have been aired on the satellite station in Japan, the Sept. 22 documentary was only the second full length TV program on East Timor to be shown on regular TV. This viewer felt that the program brought the East Timor issue close to the Japanese viewer, both in terms of the compelling statements by the East Timorese and in terms of the raising of the issue of Japan's enormous ODA to the Suharto government.

AMNESTY PRODS JAPAN ON TIMOR

*Asahi Evening News, October 7, 1994.
Translated from Japanese, Abridged. Author: Toshio Jo*

Japan should use its economic and political clout to try to stop human rights abuses in Indonesia and the subjected enclave of East Timor, Amnesty International's leader said Thursday.

"Out of respect for the Indonesian people, Japan should not just appear to be interested only in business and profits," Pierre Sane, secretary-general of the London-based human rights organization, said in an interview.

"In the long run, the protection of human rights is good for business because countries that systematically violate human rights do not provide stable business and investment environments," he noted.

He said the official Japanese reaction to his call has been non committal.

Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama said only that the government will study the request, Sane said.

However, "the prime minister has agreed with us that Japan has a key role to play at the international level for human rights protection, especially in the context of the country's bid to become a permanent member of the Security Council," Sane said.

Sane, a Senegalese, arrived in Japan Saturday as part of an Amnesty effort to convince leaders of countries in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum to take up the issue of human rights in Indonesia and East

Timor at an APEC meeting in Jakarta in mid-November.

An official at the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo said Thursday that Amnesty International's accusations of Indonesian human rights abuses are "one sided and not accurate."

In Bangkok, Sane said, he asked Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai to have Thailand take up the issue at the APEC meeting. Chuan replied that "it will be difficult, although he will consider the request."

The U.S. Embassy in Jakarta said recently that Washington has no plans to raise the rights issue at the APEC meeting. Sane said Amnesty will continue lobbying the Clinton administration and the U.S. Congress on the Indonesian abuses.

Similarly, Amnesty's one million members will keep the pressure on the governments of the 150 nations where they live to do something about human rights abuses in Indonesia, Sane said.

An emerging challenge to Amnesty's global campaigning against human rights abuses is the contention that human rights are a Western concept that should not be applied to Asian nations with a different cultural, social and historical background, Sane said.

"Amnesty International respects cultural differences," he said. "But for us, that is not the issue, but the issue is about international responsibilities and commitments as members of the United Nations to adhere to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

"It is true that Asia and Africa were colonized by European countries and that the human rights of Asians and Africans were deprived. But human rights should not be rejected by Asian nations just because the concept was developed by Western nations."

JAPAN MPS VISIT EAST TIMOR

Shakai Shimpō (the newspaper of the Social Democratic Party of Japan) September 6, 1994, Abridged. Translated from Japanese

**Titles: 'Free' Observation/Meetings
Severely Restricted**

Imprisonment and Torture Daily Occurrences

**East Timor: Integrated with Indonesia,
Fighting for Independence**

A visitation team to East Timor by a suprapartisan Diet members' forum visited the Indonesian capital of Jakarta and East Timor from August 9 to 13 to observe the human rights situation. A struggle for independence is taking place in East Timor, which was

integrated into Indonesia by military force in 1975. The visit by the Japanese Diet members' groups was covered by the mass media in a number of countries. Takahashi Naoko, who traveled with the group, reports.

Members of the Diet members' team:

- Team leader: OKAZAKI Tomiko, Social Democratic Party of Japan (SDPJ)
- KANEDA Seichi, SDPJ
- TAKEMURA Yasuko, SDPJ
- CHUMA Koki, Liberal Democratic Party
- KAIEDA Banri, Japan New Party

Ostensibly Open/Restricted in Reality

The East Timor Diet Members' Forum on East Timor, formed in 1986 by a suprapartisan group of Diet members requested permission of the Indonesian Government to visit East Timor in 1991, but was turned down.

Indonesia opened up East Timor in 1989, ostensibly allowing free access. But it continues to be difficult for human rights organizations or other foreign groups to visit the territory. Incidents frequently occur, such as that of a Japanese tourist who was deported or that of a priest, who planned to visit churches in East Timor but was not allowed to board a plane for the territory.

Thus the Diet group was prepared for difficulties, but what we encountered exceeded anything we had expected.

To begin with, a number of the original group of staff were not allowed by Indonesia to come, and visas for the replacement interpreters and other staff were only issued on the eve of the group's departure.

Indonesia, criticized by Western countries since the Santa Cruz massacre over human rights, rolled out the welcome mat for the Diet group from Japan, which, we were told, is considered "another Asian country like us," "with a long history of friendship," in a spirit of "putting Japan's three and a half year occupation behind us...."

Followed by plainclothesmen and military

All the officials whom the Diet team met, from Foreign Minister Alatas and Speaker of the Indonesian parliament Wahono, both of whom the group visited on the first day, to the military commander and the governor of East Timor, whom they met in East Timor, told them the same thing: "You are free to go anywhere and speak to anyone you like."

The Diet team supposedly had the seal of approval from the highest authorities, "a guarantee of absolute freedom," to pursue the objective of the visit, which was to hear about the human rights situation on the spot directly from the residents and persons involved.

But we were restricted to Dili, not being allowed to visit places outside the capital. And the people whom we met were overwhelmingly people whom the Indonesians set up.

We had supplied the names of people and places we wanted to visit six months in advance, but in East Timor we were told we could not visit these people and places for various reasons like, "transportation is not available," "we phoned, but nobody answered," "another group has asked to meet with that person..."

In East Timor, everywhere the group went it was proceeded by white motorcycles and was surrounded by military. When the Diet members tried to go off on their own early morning walks, Japanese Embassy staff raced after them in cars and brought them back.

The "absolute freedom," that had been promised was changed to "freedom in principle." The group was told that "freedom entails responsibilities and duties" and "we want you to stick to the schedule that we set up for you." We ended up having to listen over and over again to the Indonesian version of events.

The church: the sole human rights 'fortress'

In East Timor a ban on demonstrations was issued on August 1. I heard in a private communication from a Catholic priest that there had been a large number of preemptive detentions before our visit, as had happened last year before the visit of a group of US Congressional staff members. The church has become the sole human rights fortress.

In a brief respite from our "freedom in principle" we managed to meet two priests who told us about the actual situation with regard to human rights abuses. We were also given a message from students who are opposed to integration and want independence.

We asked a Timorese whom we were able to meet through a priest if he would be in danger because he had spoken to us.

"We're used to imprisonment and torture," he said.

There was considerable interest on the part of the foreign media in the Diet members visit. One reason may have been the fact that in the newly formed Murayama cabinet, both the prime minister and Foreign Minister Kono have been members of the Diet Forum from its start. Speaker of the House of Representative Doi has also been active from the start.

Comment: Although in the past Japan has done little or nothing for the East Timorese), with this visit Japan made it clear both domestically and abroad that it is very interested in the human rights situation in East Timor, engaged in a direct exchange of

views with the Indonesian Government, and actively put forward proposals for humanitarian support for East Timor by NGOs.

COMMENTS BY DIET MEMBERS WHO TOOK PART:

TAKEMURA Yasuko, House of Councilors: "Japanese ODA supporting a military government"

At the church we met Bishop Belo, who is risking his life to fight for the East Timorese. In contrast to the Indonesians (two officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs accompanied us constantly) who refuted all of the information that we had, the Bishop told us that there were frequent disappearances and arrests. Japanese ODA is supporting the Indonesian Government to the hilt. I felt a great burden of responsibility and believe that an investigation of, and action on this aid is called for.

KANEDA Seiichi, House of Representatives: "Suffering under the Japanese occupation too"

The government, military and provincial government officials all said the same thing: "Order and stability" are the basis of economic development," and they asked for Japanese aid. Church people and students told us that "freedom and human rights are repressed and there is no justice." NGOs (the group met with Indonesian NGOs in Jakarta) criticized Japanese ODA for "supporting a military government for twenty five years." And when each of these told of suffering under the Japanese occupation, I had no words to reply. When Japan speaks out on human rights in Asia, it has at the same time to face up to its own past.

OKAZAKI Tomiko, House of Representatives: "Peace and human rights are weighty issues"

We had requested the Indonesian Government to visit prisons and orphanages, to observe how women and children were living, to visit a school that is now under construction with assistance from Japan's postal volunteer fund, and to have exchanges with village people, but we were not allowed to. But from everything that the government officials told us we could see that the military is involved in all aspects of economic and social life and deals severely with anyone who disrupts order. We made it very clear to them that guarantee of human rights is now at the center of Japanese policy and that peace and human rights were issues in common everywhere in the world.

EAST TIMOR: REPRESSION CONTINUES

Shinano Mainichi Shimbun, September 15, 1994. Translated from Japanese.

By Kyodo News Service correspondent Ogasawara. Photo shows students in a classroom of East Timor University holding up banners written in Japanese. Area map.

Titles:

- **Anti Indonesian Feelings Even 18 Years After Integration**
- **Complaints of Psychological Suffering**
- **Demonstrations Banned, Phones Tapped, Letters Censured**

Kyodo feature articles are carried in regional newspapers. Regarding the strange sounding comment attributed to "Father Belo" about a popular referendum: Obviously Mr. Ogasawara doesn't know much about "Father Belo's" position and isn't familiar with his open letter of about the same time calling for a referendum.

"Whatever the outcome, we would like to choose our future ourselves." A teacher of English at East Timor University appealed very intently for the holding of a popular referendum on independence. East Timor is the former Portuguese colony where Indonesia has come in for continuing criticism from the international community over human rights. Today, more than eighteen years after integration in 1976, the resistance organization that has waged an independence movement has been practically annihilated by the Indonesian military. But as quiet as the territory may appear on the surface, "anti-Indonesian feelings," says a Western diplomatic source, (reflect) "deeply rooted political tension."

"Integration with Indonesia was the wish of the people. Development carried out with the government has brought amazing economic progress in East Timor." This was the message that Provincial Governor Soares forcefully made before a supra partisan Diet members group from the Diet Members Forum on East Timor (general secretary: Parliamentary Vice Minister of Education OKAZAKI Tomiko), who were in the capital city, Dili, in mid August to look at the human rights situation. He also stated that it was a "humanitarian choice to bring to an end the civil war that broke out after Portugal's withdrawal."

In East Timor the military is building housing for the people and setting up training courses for drivers and computer technicians. At a press conference at the end of the Diet members' visit, Rep. OKAZAKI summed up by saying, "In terms of devel-

opment projects, I felt that the military and people were together.”

But the antagonism of the local people over the human rights abuses typified by the “Dili incident” in November 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire, killing and injuring many people, is deep seated. Before the Diet members visit, the military authorities banned all demonstrations from August 1. This was because whenever foreigners visit East Timor, demonstrations occur with people calling for independence.

We had information that “there will be a demonstration at East Timor University,” and went to the campus. A student led us to a classroom at the back of the campus where ten or so students, clenched fists raised, held up banners on which “Peace and Freedom for East Timor” was written in Japanese.

Of course, the reason the “demonstration” had to take place indoors was because of the severe punishment that awaited the students if they had ignored the military’s ban.

The Catholic church’s Fr. Belo (sic), who has been telling the world about the repression of human rights by the Indonesian military, explained in a meeting with the Diet members about the severe restrictions on freedom of speech due to repression by the army and stressed that Japan should consider stopping its economic aid to Indonesia in order to bring about an improvement in the situation. At the same time, as a means of solving the issue, he suggested granting East Timor autonomous status, rather than a popular referendum, which would lead to bloodshed from differences of opinion.

However, Mr. A. (27) who is an English teacher at East Timor University, and who spoke to me on condition of anonymity, disagrees. “An autonomy that Indonesia would recognize would not be real autonomy,” he said, and stated that “A popular referendum should be held to decide the future, regardless of what the outcome is, to find out if the majority wants independence or not.” The people thus do not all have the same opinion.

Gerhart Baum of the German parliament, some of whose members visited East Timor at the same time as the Japanese Diet group, told the Kyodo reporter, “The Indonesian military may be able to keep the people down by force, but they cannot win the hearts of the people. The people feel antipathy toward Indonesia and they are uncertain about the future: this is the reason for the tension.”

A local church person explained that not only was his phone tapped by the military, but all his letters were censored. He showed us an envelope that bore a signature showing the letter had gone through the censor. Mr. A. said “Everyone suffers psychologically;

that’s why we don’t smile. This interview itself was very tense, with Mr. A. constantly worrying that there might be some military personnel nearby.

WHAT’S HAPPENING IN INDONESIA, THE BIGGEST ODA RECIPIENT COUNTRY

GETTING ¥130 BILLION OF OUR TAX MONEY ANNUALLY!

Sapio (a widely distributed trendy semi-monthly), October 13, 1994. Author: Banri KAIEDA, House of Representatives. Abridged Translated from Japanese.

(Lead) This November the General Assembly of ASEAN (sic) will be held in Jakarta. President Suharto will portray Indonesia as a country in the process of demilitarizing the government, but few people know what this country, which “consumes” the most ODA from Japan, is actually doing in East Timor, which it has “integrated.” KAIEDA Banri, who visited the territory, reports.

A visit to investigate the human rights situation in East Timor took place from August 9 to the 14th. This visit was not made at official Government expense, but was independently conducted by the Diet Members Forum on East Timor, a suprapartisan group Diet members join on their own volition.

The group consisted of five people, CHUMA Koki, Liberal Democratic Party, OKAZAKI Tomiko, TAKEMURA Yasuko, KANEDA Seiichi, all of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, and myself. We had planned this trip half a year in advance and had been in contact with the Indonesian foreign affairs ministry, but the Indonesian Government did not give its OK to our staff members and interpreters and it was only on the day before we left that our group was finalized.

As far as I know, very few Japanese, even among the avidly internationally minded and Asia oriented readers of this magazine, know what is happening in East Timor or have an accurate idea of what the issue is about.

Although East Timor is integrated into Indonesia, the United Nations does not officially recognize this integration. Since the Indonesian military’s invasion of East Timor in 1975, the United Nations has adopted resolutions eight times affirming the right of self determination and independence of the East Timorese people, but Indonesia has ignored all of these. Not only that, but Japan, along with the U.S., has consistently expressed support for Indonesia and has voted against these UN resolutions.

An example of Indonesia’s repression of the East Timorese people that is still fresh in our memory is the massacre that occurred at Santa Cruz cemetery in the outskirts of the capital, Dili, on November 12, 1991. Indonesian troops attacked mourners commemorating a youth shot by the Indonesian military a few days before, and many Timorese youths and other citizens asking for independence for East Timor were massacred.

A cameraman from Yorkshire Television filmed some of this bloody incident and this film was also shown on Japanese TV. The Indonesian Government’s investigation of this incident announced the number of victims as 56 (sic). An Amnesty International investigation, however, says there were 207 (sic). The full truth is yet to be clarified. On this visit we went to Santa Cruz cemetery and laid a wreath to commemorate the victims and we visited the military hospital where many wounded had been taken and were said to have been massacred by military people.

Of course the military authorities denied that this massacre had taken place. The head of the hospital strongly claimed that “There was no second massacre.” While the Indonesian Government and military say that “the incident was spontaneous and has already been settled,” the international community regards the Santa Cruz incident as still unsettled and I think that it was significant that we Japanese Diet members conveyed to the Indonesian authorities the great concern that we have that the truth be revealed.

Is Japan Committing a “Second Act of Aggression”?

What we have to keep in mind in considering our relations with Indonesia is the fact that Indonesia is the top recipient of bilateral Japanese ODA. In 1992 it was \$1.356 billion (roughly ¥130 billion), accounting for 15.99% of all Japanese bilateral aid. From Indonesia’s point of view economic assistance from Japan accounts for about 60% of the total of aid it receives from the advanced countries. This is important for two reasons. The first is that points 3 and 4 of Japan’s ODA Charter state respectively that, “adequate attention must be paid to trends in the developing country with respect to military expenditures, development, manufacture, or export, etc. of weapons of mass destruction,” and that “adequate attention must be paid to conditions with regard to guarantees freedom and fundamental human rights in the developing country.” Does Indonesia’s oppression of the people of East Timor not infringe upon these principles? It is greatly feared that it in fact does. This problem will have to be taken up in the Diet.

Furthermore, from what I witnessed, a mobile unit to monitor illegal short-wave transmissions that was purchased with Japanese ODA has been left standing around with no sign that it has ever been used. This is also a big problem.

The other point is something that was indicated to us by an activist in the East Timor independence movement whom we met there. In the eyes of the East Timorese, Japan appears as an accomplice in Indonesia's crimes. This is particularly so since East Timor is an area that was invaded by the Japanese army in the last war. East Timor was a base for the Japanese Navy (sic) and not a battlefield, so the feelings of the people are different from those of China or Korea, but not a few people among the population that was conscripted for construction of military installations died or were seriously hurt as a result. As a people who are supplying considerable funds in the form of ODA, it is extremely mortifying that Japan is perceived by the East Timorese as committing a second act of aggression.

The visit to Japan by President Suharto last year at the time of the Tokyo Summit, and the North-South leaders meeting he had then with Prime Minister Miyazawa, chairman of the G7 meet, are still fresh in our memory. President Suharto, in holding the ASEAN meeting (sic) this November outside of Jakarta, wants to gain recognition for Indonesia as a leading ASEAN country that has achieved impressive economic development. For that he feels that he must portray an image to the world, particularly Japan, of a government that is increasingly coming under civilian control. We met Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in Jakarta, and the emergence of political, economic, and diplomatic technocrats like Alatas will be indispensable to this.

But when you speak of demilitarizing the government, this refers to moves in Jakarta; when you go out from there you realize that the military still hold absolute power. Even in Bali, a tourist area favorite of Japanese, the top authority is the military district commander to whom our group even paid a courtesy visit. There are seven battalions (one battalion consisting of 500 men) stationed in East Timor for a population of 750,000. Particularly in the regions, the military is involved in "development assistance," which consists not only of construction of roads and buildings, but all aspects of civilian life including education, hospitals and agricultural instruction. In Dili, the capital of East Timor, there is a military barracks right beside the university, and while we were in Dili I myself witnessed soldiers in camouflage uniforms patrolling the cam-

pus as if poised to immediately suppress a student demonstration.

Presently there are Fretilin forces in East Timor who are seeking to gain independence through armed force (sic), but they are only about 200 in number. They are deep in the jungle, have little contact with the people, and their influence is not great. Their strength can be considered almost extinguished. I would like to propose that Indonesia not use the existence of Fretilin as a reason for strengthening or continuing its military presence, but rather that it withdraw its military from the territory and hold a UN supervised popular referendum.

Furthermore it is a matter of urgency that the Japanese Government, for whom Indonesia is its largest ODA recipient country, get serious about working for a settlement of the East Timor problem.

ASAHI ON DIET ET VISIT "MISINTERPRETED"

Asahi Shimbun, October 19, 1994 (Evening Editions). Translated from Japanese; Abridged

Color Photo showing Diet members laying origami cranes on a memorial to the Santa Cruz massacre victim/ Color map of Indonesia and East Timor

Titles: Embassy Secretary's Shocking "Mistranslation"

- They Thought They Were Pointing Out Human Rights Problems, But.... "There Is Very Good Cooperation Between ABRI and the People"
- Diet Members' Group That Visited East Timor On Reporting in the Local Press: "What?!"
- Going Overboard for "Friendly Relations" Indicative of the Character of the (Japanese) Foreign Ministry

Because of the big difference in statements made in Japan and those at a press conference in Indonesia, local newspapers treated as "double tongued" a group of Diet members from both ruling and opposition parties that visited Indonesia's disputed area of East Timor. TAKEMURA Yasuko (Socialist Party), one of the Diet group, pointed out on the 18th in the House of Councilors Standing Committee on Budget that this occurred "because of a 'deliberate loose interpretation' in the Indonesian translation by the first secretary of the Japanese Embassy in Jakarta." She warned Foreign Minister KONO Yohei that "if this sort of thing continues, it will lead to diplomatic problems."

The group was comprised of five Diet members including, besides Rep. TAKEMURA, Parliamentary Vice Minister of Education OKAZAKI Tomiko, Rep.

KANEDA Seiichi (Socialist Party), Rep. KAIEDA Banri (Japan New Party), and Rep. CHUMA Koki (Liberal Democratic Party). This August they visited East Timor, where in 1991 a massacre that claimed some 200 lives took place, to investigate the human rights situation.

On August 13, at the end of their investigation, the Diet group held a press conference at the airport in Denpasar, Bali before returning to Japan. They said at this press conference that there were problems with regards to the human rights situation, but the Diet group was amazed when they saw (what was written in) the local newspapers.

The newspapers reported as if the Diet group approved of the situation.

"The Diet members evaluated the cooperation between ABRI and the people (in East Timor) as very good." (Kompas)

"The 'Development First' strategy which the Indonesian Government is carrying out in East Timor is appropriate." (Jawa Pos)

After returning to Japan the Diet group held a press conference in Tokyo at which they said essentially the same things that they had said in Bali. But in Indonesia these statements were seen as "completely different."

On Sept. 24, Suara Timor Timur reported East Timor Provincial Governor Abilio Soares' criticism of the Diet group.

"If (foreign guests) say something different from the truth after they return to their country that is their affair. But as God's creatures, they are committing a sin." And, "It is clear that they are deceiving themselves."

How did this come about?

The Diet group transcribed the tape recording of the press conference in Denpasar and had it translated by a specialist in the Indonesian language. They found out that the first secretary (43 years old) of the Japanese Embassy in Jakarta who had done the interpreting had not translated the Diet group's comments on the human rights issues as they had said them, but in fact changed considerably what they had said to give it a pro Indonesia emphasis, or as the Diet group put it, engaged in "selective interpretation," and "distortion and manipulation." The Japanese Government supports Indonesia's "effective rule" of East Timor and abstained last year on a UN Human Rights Commission resolution to send an investigative group to the territory.

Evidently this diplomatic position was reflected in the interpretation.

In spite of the fact that the present age calls for a pluralistic diplomacy, including non-official diplomatic efforts by NGOs and others, this is a classic example of how the traditional sense of mission among dip-

lomats, who regard diplomacy as their private preserve, still remains, obstructing pluralistic diplomacy.

KAWAKAMI Koichi, chief of the foreign ministry's Second Southeast Asia Bureau, had this to say. "He should have translated more literally. I don't think he did it deliberately. Being with the embassy, he would be thinking of good relations between Japan and Indonesia. But he shouldn't give that nuance at a press conference. I really can't say whether the (translation) mistakes are within permissible bounds or not."

Here is an example of remarks by Rep. KANEDA and how they were translated.

KANEDA: "The understanding of people in the army, or people in the Government is that human rights are being protected, that the Santa Cruz incident was a freak accident and that it has already been settled. But the church people and others whom we met, or the students who gave us a message, say that suppression of human rights happens on a daily basis, that the Santa Cruz incident was just as was reported in the (world) press, that it hasn't been resolved, that justice still hasn't been done. The understanding (of the two sides) is 180 degrees different."

FIRST SECRETARY'S TRANSLATION: "The government and the military emphasize social aspects such as security and unity, while the people emphasize freedom and human rights. Both sides see the goal as the furthering of economic development, because according to the local government and the military, there can be no economic development without security, without guaranteeing social security."

JAPANESE MPS URGE MURAYAMA & KONO: RAISE EAST TIMOR ISSUE AT APEC

CASE OF EAST TIMORESE ON TRIAL IN JAVA ALSO RAISED

Press Release, November 1, 1994

A suprapartisan parliamentarians' group that visited East Timor in August yesterday met separately with Prime Minister MURAYAMA and Foreign Minister KONO and asked the two to raise the East Timor issue when they visit Jakarta for the APEC meeting in November.

Both MURAYAMA and KONO, while stating that the issue could not be raised as part of the official agenda, indicated that bilateral meetings between Murayama and Indonesia's President Suharto, on the one hand, and Kono and

Foreign Minister Alatas, on the other, could present appropriate opportunities to bring up the issue.

MURAYAMA told the Diet members at the meeting in the Prime Minister's official residence that the East Timor issue was "very important." The issue of human rights was "fundamental to democracy," he said, adding that "East Timor is a very sensitive issue for Indonesia."

At the MPs meeting with Foreign Minister KONO the same afternoon, CHUMA Koki (Liberal Democratic Party) recalled that when the foreign minister was chief cabinet secretary for the Miyazawa cabinet, then Prime Minister Miyazawa had raised the East Timor issue with Suharto in Jakarta. "East Timor should be raised this time as well," he said.

KONO expressed agreement, but said it would be best to find the opportune moment to raise the issue with his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas after Alatas' duties at APEC were over.

OKAZAKI Tomiko, general secretary of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor, raised the case of José Antonio Neves, a young Timorese who is now on trial in Malang, Java for sending reports on the human rights situation in East Timor abroad. He is accused of sending letters last year to UN secretary-general Boutros Ghali and then Prime Minister Hosokawa. The MPs had met two of the Indonesian lawyers defending Neves in a meeting in Jakarta with Indonesian human rights advocates.

OKAZAKI also told the foreign minister that Xanana Gusmão was "very important to the peace talks" on the issue.

TAKEMURA Yasuko (Social Democratic Party of Japan) said that although Ali Alatas had told the MPs in Jakarta that the letter (from Speaker of the House of Representatives DOI Takako) they had brought for Xanana Gusmão would be delivered, an official of the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo had subsequently returned the letter, saying that letters of a political nature could not be given to prisoners.)

With regard to information the MPs had received on the prevalence of tuberculosis in the eastern part of the territory, they suggested that Japan send NGO specialists to provide emergency assistance as it had done in the case of Ruanda.

In reference to a Japanese Embassy official's slanted interpretation of the Diet members' remarks on their East Timor findings, reported in the press earlier this month, Foreign Minister KONO said that the official "clearly did wrong" when he misrepresented the MPs statements at a press conference in Bali.

The issue of the mistranslation, which came to light only when a tape recording of

the press conference was transcribed and translated for the Diet group, was raised in Diet interpellation this month by TAKEMURA Yasuko (Social Democratic Party of Japan). The Foreign Ministry dodged the criticism, claiming that the misinterpretation was "unintended," but Foreign Minister Kono assured the MPs in today's meeting that he took a serious view of the affair.

CHUMA Koki told KONO that he was also angered by the Japanese Embassy staff's conduct during the visit to East Timor itself, when the MPs were prevented by Embassy staff from going to the university to meet with East Timorese students.

The MPs also raised the issue of facilities in East Timor, paid for by Japanese ODA, to monitor illegal short-wave transmissions. Although a Foreign Ministry official present at the meeting said that the facility was not to monitor people working on human rights issues, the MPs were not satisfied. Foreign Minister KONO promised to provide the MPs with documentation on the facility, something which the Foreign Ministry has so far refused to do.

The foreign minister was also shown photos of the Santa Cruz massacre and the aftermath.

Both PM MURAYAMA (Social Democratic Party of Japan) and FM KONO (Liberal Democratic Party) have been members of the Diet Member's Forum on East Timor since its formation in 1986.

For further information contact Rep. OKAZAKI Tomiko Tel 0335087149) or FURUSAWA Kiyoko (Tel 0474661512)

Wording of the Diet Members petition to their government:

The Diet members presented a petition asking that the East Timor issue be raised in meetings with President Suharto and Foreign Minister Alatas and that at such time Prime Minister Murayama and Foreign Minister Kono:

1. express regret at the repression that has frequently occurred since the Santa Cruz incident of nonviolent expressions of opinion by East Timorese and request that such repression not be repeated; (refer to material attached)

2. seek the early release of all political prisoners, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmão (awarded a human rights prize on September 18 by the Australian United Nations Association ?????), as was requested of Indonesia by the United Nations Secretary General in his progress report submitted to the UN General Assembly.

3. request that the letter from Speaker of the House of Representatives Doi Takako's to Xanana Gusmão be delivered to him.

(Foreign Minister Alatas promised to do so when he met with the Diet members, but on October 3, an official of the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo returned the letter. The Diet members refused to accept it and asked that the Indonesian Government reconsider.)

4. express appreciation for Foreign Minister Alatas' meeting with representatives of anti-integration Timorese in New York on October 6 through the good offices of the UN secretary general; and in order to encourage this process, express the willingness of Japan to cooperate in bringing about negotiations among all the parties concerned, as it did, for example, in the case of the peace process in Cambodia.

5. request Indonesia to allow a long-term stay in East Timor by Japanese NGOs working in the fields of development, humanitarian aid and protection of human rights in order to respond to urgent needs of the people of East Timor.

EAST TIMOR ON JAPANESE TV

My impressions after viewing the program.
Jean Inglis

TV Asahi's popular "News Station" broadcast a 20 minute feature on East Timor during its program Tuesday night (Nov. 1). Footage taken by TV Asahi's Bangkok correspondent during the August visit to East Timor by the Japanese parliamentarians, shots from the Santa Cruz massacre film, and footage taken yesterday in Tokyo when the Diet members met with PM Murayama were shown. There was also footage of a street theatre type demonstration in Jakarta protesting the shutting down of the three publications and comments from the *DeTik* editor on East Timor. My feeling was that the feature was too brief and the messages a bit too confused to have much impact.

The conclusion that the correspondent drew from his interview with the *DeTik* editor and other Indonesians, for instance, was that freedom for East Timorese and freedom for Indonesians were not quite compatible, although why this conclusion was drawn was not clear.

The program ended on the note: let's hope that PM Murayama takes up the East Timor issue at APEC. This was after the Bangkok correspondent stated that Clinton would do an about face from his previous policy of supporting human rights and concentrate only on trade at the meeting.

Although it is good that this program put the East Timor issue on the air, after the good documentary that NHK broadcast in September, tonight's program seemed a bit sloppy and unfocused.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

ASEAN SET TO BOOST ECONOMIC, POLITICAL TIES WITH E.U.

An Inter Press Service Feature by Ramesh Jaura and Bob Mantiri

BONN, Sept. 22 (IPS) - Relations between the European Union (EU) and the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are poised to get a boost from two major conferences in Germany, government and industry officials said in Bonn Thursday.

The detailed parameters of the upgraded EU-ASEAN ties will be worked out by an 'Eminent Persons Group' expected to be set up by the foreign ministers of the two regional groupings Friday in Karlsruhe in southern Germany, an official of the European Commission told IPS in Brussels.

"Private as well as public authorities from the EU and ASEAN will be involved in this group," Nico Wegter, spokesman of EU External Affairs Commissioner Hans van den Broek said.

Van den Broek will join 12 foreign Ministers from the member states of the EU as well as four waiting in the wings - Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden - and six from the ASEAN in what is described as "a very important meeting."

High on their agenda are environment, drug control, regional security, human rights and the situation in former Yugoslavia, particularly Bosnia.

On Saturday, the foreign ministers will travel to neighbouring Stuttgart for a round of talks - considered unprecedented - with some 250 entrepreneurs.

There 180 European business and industry representatives who are launching discussions earlier Friday with about 70 counterparts from Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

"We are going to be witness to a stimulating and far-reaching dialogue at the political and business level," German foreign ministry spokesman Juergen Pfeifer told IPS.

Germany holds the six-monthly presidency of EU until the end of the year and the conferences in Karlsruhe and in Stuttgart are being held at the initiative of Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel.

In an article Wednesday in the German daily newspaper 'Die Welt,' Kinkel said the European experience of security building measures in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) - which played a crucial role in bringing about a thaw

in East-West relations during the 'Cold War' - could be very valuable.

After all, the ASEAN nations were striving for reconciliation and good neighbourly relations with former or as yet communist-oriented states like Burma, Cambodia, North Korea and Vietnam, explained foreign ministry spokesman Pfeifer.

Kinkel also proposed in the newspaper article cooperation between EU and ASEAN in nuclear non-proliferation, the prevention of mass destruction weapons and backing of the efforts of the United Nations for international peace and security.

However, he suggested that despite the EU's desire to foster closer political and business relations with a part of the world's fastest growing region - that the ASEAN states constitute - the universality of human rights could not be called into question.

"The idea is not to single out any individual state for violation of human rights but to emphasise that democratization and human rights are essential ingredients of closer ties," explained Pfeifer.

In Brussels the spokesman for development cooperation Commissioner Manuel Marin, who also will be in Karlsruhe, said that there will be "no discussion at all on a second generation of economic agreement between EU and ASEAN."

This agreement is still blocked by Portugal, which is prepared to sign it only if Indonesia improves human rights in its former colony East Timor.

"There is no point in discussing a new agreement if Lisbon is still blocking the signing of such an accord," the spokesman added.

A Portuguese diplomat has assured that the Portuguese delegation will "certainly raise the matter" with the Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

According to Wegter, the "EU will also insist on discussing drug control with the six ASEAN ministers," though there were indications that ASEAN was trying to get the item off the agenda.

"But the EU is keen to discuss this matter and to reach an agreement on drug combat. There is already a sub-committee in place which could start its work," Wegter said.

The rationale behind boosting mutual ties was that ASEAN and the EU with a total population of 700 million are two of the most significant economic areas worldwide, said Hans Peter Stihl, Chairman of the German Confederation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DIHT) based in Bonn.

In the last 30 years the ASEAN countries have achieved average growth rates of seven percent and their exports have increased by 20 percent - results of which western states

can only dream. Since 1980 trade between the regions has quadrupled.

The EU is now the second biggest market for exports from developing ASEAN countries after the United States – absorbing 128 billion ECUs (some 157 billion dollars) – or 27 percent of their total exports in 1993.

Concomitantly, the share of developing ASEAN states in the EU exports jumped from 15 billion ECUs (18 billion dollars) in 1980 to 93 billion ECUs (114 Billion dollar) in 1993, showing that two regions are becoming ever more inter-dependent, notes the EU paper.

In an interview with IPS Thursday, Stihl said: “We are not only concerned about buoying our exports to the region, we are very much interested in a genuine technology transfer and contributing towards raising the living standards in the ASEAN countries.”

However, it was essential to seek inroads on the world’s fastest growing market in the Asia-Pacific region. To leave this dynamic market of the world to the Pacific states, USA and Japan would be tantamount to risking Europe’s competitiveness.

Brussels hopes to keep on the track by establishing EU business centres in Manila, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok.

In its paper on a new Asia strategy the EU says that the rise of ASEAN is “dramatically changing the world balance of economic power.”

By the end of the century, parts of Asia will have witnessed such a growth that at least 400 million Asians will have average disposable incomes at least as high as their European or American contemporaries, according to the paper.

Nearer home the Dutch appeared to be deeply concerned about an issue on which the Bonn foreign office spokesman remained tightlipped – the hanging of a Dutch citizen who was sentenced to death last year for possession of a suitcase in which four kilograms of heroin had been hidden.

In the Hague, a Dutch diplomat said that the Dutch foreign minister Hans van Mierlo, EU External Commissioner van den Broek and Germany’s Kinkel would take the opportunity to protest to the Foreign Minister of Singapore, S. Jayakumar, who currently also acts as the ASEAN spokesman.

If the execution had not been performed on Friday when the ministers are still meeting, then the EU will make a strong plea for a review of the case of the 59-year-old Dutchman Johannes van Damme, the spokesman said.

EU-ASEAN MEET TODAY IN KARLSRUHE

Publico, 23 September 1994. By Maria Ermelinda Pedrosa. Translated from Portuguese

Bonn – The eleventh conference of Foreign Ministers from the European Union (EU) and ASEAN (regional block of countries, composed of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Brunei) started today in Karlsruhe, Germany. Neither East Timor nor the human rights situation in Indonesia - potentially the hottest issues - will be addressed. To lessen the risk of confrontation, the EU’s German Chair decided to remove an agenda item which would deal with the third generation agreement with ASEAN, the renegotiation of which is being blocked by Portugal’s veto.

“The situation is the same We are not forcing anything,” said Klaus Zeller, the German diplomatic chief of Asian affairs. The question of human rights will only be dealt with outside the main conference, at bilateral meetings. The main purpose of the conference is to promote strengthening of economic relations between the two blocks and to encourage continuation of the dialogue on political and security issues, as agreed at the first ASEAN Regional Forum, held in Bangkok on 25 July.

These EU-ASEAN meetings have been held regularly every two years since 1978. This year’s host country also happens to be one of the countries involved in the controversial arms sales to the Jakarta regime - the episode of the 39 war ships from the ex-GDR places Bonn side by side with London at the top of the list of suppliers for the Suharto regime’s war machine.

The issue was the subject of a parliamentary debate last January, during which government officials expressed their intention to make Germany once again the “leader in the export of goods, but not arms.” In this context, Klaus Kinkel, Germany’s Foreign Minister and Liberal Party leader, will be taking part in a “parallel” meeting in Stuttgart, at which about 300 European and Asian business people are to establish parameters for closer economic ties, outside the ambit of the EU-ASEAN cooperation agreement, which dates back to 1980. Tomorrow, ministers and members of the business community will be getting together in Stuttgart for an exchange of views.

In spite of the diplomatic constraints resulting from the situation in Timor and the human rights violations in Indonesia, Germany has been invigorating its economic contacts with ASEAN’s largest country (population of 190 million, economic

growth reaching 28 percent between 1990 and 1993). This year, the volume of trade between the two countries reached 26 million marks.

However, the subject of human rights has been, and will continue to be dealt with outside the ambit of the ministerial meeting. The local Amnesty International Section has organised a vigil outside the Karlsruhe conference centre, where the meeting is being held. Posters (written in German, on the insistence of the local authorities) draw attention to the East Timor issue.

Amnesty International has also organised a silent procession to take place at night through the streets of the city. AI had initially made plans for the hire of an electric tram, from which pamphlets would be handed out as it traveled through the city. However, about two weeks ago, the Karlsruhe municipal authorities, who had already agreed to make the vehicle available, went back on their word claiming that no tram was available after all.

This explanation was unacceptable to AI, which suspects that the local authorities have been swayed by the Foreign Ministry in Bonn. All in the name of harmony at this meeting.

DEMONSTRATION AT EU-ASEAN MEETING BANNED

Press Release (Translation from German) from Gesellschaft fuer bedrohte Voelker (Society for Threatened Peoples), 23 September.

Goettingen/Karlsruhe –

EU-ASEAN Foreign Minister’s Conference Ministry of the Interior of Baden-Wuerttemberg and the City of Karlsruhe prohibit the demonstration against genocide in East Timor organized by the German Society of Threatened Peoples

The president of the Society of Threatened Peoples, Tilman Zuelch, called the prohibition of the demonstration of the Society of Threatened Peoples against the genocide in East Timor a serious violation against the right to demonstrate, which is guaranteed by the German constitution. The demonstration was announce duly last Friday. The German police stated that possible riots by so-called autonomous and anti-fascist groups in front of the town hall may be stirred up by the banners of the Society of Threatened Peoples and Amnesty International.

The demonstration of the Society of Threatened Peoples was located on the area of the local Protestant church opposite the town hall, where the foreign ministers were signing the distinguished visitors’ book of Karlsruhe. The texts on the banner “*Indone-*

sia: 19 Years Genocide in East Timor," "Ministers of Europe: Stop the Occupation of East Timor," "200.000 Dead: Why Does Germany Exports Warships to Indonesia" had been made in agreement with the local priest. The texts on the banner were known by the police as well.

The police prevented the demonstrators to show their banners. One demonstrator took pictures of that police activity, but a policeman jerked the film out of her camera.

Zuelich said that the Society of Threatened Peoples had always dissociated themselves from extremist rowdies both right or left. This is known in all six European countries where the Society is working. If you prevent two international human rights organization with consultative status at the United Nations from protesting against genocide you have not learned anything from the Holocaust. You practise the authoritarian state and create those conditions which have been abolished by the civic rights movement and the peoples of the former GDR in 1989.

The East Timorese human rights activist José Amorim Dias, who was present in Karlsruhe, said, that he was sad about the undemocratic behaviour of the German authorities. But in his homeland it is always like that.

AMNESTY, IN BELGIUM, URGES CLOSE INSPECTION OF ISLAND

By Bob Mantiri

BRUSSELS, Sept. 28 (IPS) - International Human Rights organisation Amnesty International made an urgent appeal to the Belgian government Wednesday to press Jakarta to allow an international inspection of the troubled Indonesian island of East Timor.

Jeff Verrijdt from Amnesty International/Belgium said in a press conference here Wednesday that the "international community has ignored the patterns of serious violations of human rights, which have unfolded over more than a quarter of a century."

"It is now time that the international community take its responsibility," he stressed.

He called upon the Belgian government to "urge Jakarta to invite the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the U.N. Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearance for a visit to East Timor" - a Portuguese colony, occupied by Indonesia in 1975.

"The Belgian government must take the initiative to move all institutions and the governments of the European Union to mul-

tilateral action, which must result in a better improvement of the human rights situation in Indonesia and in East Timor," Verrijdt concluded.

A spokesman for the Indonesian embassy in Brussels said that Indonesia last year set up a National Human Rights Commission, which he said was intended to monitor the human rights situation East Timor - and where people were able to file complaints.

He also said that members of European Parliament and the International Red Cross officials visited East Timor last year.

Furthermore the spokesman referred to the on-going informal reconciliation talks between the Portuguese from East Timor and from Lisbon.

"We are now in a process of implementing confidence-building measures," the Indonesian diplomat commented.

Amnesty quoted a report of its researcher on Indonesia, Geoffrey Robinson, who during a trip to Indonesia, Sept. 25-30, interviewed victims of human rights violations. He also met with local human rights lawyers, pro-democracy activists and journalists.

According to Robinson pro-independence activists in East Timor continue to be subjected to serious human rights abuse, while the military authorities responsible for past abuses have yet to be brought to justice. E)

Amnesty said that Robinson gathered evidence indicating that at least six East Timorese nationals had been sentenced to between 20 months and two years in prison for their part in a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in front of a delegation of foreign journalists in April 1994.

"None of the six was accompanied by a lawyer during their trial or while under interrogation," Robinson noted.

Robinson also reported that like some of its ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations) neighbours including Singapore, Malaysia and The Philippines - the Indonesian government has in recent months begun to use the death penalty with increasing frequency to tackle rising violent crime and drug abuse.

During the week that Robinson visited Indonesia three people were sentenced to death, while at least four others have recently had their appeals for presidential clemency rejected. This means they could be executed at any time, Robinson said.

Human rights lawyers in Indonesia have expressed concern that those sentenced to death may have had unfair trials - and that they may in fact be innocent of the crimes for which they were convicted, the Amnesty researcher on Indonesia reported.

Verrijdt told reporters that Amnesty in the future would try to mobilise farmers,

dissident students and authors, street vendors and women to protest against the violations of human rights by their government.

Furthermore Amnesty offered a set of recommendations to the government of Indonesia and the United Nations member states in order to prevent human rights violations in the future.

Among other matters it recommended to Jakarta was the need to establish the identity, the circumstances of death, and the whereabouts of the victims of all reported extrajudicial executions.

Amnesty further urged the Indonesian government to "prohibit explicitly by law all extra-legal, arbitrary and summary executions and 'disappearances' and ensure that any such executions are recognised as criminal offences and are punishable by penalties which take into account their seriousness."

It also urges Jakarta to "establish and maintain centralised public registers of all detainees in all parts of the country, to be updated on a frequent and regular basis and made available to detainees, relatives, lawyers and the National Human Rights Commission."

INT'L PARLIAMENT OF WRITERS TO SEND MISSION TO EAST TIMOR

Publico, 1 October 1994. By T. Sepulveda.
Translated from Portuguese, Summary

Lisbon - The International Parliament of Writers ended its meeting yesterday in Lisbon. While its discussions were largely inconclusive, one of the resolutions passed by the Assembly was to send a "mission to East Timor to investigate the situation of intellectuals there," "considering the oppression and persecution to which the East Timorese are subjected in the context of Indonesia's illegal occupation of the territory."

The presentation of a both fierce and moving indictment of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, by Portuguese novelist Maria Velho da Costa, contributed considerably to the passing of the resolution. The misdeeds of the shameful, plundering Portuguese colonisation of the territory also came in for some harsh criticism by this writer, who appealed to the congress participants to realise the extent to which East Timor had become a place of "physical, moral and cultural degradation," and to heed the Catholic Bishop of Dili's words "We are dying as a people and as a nation."

RACHLAND NASHIDIK ADDRESSES PORTO CONFERENCE

The following speech was given at the opening session of the Porto conference on East Timor, October 4.

Dear Professor Alberto Amaral; Dear Professor Barbedo Magalhaes; Distinguished guests; Dear friends, and last but not least; Dear friends from East Timor

My name is Rachland Nashidik and I am part of a delegation that has come directly from Indonesia. We represent different Indonesian human rights organisations, let me introduce you to my colleagues Agus Edi Santoso from PIPHAM (Centre for Information and Education on Human Rights), based in Jakarta, Raziku Amin from LEKHAT (Foundation for People's Rights) based in Yogyakarta, Saleh Abdullah from INFIGHT (Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights) based in Jakarta, and George Aditjondro, lecturer at the Satya Wacana University in Salatiga. I myself represent an organisation called PIJAR, Centre for Information and Action Network for Reform. What binds us together is our concern for the Timor issue and our solidarity with the people of East Timor.

This is the second time that I address an East Timor conference. I was also present in Manila as the sole Indonesian that spoke at the APCET conference. We are very honoured to be present at this sixth meeting on East Timor organised seminars on East Timor. The Porto conferences on East Timor are internationally known and our presence here is an expression of our appreciation to the organisers of this event.

Dear friends,

This conference is held at a very important moment. For the first time after the invasion of the Indonesian army in December 1975, our Foreign Minister Ali Alatas will meet representatives from the East Timorese resistance. Although we should see this as a very first step of a long process to find a just and comprehensive solution for the problem of East Timor, it is a very important first step. The international situation is very favourable: we see important improvements in the peace process in the Middle East and the right of the Palestinians for an own homeland. We also see the first steps towards a permanent peace in Northern Ireland and the right of self-determination there. In this same spirit we are cautiously optimistic that the talks between the Indonesian government and the representatives of the Timorese will also lead in the same direction.

Solution for a problem needs favourable conditions and preconditions. In the case of

East Timor, those conditions and preconditions are determined not only in Dili and Baucau but also in Jakarta, New York, Geneva, Lisbon and other places. We as part of the Indonesian democratic movement, are very much aware that fundamental changes in Jakarta create those conditions of fundamental change in East Timor. It works both ways, developments in East Timor also affect the political situation in Jakarta. They are very much interlinked. I go even further: a true democracy in Indonesia is impossible without a solution for the East Timor issue. The struggle for democracy in Indonesia goes hand in hand with the anti-colonial struggle in East Timor. That is why the democratic movement in Indonesia has put East Timor firmly on their political agenda.

Dear friends, we have travelled a long way to come to Porto. As you all know, our presence in Portugal is not without risks. Indonesia and Portugal have severed diplomatic relations because of East Timor. Like what happened with our friend Mulyana Kusumah, who was invited but could not attend this conference because of his brief arrest, we can also face the same harassments when we go home. Still we decided to take this risk, also as an expression of our duty towards the Timorese people.

SALEH ABDULLAH PORTO SPEECH

The following speech was delivered at the closing session of the Porto conference, October 6

My name is Saleh Abdullah, and it is the first time for me to be in Portugal. I must confess I was very emotional because I met again with so many East Timorese friends here. Friends that I haven't seen for many years, friends that gave me information about the situation in East Timor and raised my awareness about the grave injustice there.

After attending the Iserlohn and Porto conference on East Timor, again I have learned some more things. I want to share some of these things with you. First of all I realise how important the international pressure and campaigns are to create an awareness on the situation in East Timor, but moreover the two conferences have also become an expression of the growing international solidarity on East Timor and not in the least in the Southeast Asia region. As my Filipino friends are saying, East Timor is back on the map, it actually means it has become a burning issue. The governments in the ASEAN countries are faced with the East Timor issue and on the people to people level, the population in the ASEAN

countries are also aware now that there is a tragedy in their own backyard.

Since my first contacts, I have always admired the courage of the East Timorese. It is because of their continuous struggle that gives the spark of international solidarity in many parts of the world. We can also see the growing understanding between Indonesian democrats and the people of East Timor. The message of Xanana Gusmão to the Indonesian solidarity groups has a wide circulation and has been read by many Indonesians. Increasingly Indonesian democrats realise that the struggle for democracy in Indonesia goes hand in hand with the just struggle for self-determination of the East Timorese.

Soon we are going home to Indonesia, but we will continue our work on East Timor with increasing efforts. The conditions in Indonesia are favourable. There is a growing interest in the problem of East Timor. At universities more students are doing research on East Timor and the works by George Aditjondro have reached many young Indonesian students. We have to make sure that this development will continue.

We have published several booklets and magazines on the East Timor issue. We will continue to do this and will try to reach an even bigger public. Giving objective information to the Indonesian public is the first essential step for a proper understanding of the East Timor tragedy. While several years ago disinformation still existed even among active members of the Indonesian democratic movement, nowadays Indonesian activists in general have a clear understanding of the matter.

There is one important point that we discussed among the Indonesian participants, the fact that the East Timor tragedy is also an Indonesian tragedy. Although no official figures have been given, some 20,000 Indonesian soldiers died in the war against the East Timorese people, including many wounded and permanently crippled. We remember that the Vietnam war was not only fought in the battlefields of Vietnam but also in the streets of Washington, New York or Ohio. In the same spirit we have to inform the Indonesian people about the unjust war in East Timor. The colonial war in Mozambique and Angola hastened the fall of the fascist regime in Lisbon. We believe that the struggle of the East Timorese can also accelerate the process of democratization in Indonesia. We thank all the Portuguese for the enormous hospitality and in particular Prof. Barbedo Magalhaes and his team.

I want to end with the quote of my Filipino friend Renato Constantino Junior, "It's time to win the war." With all the friends we have made these two days I feel confident

we can win the war for democracy in Indonesia and a just and comprehensive solution for the East Timorese.

PORTUGUESE 12 NOVEMBER ASSOCIATION PLANS

Report from CDPM, 13 October

Solidarity activities for the 12 Nov. 94:
"Timor Livre" (Free Timor) Concert

Purposes:

- 1) To evoke the Santa Cruz massacre day
- 2) To implement 1) through music, that is a worldwide language and one tool for achieving peace, justice and liberty, assembling important Portuguese musicians/pop-rock bands
- 3) To produce one live record dedicated to Timor and one music telecast that will be broadcast by one Portuguese TV Channel (TVI). The music telecast will be placed freely at foreign TV disposal;
- 4) Fund raising for the 12 Nov. Association so that can be used in;
 - helping to preserve the Timorese identity and culture
 - helping to internationalize the E.T. issue
 - supporting emergency situations lived by Timorese, inside East Timor and in exile, and finally
 - contributing for the young Timorese education

Date and place of event; 12 November 1994, 9.30 pm - S.Luis Theater (Lisboa). (S.Luis is one of the oldest and prettiest theaters of Lisbon)

Musicians and Pop-Rock bands invited: already accepted to participate: Delfins, Luis Represas, Rui Veloso; not yet confirmed: Pedro Burmester/Mario Laginha, Xutos e Pontapes, Sitiados, Despe e Siga, GNR, Sergio Godinho.

Show production: União Lisboa

Audio recording and "Timor de Esperança - Concerto ao vivo" (Timor of Hope - Live Concert) Production: Registudio

Industrial production and Record distribution: BMG

TV videotaping : TVI

Profits from sponsorship, ticket selling, record/CD selling, merchandising: 12 Nov. Association

Manuel da Silva, 13 October 1994

CAVACO SILVA: "TALKS SHOULD INCLUDE TIMORESE"

Diario de Noticias, 15 Oct. 1994. By J. M. Barroso. Trans. from Portuguese, Summary

New York – In his meeting yesterday in New York with the UN Secretary General, Portugal's Prime Minister, Cavaco Silva, said that not only should the Timorese now be more heavily represented at the talks between the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers, but also that it no longer makes sense that Xanana Gusmão continue in prison, given that Ali Alatas had recently met with Xanana's representative. He also argued that the imprisoned Resistance leader should have a role in the negotiations process.

The Prime Minister thanked Dr. Boutros Ghali for his efforts to bring about a settlement and to promote respect for human rights in East Timor. He emphasised the need for journalists and human rights organizations to be allowed free access there, a reduction in the numbers of Indonesian troops, and respect for the cultural and religious identity of the Timorese.

East Timor was the subject of Cavaco Silva's interview on the CNN TV channel, during which he referred to the territory as "a matter of principle" to Portugal.

PRESIDENT (SOARES) SPEAKS OF TIMOR IN POLAND

Diario de Noticias, 19 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Once again, President Soares acted as ambassador for the Timorese cause. In his speech he did not fail to mention Portuguese determination to back the "UN's initiatives and efforts in bringing about constructive dialogue, which seeks to end the human rights violations in East Timor and to find a just and internationally acceptable solution, in line with the principles of the UN Charter and resolutions passed by the General Assembly and Security Council, so that the East Timorese people's right to self-determination is recognised by Indonesia, and the brutal and illegal occupation of the territory by Indonesia is ended."

Soares thanked "the Poland's unfailing support for the East Timorese cause."

ELIZABETH BAGLEY'S DEBUT (AS U.S. AMBASSADOR IN LISBON)

Diario de Noticias, 20 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – New US Ambassador Elizabeth Bagley made her public debut yesterday at the American Club in Lisbon. Her statements included some references to East Timor, which should be good news for Jakarta: Clinton's policy remains unchanged - acceptance of integration in Indonesia, but support for the efforts of the UN Secretary General.

However, Elizabeth Bagley did say that she thinks Washington is trying to pressure Jakarta into accepting greater Timorese participation in the administration of the territory, bearing in mind the people's desire for self-determination. Furthermore, the ambassador revealed that Bill Clinton will raise the question of East Timor with the Indonesian president when they meet next November at the APEC summit in Jakarta.

NEW DIRTY LAUNDRY ON THE ARMS FRONT (IN SWEDEN)

Aftonbladet, Sweden. 23 October, 1994 Byline: Henrik Westander

Comment: Aftonbladet is the second largest evening paper, and is owned by the trade unions. Consequently, it is the Social Democrat's newspaper in Sweden.

A social democratic government shouldn't lead to new weapons deliveries to Indonesia. This straightforward election promise was delivered by Deputy Foreign Minister Pierre Schori on the television program "Striptease" on the tenth of August.

Apparently he had forgotten that just last year the Social Democrats cleared the sales of anti-submarine missiles (ASW-600) and timing devices for canons (EOS-400) to Indonesia.

The permission for these deals was the work of three Social Democrats- Sture Ericson, Barbro Evermo-Palmerlund and Reynoldh Furustrand- in the Parliamentary Advisory Council on the Export of War Materials. SPAS (Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society) disclosed the green light given by the Council for new war material deals to Indonesia over a year ago. Sture Ericson defended himself with "There are no new weapons systems (Nerikes Allehanda 14 October 1994)." But this proved to be a lie as well. Saab Missiles had never previously had deals with Indonesia, so the question

obviously concerned whole new arms deals. The materials in question had been classified as "War materials for combat." In November of 1991, the Indonesian occupying forces massacred hundreds of Timorese youth in a cemetery in the capital city of East Timor. The same month saw the adoption of a resolution (#470) by the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council. This resolution called on the international community (i) to introduce an immediate embargo on arms to Indonesia; and (ii) to suspend immediately military support for Indonesia. The massacre also led to the introduction of a Parliamentary Motion in 1992 by the Social Democrats. This motion demanded that "all exporting of war materials to Indonesia cease in accordance with the European Council's resolution." In this resolution, one may also read that: Indonesia is run by a "Military dictatorship under the leadership of a General Suharto." "Oppression and terror against both occupied territories and the native population still continue." Indonesia's occupation of East Timor is one of "the most brutal violations of international rights in the post-war period," but the resistance is said "to have increased in the previous years."

The Social Democrats have also demanded that all exports of war materials must stop, including spare parts. This has not happened. On the contrary, the conservative government began, with the support of Social Democrats in the Advisory Council, to water down the anti-Indonesian politics. First, Bofors was given the all-clear to export 120mm training-ammunition, and then the government approved the export of flares worth four million SEK.

Furthermore, the council gave the green light to several companies to go ahead with new arms deals to Indonesia. When SPAS disclosed these actions, Pierre Schori, who was Foreign Policy Spokesman at the time, responded forcefully. He stated in the Parliamentary Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs that the party was strongly against all new business with Indonesia and he declared that there would be "no new deals" to an Indonesian human rights activist who was visiting Sweden at the time [HJC Princeton-ed. Steve Falbo]. But Sture Ericson, who had approved the deals, defended himself on Radio Orebro with the telling argument: "The procedure regarding the Parliamentary Advisory Council on the Export of War Materials demands that the three Social Democrats on the council discuss the important questions with Pierre Schori, among others... We don't do anything unless we know that the party leadership is behind us. The decisions we make in the council fit in with our party's politics [Well said]."

This would imply that Pierre Schori had sanctioned new arms deals with Indonesia at an earlier forum! It also leads to the conclusion that the party leadership was directly involved in the green light received by Saab Missiles to, among other things, sell new weapons to the Indonesian occupying forces.

In a conversation with SPAS immediately preceding the elections, Mats Hellstrom, the new Minister of Trade, said that new arms deals with Indonesia are not to be approved. Will he live up to his promises and stop, among other deals, the sale of Saab Missile's anti-submarine missiles, Hagglund's troop transports and SA Marina's mine sweeping equipment?

STOP OUR ARMS EXPORTS TO INDONESIA

Editorial, Aftonbladet (Sweden), Oct. 25, 1994

Amnesty International has begun a worldwide campaign to stop violations of human rights in Indonesia. Many countries, due to a wonderful business and investment climate, have been turning a blind eye to these violations. They want to believe that the Indonesian government has been able to follow through on it's promises to better the situation. Others criticize the abuses while continuing to export weapons.

A new Amnesty report, out in September, states that the repeated attempts by the Suharto regime to brush away the violations as 'isolated incidents' are bogus. The last few months have seen a marked increase in official harassment and persecution of critics and human rights activists.

Practically in the face of Amnesty's official reporter, four men were tortured by electric shock and subjected to a faked execution for releasing balloons with pro-democracy slogans attached. There are also rumors that "death squads" are roaming the streets to remove 'undesirables' before an international conference [APEC conference in Nov.]. It is time for the world's governments to stop treasuring economics at the expense of human rights, says Amnesty.

In Sweden, the debate on the export of military material by Saab Missiles has come up again. We are awaiting the unequivocal stance of the government that all such projects must end.

EVENTS IN THE U.K.

BRITISH LEGISLATORS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

AFP, 10 September 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – Six British legislators are scheduled to visit the former Portuguese colony of East Timor next week, a British embassy official said here Saturday.

Ian Donaldson said that the MPs will visit East Timor for two days starting Sept. 18 to see for themselves the current situation there.

The delegation, led by Conservative MP Patrick Nicholls, the chair of the Anglo-Indonesian Parliamentary Group, is expected to meet local leaders, including the Jakarta-appointed governor, the military chief and the head of the Catholic Church.

The group has met senior Indonesian officials and is expected to pay a courtesy call on President Suharto on Monday.

Report from British Coalition for East Timor, Sept. 16.

The group consists entirely of Conservative and Ulster Unionist MPs. They are:

- Patrick Nicholls (Con)
- Charles Goodson-Wickes (Con)
- Robert Banks (Con)
- Roy Beggs (UUP)
- Cecil Walker (UUP)
- James Hunt (Con)

According to the Foreign Office David Young (Lab) is also a member of this group but according to his constituency secretary, this information is incorrect.

BRITISH MPS PROBE HUMAN RIGHTS AND EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, 14.9.1994. Abridged

Jakarta – A British parliamentary delegation held a meeting with members of the National Commission on Human Rights Monday evening with probing questions about human rights in Indonesia, and East Timor.

The delegation, led by Patrick Nicholls came armed with allegations of rampant human rights violations in Indonesia which they received from press reports in Britain, said Charlie Himawan, a member of the Commission. The reports have been largely negative.

"The delegation said that the purpose of their visit is to help the government of Indonesia inform the people of Britain about implementation of human rights in Indonesia because the reports which reach them were really negative," Himawan said.

The Commission told the delegates press freedom in Indonesia was not as bad as what they learned; local papers had published the commission's criticism of the government in the case of the murder of labour activist Marsinah and in the banning of *Tempo*, Himawan said.

"They were very surprised and asked for some clippings so that they could ensure their colleagues in Britain that the restrictions against the Indonesian press were not as bad as they thought," he said

MORE PRAISE FOR INDONESIA FROM BRITISH MPS

wire service reports, Sept. 22

The leader of a British parliamentary delegation to Indonesia, Patrick Nicholls, has said the human rights situation in East Timor is "improving." Following a meeting with the new military commander of East Timor, Kika Syahnakri, he said he had "the clear impression that the Indonesian authorities bitterly regretted the shootings in Dili three years ago." The military commander had told him that eighteen people were killed and fifty six missing, an assessment which Nicholls said he thought was "nearer to the truth." For Nicholls to accept this figure is quite extraordinary given that even the official casualty figure from the Indonesian government is now considerably higher than **eighteen**. Nicholls also said that "his impression was that East Timor's future lay with Indonesia."

Reuters reports that "a British embassy official said the embassy had no record of any similar previous parliamentary visit." In fact, this is not true. In 1989, a delegation of MPs led by Richard Alexander (Conservative) made a visit to East Timor. This was an all-party delegation, unlike the current delegation which is made up exclusively of Tories and Ulster Unionists. Among the MPs who visited in 1989 was Ann Clwyd (Labour), who has since become an outspoken advocate for human rights in East Timor.

BRITISH MP PATRICK NICHOLLS ON TIMOR TRIP

Several articles, Abridged

[Comment: It would be difficult to recall any other parliamentary delegation to East Timor that has been so craven in its subservience to the Indonesian forces of occupation. - TAPOL]

BRITISH MPS PRAISE RI FOR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD IN EAST TIMOR

Indonesian Observer, 22 September. Original English

The British parliamentary delegation concluded a three-day visit to East Timor Tuesday, praising the Indonesian government's ways in dealing with prevailing issues in the country's youngest province, including the 1991 incident.

Speaking to reporters in Dili, East Timor on Tuesday, Patrick Nicholls said that he was very impressed by Indonesian government's efforts to prevent a similar incident recurring, adding that human rights issues have improved considerably for the last few years, Antara news agency reported from Dili yesterday.

Nicholls was heading a six member delegation of the Anglo- Indonesian Parliamentary Group (AIPG) in a three-day visit to East Timor which concluded Tuesday.

Earlier, on Monday, Nicholls said that the human rights in the province has been protected in line with the country's laws and regulations, disagreeing with reports portraying negative human rights records in East Timor.

According to Nicholls, the visit was prompted by the British people's concern about human rights in East Timor.

The visit was also aimed at obtaining first-hand information about the steps taken by the Indonesian military to prevent such an incident from happening again, and having a close look at the development progress of the former Portuguese colony which was integrated into Indonesia 18 years ago. The November incident claimed 56 lives during a clash between protesters and security officers.

The British people heard about the situation and concrete actions taken by the Indonesian government in the province, but mostly from press reports, he said.

He also hailed the armed forces officers who are engaged in educational and social activities by, for instance, providing computer courses and mechanic training for East Timorese youths.

Nicholls said that following the Portuguese decolonisation (sic), it was natural if the East Timorese people wanted to join

their brothers in other parts of Indonesia since geographically East Timor is part of Indonesia.

To accelerate the development of the country's 27th province, he is of the view that the country should give a high priority in the development programme in East Timor so that it can keep pace with the other provinces.

He said he will inform President Suharto about his observation on East Timor when he and his delegation's members pay a courtesy call on the head of state in Jakarta before they return home.

Before leaving the province, the legislators who were accompanied by Samoedro of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry and the British Embassy's second secretary, Ian Donaldson, met East Timor's military commander, Colonel, Colonel Kiki Syahnakri.

Republika, 19 September 1994; Translated from Indonesian

Patrick Nicholls, chair of the AIPG, who arrived in Indonesia a short while ago said that members of the British Parliament and several Ministers consider that Indonesia has made every effort to improve the human rights situation in East Timor.

This member of Parliament from the Conservative Party also said he had met a number of ministers and other MPs. They are all very much impressed by what the Indonesian government has done in developing East Timor. "Indonesia should get credit points for what it has done," he said.

He said that international attention towards the question of East Timor was the indirect result of the mistakes of the international media which has exaggerated things.

"There are some people, whose motivation I don't know, who have exaggerated the issue, especially since the 1991 incident. Any individual or any country should not make their own assessment of conditions in another country before having a clear knowledge of what has happened," he said.

Kompas, 21 September 1994. Translated from Indonesian

"After coming and seeing for myself, it is clear that the situation is vastly different from what is being reported in the foreign press," Nicholls told Antara.

As an example, he referred to the implementation of human rights which has so often been the primary concern of foreign press reports. It turns out that things are not as they have been depicted in the foreign press. "So, it's not correct to say that the implementation of human rights is awful there because it is clear that they are pro-

ceeding in conformity with legal requirements in Indonesia," he said.

All his findings will be reported to President Suharto when the delegation meets him before leaving Indonesia.

"I will also tell President Suharto that freedom of the press is very good in East Timor, in line with the legal regulations in Indonesia," he said.

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIAN: ABRI SHOULD RECRUIT EAST TIMORESE

Republika, 21 September 1994. Translated from Indonesian; Abridged

[Comment: Our friends in Northern Ireland might be quite interested in these remarks, especially as Ulster Unionist MPs were also on the mission. Incidentally, all comments we have seen in the Indonesian press have been made by Nicholls. Carmel/TAPOL]

Dili – The six British visitors to East Timor have suggested that the armed forces (ABRI) should recruit local people into the army in East Timor. This policy has been pursued by the British government to overcome the separatist movement in Northern Ireland and it has worked very well.

Mr. Patrick Nicholls, leader of the group, said that there are now only 200 (sic) Northern Ireland separatists left. Although the issue in Northern Ireland is different from East Timor, the disruptions caused by the separatists have had a strong impact on the government. "These disruptions declined after many local people in Northern Ireland joined the army," he said.

The East Timor military commander Colonel Syahnakri said that East Timorese have already been recruited. There is one major, four first officers and four more are undergoing training at the military academy, AMN.

Besides asking questions, these foreign visitors had some suggestions to make. They said that when compiling information about the number of casualties at Santa Cruz in 1991, the figures they were given by ABRI were not the same as the figures they got from the International Red Cross (ICRC) according to whom the number of dead and disappeared was very high indeed.

"It would be a good idea if the two sides were to have the same perception so that people abroad would not get confused and feel unsure about the number of casualties," said Patrick Nicholls.

Syahnakri admitted that there were quite a lot of problems in East Timor. "Yes, indeed, our figures are not the same as the ICRC's," he said. Apart from the fact that they had obtained different reports, the ICRC also includes in their data the people who disappeared during the civil war in 1975. (sic)

NICHOLLS: INDONESIAN RIGHTS

Letter to The Times (London), October 4

From Mr. Patrick Nicholls, MP for Teignbridge (Conservative)

Sir, No one, least of all the Indonesian government, itself, would suggest that there have not in years past been human rights violations in Indonesia, but Amnesty's position, as reported by James Pringle today, that there has been a "dramatic escalation" of such violations in recent months is simply untenable.

I have just returned from Indonesia after leading a delegation from the All Party Anglo-Indonesian Parliamentary Group.

During a programme lasting nearly three weeks we had an extensive series of meetings, not simply with government officials but with dissidents, the National Commission on Human Rights, the Red Cross, and Bishop Bello [sic], head of the Roman Catholic community in East Timor.

The visit culminated with a meeting with President Suharto at which the human rights position was discussed at length. Two points clearly emerged.

First, the Indonesian government, from the President downwards, has fully taken on board international concerns on its human rights record and has done its best to address them.

Second, while there were differences of opinion about the extent of the improvement, no one, not even Bishop Bello [sic], was suggesting that there had been a deterioration in recent months. Indeed, the precise opposite was clearly the case.

Those who constantly repeat unsubstantiated figures about massacres and depopulation in Indonesia in my view undermine the cause they seek to advance. What is even worse is that, in misrepresenting those countries that are by no means the most culpable, attention is diverted from those that are.

For that reason, if for no other, Indonesia deserves a better hearing than Amnesty seems willing to give it.

BCET AND AI RESPOND:

The Times (London), October 11

From Mr. Jonathan Humphries, British Coalition for East Timor

Sir, Patrick Nicholls, MP, reporting on his recent visit to Indonesia and occupied East Timor, states that his delegation of the All Party Anglo-Indonesian Parliamentary Group conducted "an extensive series of meetings" in which discussions were held on the current human rights situation in Indo-

nesia. I would dispute that they arrived at a true picture of the situation.

In the first place, the delegation consisted only of Conservative and Ulster Unionist MPs, which must place the "All Party" tag in some jeopardy. The delegation spent only three days in East Timor and did not venture outside the capital Dili.

Mr. Nicholls mentions his meeting with Bishop Belo, the leader of the Catholic Church in East Timor. My understanding is that the bishop agreed only to a ten-minute meeting. Shortly after this brief encounter, Bishop Belo was interviewed by Edward Olsten-Hafstead, a development consultant (the tape of this interview is in my possession). Replying to a question about the MPs' visit, this is what the bishop said:

"It is sad that in three days they can state that they know the situation ... and that the people of East Timor are happy, they agree with integration. I think it is not very fair to say that. They need to stay more and know the people. And it is not their matter [i.e. business] to say that the best way for East Timor is special status or integration ... The problem is to ask the people."

In the same interview, Belo denies that there has been an improvement in the human rights situation, which Mr. Nicholls suggests was his position.

Mr. Olsten-Hafstead reported that during the visit of Mr. Nicholls and his colleagues, Indonesian soldiers appear to have been kept off the streets of Dili, only to return in numbers immediately after their departure.

Following Mr. Nicholls into occupied East Timor was a group of MPs from the Japanese Diet. Their complaints of being under constant Indonesian military supervision, and the refusal of the occupying authorities to let them go outside of Dili, echo the complaints of many official delegations to East Timor.

From David Bull, Amnesty International (British Section)

Sir, Patrick Nicholls implies that Amnesty International is unwilling to give Indonesia a fair hearing. This is not true. Our research on Indonesia is based on a wide variety of sources, including numerous visits, and strenuous efforts are made to ensure its accuracy and impartiality. As in the past, we remain ready to discuss human rights with the Indonesian government.

But our concerns persist. Human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor are institutionalised and widespread. They extend beyond much-publicised incidents such as the Santa Cruz massacre of 1991.

Mr. Nicholls says that "the Indonesian government, from the President downwards, has fully taken on board international con-

cerns on its human rights record and has done its best to address them.” Yet of the 11 recommendations made by the UN special rapporteur on torture after his visit in 1992 (in which he found that torture was commonplace), ten have still not been addressed.

Attempts by domestic and international organisations to monitor human rights are still regularly hindered. There is little evidence of any real change to support President Suharto’s supposed commitment to human rights. Indeed he himself has boasted that the mysterious killings of an estimated 5,000 people in the 1980s were part of his policy of “shock therapy” against crime.

It is vital that foreign governments do not allow Indonesia’s military government to believe human rights are unimportant. Mr. Nicholls’ comments, both in his letter and in statements reported in the Indonesian press during his visit, do not send appropriate signals.

STOP EXCUSING TYRANNY

By Bernard Levin. The Times (London), October 25 1994

When I read the singularly unimpressive letter in *The Times* on October 4 from Mr. Patrick Nicholls, MP extolling the wonderful newfound cleansed attitude of President Suharto’s regime in Indonesia, I was not greatly reassured. (Mr. Nicholls and a group had been visiting Indonesia, and - surprise, surprise - they found it just as its ruler would have liked them to find). True, Suharto had promised to murder slightly fewer people in East Timor than had been his practice hitherto; but since he had already murdered a number running to something between half a million and a million, logic alone (to say nothing of the corpses), makes clear that there were substantially smaller numbers left to murder.

But there was another letter, on October 11, from a Mr. Jonathan Humphreys, and rarely if ever have I seen such a demolition. For readers who missed it, I must summarise.

First, Nicholls described his jaunt as being “all-party”; Humphreys says that Nicholls’s band was made up entirely of Tories and Ulster Unionists. Next, Humphreys reveals that Nicholls and friends spent only three days in East Timor, and even there did not leave the capital. Then again, Nicholls leaned on a shaky stick when he made much too much of the very guarded statements of Bishop Belo (a most courageous prelate). Indeed, the bishop (who was tape recorded) said: “It is sad that in three days they can state that they know the situation ... and that the people are happy, they agree with integration. I think it is not

very fair to say that ... They need to stay more and know the people ...”

But the splendid Mr. Humphreys has not finished chewing Mr. Nicholls up and spitting him out. Bishop Belo denies that there has been an improvement in the human rights situation, though Nicholls says otherwise. And - a *bonne-bouche* - during the Nicholls-and-company visit, Indonesian soldiers appeared to have been kept off the streets of the capital, but they were back in force as soon as the Nicholls lot left.

Now then; an exchange of letters can be useful, but it is not sufficient. I have before me Amnesty International’s comprehensive study of the vast spread of breaches of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor. It is a book of 126 pages, containing catalogue of wickedness that should make Mr. Nicholls ashamed of himself, but probably won’t.

I am sometimes told that, terrible though the monstrous Indonesian massacres of 1965 were, those days have long gone. That is a delusion; mass slaughter- is still a ready weapon, as I shall show, and Indonesia is today still a stewpot of violations of elementary human rights, including murders. Nor are these committed by ones and twos, as the peaceful people of Dili, the capital of East Timor, could testify, were it not for the fact that in November 1991, 270 peaceful demonstrators were slaughtered by government troops. Major General Mantiri said of that massacre:

We don’t regret anything. What happened was quite proper ... They were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the government. To me that is identical with rebellion, so that is why we took firm action. I don’t think there’s anything strange in that.

I dare say he didn’t; and probably Major General Pramono would agree, because he says

I have told the community, if you find a terrorist [definition elastic], kill him. There’s no need to investigate him. Don’t let people be the victims. If they don’t do as you order them, shoot them on the spot, or butcher them. I tell members of the community to carry sharp weapons, a machete or whatever. If you meet a terrorist [definition elastic] kill him.

But 270 is small by Indonesian standards; when in 1975 the Indonesians invaded and took East Timor, they managed to kill - by slaughter, starvation and disease - some 200,000, and between 1989 and 1993 they killed 2,000 civilians during counter-insurgency operations.

That, of course, is the fruit of arbitrary and total rule; Suharto has reigned by brute force for decades now: there are no checks

on his actions, no limits to what his armed forces may do. There is no independent legal system. Criminals are killed without any trial (and anyway criminals are who the system says they are), and the authorities boast of the number of their victims.

Now let me introduce you to the Anti-Subversion Law. It is used to justify the detention without trial of hundreds of thousands of alleged government opponents and to put thousands more through show trials. The Anti-Subversion Law facilitates detention, torture and random killing; it even manages to provide harsher penalties than other laws on political crimes, including the death penalty. But then the “ordinary” laws include seven years imprisonment for “the public expression of feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt toward the government.”

Not that there is a need for laws that prohibit the expression of hostility toward the government; such a law is a minnow among the evils of Suharto’s reign, for in April this year the Indonesian authorities woke up to the fact that the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit meeting is to be held in November, and Jakarta must look its best. For instance, it would not do for the foreign visitors to know that there is a substantial crime-rate in Indonesia, which is rising. What to do?

Well, the rate of summary killings of suspected criminals had been, and is, rising, and in April 1994 the authorities announced that 16,700 soldiers and police had been mustered for a new anti-crime drive, code-named Operation Cleansing. I think my readers can guess why the visitors from other countries were not affronted by the sight of criminals. But just to make sure, I can offer you what was said by Major General Hindarto, Police Chief of Jakarta. He said: “Jakarta must be cleared of all criminals. Educating them is no longer an effective means of bringing down the rate of violent crime here. We have no choice but to impose harsh laws.”

And what about Aceh? Aceh is a province of Indonesia, and there has long been a peaceful movement for independence. But independence is not a word to speak under the rule of Suharto and his satraps. The time had come to make sure that Aceh would no longer think of something so dangerous. Between 1989 and 1993, some 2,000 civilians - including women, the old and children - were killed by Indonesian forces. Some died in public executions. The bodies of others, killed secretly, were left to rot in public places, having been mutilated. Many were left where they were killed, because the surviving villagers were afraid to go and get their murdered families; this great wave of mass murders began immediately Suharto

ordered 6,000 troops to be deployed in counter-insurgency.

As I think I have made clear, the terrible things that still go on in Indonesia are not from years ago. Most, indeed, date from 1988 or later, and many from 1993 or 1994. But if Mr. Nicholls MP wants to argue that the bad things in Indonesia are in the past, I can offer him the very latest bulletin, hot off the press.

For Amnesty International's Dr. Geoffrey Robinson has been travelling through Indonesia for signs good or bad - that will show whether things are changing there, and he was in Indonesia only a few weeks ago. The signs were bad, and same getting worse. For instance, Dr. Robinson found that in East Timor the government intimidation of lawyers and journalists has grown worse, not better. He found the same in the matter of arbitrary killings of criminals, and that among pro-democracy groups it was at its worst. For instance, four men were arrested on 21 September in Jakarta for releasing balloons bearing messages such as "Uphold the rights of workers" and "The 1945 constitution guarantees freedom to organise." Two of the arrested men were tortured for at least two days.

And so it goes on, perhaps for ever, while our government fawns on Suharto and his thugs, and visitors like Nicholls speak good of evil. Well, I can do nothing about it but write words, and that I have done. If a family reads them on the way to a nice holiday in Bali, I wish them only understanding.

BRITISH TIMOR CAMPAIGNERS TARGET ARMS TRADE

By Norm Dixon Green Left #161, September 28, 1994

LONDON - A broad coalition of anti-militarists and East Timor solidarity activists has formed to oppose the sale of British fighter aircraft and other military supplies to the Indonesian government. Will McMahon, a prominent activist in the Coalition For East Timor (CFET) and the Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT), told Green Left Weekly the movement against Indonesia's occupation of East Timor has grown considerably in the past year.

"At the time of the Dili massacre, there was very little going on. There were a few individuals keeping the work going. From 1991 onwards, CFET grew very slowly. But from summer last year it got a lot more organised and decided to carry out some serious projects," McMahon said.

A boost to the campaign was the British government's decision in late 1993 to allow British Aerospace (BAe) to sell 24 Hawk

ground attack aircraft, worth Lstg500 million, to the Indonesian government. In January, the number was doubled. The Hawks will begin to be delivered at the rate of two a month from 1996.

"A number of organisations have come to together to campaign against the sale," McMahon said. As well as CFET and CAAT, the coalition, which will be officially launched in October, includes ARROW, a pacifist Christian group from Manchester that uses direct action tactics, the Indonesian human rights campaign (TAPOL), the Fire Brigades Union and Pax Christi.

A 150-strong picket was held outside BAe's shareholders AGM on April 26. Coalition activists inside the AGM distributed an alternative annual report, *Writing on the Wall*, and caused an uproar when they asked BAe board members questions about the use of Hawks in East Timor. An embarrassed BAe chief executive, Dick Evans, was forced to agree to meet with campaigners.

The campaign against Indonesia's brutal occupation of East Timor was also boosted when John Pilger's hard-hitting documentary, *Death of a Nation*, was screened on British television in late February, said McMahon. Pilger was very keen to cooperate with CFET and CAAT.

"CAAT's telephone number was put up on the screen, and we organised all our London contacts to do work around it. There was a huge, spectacular press launch organised by Pilger. He was everywhere, absolutely everywhere. Every newspaper covered the story. He got the campaign on the Channel 4 news, which is Britain's liberal news service. Resources started to flow in quite heavily."

Pilger's documentary included conclusive evidence that Hawk attack aircraft have been used against East Timorese civilians. However, the British government refuses to accept eyewitness accounts from refugees and opposition forces given to Pilger as he filmed secretly in occupied East Timor. It calls for "independent" evidence. It has also recently come to light that another British firm has won a contract to upgrade Indonesia's British-supplied armoured personnel carriers.

While the British government does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, it is prepared to turn a blind eye to continuing atrocities on the island in order to promote economic and political relations with the Suharto dictatorship.

The large oil field in the Timor Gap is being exploited by British oil companies, together with companies from Australia and Indonesia. British government ministers have declared their hope that the UK will become Indonesia's number one trading

partner. The Labour Party front bench has not opposed the sale and has accepted Jakarta's assurances that the aircraft will not be used for internal security purposes.

The coalition is organising nationwide activities to commemorate the November 12 Dili massacre. "It is going Europe-wide as well, organised through the European Network Against the Arms Trade. And it is going to be international as well because we assume people in Australia and New Zealand, the United States and Ireland are going to be doing things on that day. It is going to be an international day of action."

In December, "We are launching a year of action, which takes place around the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion in 1975. The aim of that year of action is to build a big coalition. We are in contact with the public service union UNISON, which is Britain's biggest union and has a very good record on international solidarity. They will be discussing it at their international committee in early October. The Fire Brigades Union is supporting it. We've got one leading unionist in the postal workers union doing work around it, and they may boycott Indonesia. We are going to try to get the labour movement and the student movement to sponsor this coalition."

McMahon explained that East Timor activists in Britain were attempting to replicate the success of the East Timor solidarity campaign in Ireland. "They have run a brilliant campaign. Last month over half the MPs in Ireland signed a petition against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor."

The Irish movement has mass support, especially in the labour movement. "We are copying what they have done. We are hoping that six months from now we will have a speaker going to every trade union conference. We will be building a very broad coalition."

Another key objective is to improve contacts with East Timor solidarity and Indonesian democracy movements activists worldwide. At the moment those links are "loose," McMahon said. The British Coalition For East Timor can be contacted c/- 312a Walworth Rd, London SE17 2NA.

MAGUIRE SLAMS UK GOVERNMENT

Voice of Timor, 4 Oct. 1994.

Northern Ireland's Nobel Peace Prize winner Mairead Maguire has slammed British Government Ministers for their performance over the occupied island of East Timor. Giving a keynote speech at a major conference in Oporto in Portugal on Tuesday (4th October), she condemned Britain for permitting the supply of arms to the

Indonesian junta which has so far slaughtered 200,000 East Timorese citizens - a third of the entire population of the small South East Asian island which Indonesia invaded in 1975.

Mrs. Maguire, a co-founder of the Belfast-based Peace People, was expelled from the Philippines earlier this year while attempting to defy a Presidential decree, banning her and all other foreign delegates from attending another conference held to highlight the situation in East Timor.

Mrs. Maguire focused her attention on United Kingdom government complicity in the genocide in front of an audience which included the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs. In a speech which seems set to embarrass the Foreign Office she said;

"That the country to which I pay my taxes, the United Kingdom, is involved in the supply of arms raises questions on the suitability for office of many of the public representatives of Britain."

Going on to criticise both the American and Australian governments for their support for the Indonesian regime she said;

"While these powerful countries were prepared to go to war, to kill and die, in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, they ignore daily the ten United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Indonesia's illegal occupying force and the human rights of the East Timorese to be respected."

Concluding her address to the conference she said; "We will not allow this genocide to continue unabated. Our cries for justice will not be silenced. We will never turn our back on the people of East Timor."

MAIREAD MAGUIRE SPEAKS UP AGAIN

The Irish Catholic Newspaper, 8 October 1994. Cover Story, by Bridget A. Ryan

(The following article was the top story in this week's edition of the Irish Catholic Newspaper. There was also a photograph of Mairead in her acceptance speech of the Nobel Peace Prize.)

Northern Ireland's Nobel Peace Prize winner Mairead Maguire has strongly criticised the British government for its complicity in the genocide of the small occupied island of East Timor.

In a keynote address at a conference in Oporto, Portugal this week, she condemned Britain for permitting the supply of arms to the Indonesian junta which has so far slaughtered 200,000 East Timorese citizens, a third of the entire nation of the island Indonesia invaded in 1975.

Ms. Maguire, a co-founder of the Belfast based Peace People was expelled from the Philippines earlier this year with Tom

Hyland, co-ordinator of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity campaign, while attempting to defy a Presidential decree, banning her and all other foreign delegates from attending another conference held to highlight the situation in East Timor.

She this week focused her attention on the UK government's complicity in the genocide in front of an audience which included the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"That the country to which I pay my taxes, the United Kingdom is involved in the supply of arms raises questions on the suitability for office of many of the public representatives of Britain," she said.

She went on to criticise the American and Australian governments for their support for the Indonesian regime.

"Our cries for justice will not be silenced," she said.

BRITISH CAMPAIGN: FOUR WEEKS FOR EAST TIMOR

From Peace News, October 1994

12 November will mark the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, East Timor, in which over 200 peaceful protesters were killed by Indonesian troops. This year, 12 November will see the launch of several campaigns in solidarity with East Timor. A coalition of groups, including Campaign Against Arms Trade, the Coalition for East Timor, ARROW and TAPOL, have come together to form Stop the Hawks - No Arms to Indonesia. They are coordinating a Day of Action against arms sales to Indonesia on 12 November, which will begin a year of action calling for an arms embargo, and particularly protesting against the sale of British Hawk fighter jets. There will be a vigil at the Indonesian Embassy in London at noon that day, with a traditional name-burning ceremony; other actions will take place across Britain as well as in Canada, the USA, Australia and most European countries. For those wanting to organise an action in their area, a campaign kit is available (please include GBP 1 to cover copying and mailing).

Also on 12 November, the Coalition for East Timor is launching Four Weeks for East Timor. There will be a memorial service for those murdered at Santa Cruz, held at St Aloysius church in Somers Town, London, with a candlelight vigil beforehand. 20 November is a day to remember Timorese political prisoners - local groups and supporters are encouraged to hold letter-writing sessions in mid-October so that letters and cards to prisoners will arrive on 20 November (addresses available from the Coalition). In November the Coalition will also release a

brief on British foreign policy and Indonesia.

On 7 December, the 19th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor, there will be a mass lobby of MPs during the day, and a large demonstration at the Indonesian Embassy in London in the evening.

For more information on any of these events, contact Maggie at PO Box 2349, London E1 3HX (tel. 0171 252 7937).

BRITAIN AIMS TO SELL HAWKS, SCORPIONS TO INDONESIA

Reuter, 12 October 1994. Abridged

Jakarta - Britain will strengthen defence ties with Indonesia and hopes to sell Hawk fighter planes and Scorpion tanks, visiting British chief of defence staff Field Marshall Peter Inge said on Wednesday.

Inge told reporters after talks with President Suharto that their defence cooperation would not be upset by international criticism over Indonesia's handling of affairs in troubled East Timor.

'It's not for me to get involved in the politics of another country, Quite clearly, it is an issue that concerns some but what I am concerned with is the working relationship between the armed forces of Britain and Indonesia,' Inge said

'We are looking to sell certain things like Hawk aircraft, Scorpions and some other things,' Inge said.

Foreign aviation sources said Indonesia's air force has been given the official go-ahead to discuss buying 16 more Hawk aircraft from British Aerospace.

TANJUNG CONFIRMS SCORPIONS DEAL

AP, 12 October 1994.

Jakarta - Armed forces chief General Faisal Tanjung said that Indonesia will buy Scorpion tanks from Britain as part of efforts to modernise its military.

General Tanjung did not give details of the plan which he announced after a meeting with the president and (Field Marshall) Sir Peter Inge, (Britain's chief of defence staff) but said the contract will be signed in the near future

PROPOSED UK SCORPIONS SALE TO INDONESIA GIVES GREEN LIGHT TO AN AGGRESSOR STATE

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following press release today, October 13, 1994:

TAPOL has learned with deep dismay that negotiations are under way for the sale by the UK of Scorpion reconnaissance tanks

to the Indonesian armed forces. The deal was discussed yesterday in Jakarta between the British chief of defence staff, Field Marshal Sir Peter Inge, and Indonesia's ruler, President Suharto. After the meeting, the commander of the Indonesian armed forces, General Feisal Tanjung, told the press the Scorpion contract would be signed "in the near future."

The Scorpion, a light tank described in the literature of the manufacturers, Alvis, as 'a real advance in reconnaissance,' is a highly manoeuvrable vehicle suitable for use in tropical climates. One of its more obvious uses by the Indonesian armed forces would be in the war currently being waged by the Indonesian armed forces against the armed resistance in East Timor. In the past month, there have been a number of battles in East Timor in which both the guerrilla forces and the forces of occupation suffered casualties.

The Suharto regime has also used brute force recently against peaceful demonstrators in Jakarta, protesting against the banning of three major political weeklies. These tanks could also be used in a show of force against demonstrations in the streets.

A report leaked to TAPOL two months ago revealed that an Alvis executive was on his way to Indonesia to negotiate a deal worth around 150 million. There is every reason to believe that this is the Scorpion deal announced yesterday in Jakarta. 150 million could buy up to two hundred tanks. The company has stone-walled all inquiries about the deal since September, knowing that leaks would stir up opposition in Britain where concern about Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor has escalated in the past two years.

Earlier this year, Alvis won a contract worth 10 million to refurbish Ferret, Saladin and Saracen armoured vehicles supplied to Indonesia in the 1970s. It has been established that these vehicles were used against student demonstrators in 1978 and could be used again.

Sir Peter Inge also announced the possible sale of a further sixteen Hawk aircraft to Indonesia, bringing the total number of Hawks sold to Indonesia since last year to forty.

Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL said: 'It is an outrage that a British manufacturer should already have reached an advanced stage in negotiations for the sale of Scorpions to a state in illegal occupation of a neighbouring country, in defiance of ten UN resolutions. It suggests that the British government has given the company the go-ahead and that a licence for the deal will be forthcoming. We urge the government not to issue a licence for this Scorpion deal and to stop all other arms sales to Indonesia. By allowing all these deals, the British govern-

ment is giving the green light to Jakarta's continued war of aggression against East Timor.

HUMAN WRONGS IN INDONESIA

By John Pilger, Letters Column, The Guardian, UK, 4 November 1994

Amnesty International yesterday released more evidence of the barbarities of the Indonesian military dictatorship. In the run-up to next week's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) conference in Jakarta, Amnesty reports that the regime has stepped up 'Operation Cleansing' with the "arbitrary arrest of political detainees, who have been tortured, the arbitrary imprisonment of labour activists and the dramatic escalation of unlawful killings." Only last month an Amnesty report devoted 126 pages to documenting systematic atrocities 'on a staggering scale.'

On September 7-14 Patrick Nicholls, the Tory MP for Teinbridge, visited Indonesia. In the Register of Members' Interests, Nicholls states that he was "the guest of the Indonesian House of Representatives, as leader of the All-Party Anglo-Indonesian Parliamentary Group."

In fact the Indonesian "parliament" is little more than a front for the dictatorship, which was the most generous "host" to Nicholls and his fellow "guests." Foreign ministry officials escorted them to Dili, the capital of East Timor, where as Amnesty has confirmed, 200,000 people or a third of the population have died under Indonesia's illegal occupation.

Not surprisingly, the mouthpiece Indonesian press seized upon the legitimacy of the "all party" label; yet not a single opposition MP was represented. After three days in Dili - during which the military obligingly withdrew its more visible troops from the streets, which is standard procedure during shepherded visits by foreigners - Nicholls made some disgraceful statements to the Indonesian-language press, which were not reported here. He said that "human rights have improved considerably" in East Timor. He "hailed the armed services officers who are engaged in educational and social activities for East Timorese youths." As for the "question of East Timor," this was the "indirect result of the mistakes of the international media which had exaggerated things." It was clear, said Nicholls, "that the situation is vastly different from what is being reported in the foreign press." He announced that he would "report all my findings to President Suharto."

This tripe has been of great value to the regime, which has packaged and distributed

it prior to the APEC conference. Nicholls has questioned the credibility of the Amnesty report. He wrote in *The Times* (October 4): "No-one, not even Bishop Bello (sic) was suggesting that there had been a deterioration (in the human rights situation) in East Timor. The precise opposite was the case."

Promoting tyranny is one thing, misrepresenting one of its bravest critics is outrageous. Bishop Belo, who is virtually a prisoner in his own country, met Nicholls and his group briefly. Last week I read him Nicholls' remarks. "That's false," he said. "What did Nicholls see? They had the military watching them all the time. Mr. Nicholls seemed most anxious to put some plan of his to Suharto. The situation is as bad as ever. I can assure you... arbitrary arrests, pressure all the time. The other day I personally gathered evidence of the government's campaign to sterilise East Timorese women... We live in a scorched land."

In the current scrutiny of MPs' vested interests, shouldn't we also be looking closely at those who accept "hospitality" from a murderous dictatorship then speak vociferously on its behalf?

John Pilger, London SW1

EVENTS IN IRELAND

For articles on Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds's trip to Australia, see the Australia section of this compilation.

RIGHTS ACTIVISTS CASTIGATE UNIONISTS OVER TRADE MISSION

The Irish News Belfast, 22nd Sept. 1994. Reporter; Shane Donaghey

A new lobby group formed to campaign against human rights abuses in the Pacific island of East Timor has criticized two Northern Ireland MPs for being among a trade delegation to Indonesia.

Ulster Unionists MPs Roy Beggs and Cecil Walker are currently in Indonesia as guests of the Anglo-Indonesian friendship society, an inter-parliamentary group.

Four conservative MPs comprised the rest of the delegation.

But the visit has drawn criticism from the newly formed East Timor Solidarity Campaign Northern Ireland. Spokesperson Stephen McCloskey expressed his concern at the participation of two Northern Ireland MPs in the visit, against the background of serious human rights abuses in East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975.

Abuses of East Timor citizens documented by human rights groups include rape, torture, murder and sterilisation.

"Indonesia has an appalling human rights record in East Timor, having massacred 200,000 people, one third of the population since its invasion of the island," said Mr. McCloskey.

He asked that the constituents of both MPs closely question their roles on the delegation.

"The East Timor Solidarity Campaign would like answers as to why both MPs can express outrage at human rights abuses at home but tolerate them on a much larger scale in East Timor," he said.

Mr. Beggs office confirmed last night that the MP was in Indonesia as part of the delegation, but could not comment further.

No-one could be contacted at Mr. Walkers office last night. Meanwhile, the new campaign was launched yesterday at Transport House in Belfast.

It's aim is to raise awareness on the situation in East Timor and to increase pressure on the international community to force Indonesia to leave there.

CONCERN ON EAST TIMOR EXPRESSED

Irish Times, Saturday 23rd

The Minister of State at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Tom Kitt, yesterday expressed Irish concern on Indonesian policy towards East Timor at a meeting with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Ali Alatas. Their discussion took place at a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the EU and Association of South Eastern Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Germany.

Other ASEAN member states present at the Foreign Ministers meeting were Brunei, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and Philippines.

ARMS SUPPLY TO INDONESIA "INTOLERABLE"

The Irish Times, Friday Sept. 30th

The chairman of the Oireachtas (Parliamentary) Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Brian Lineman T.D. and several other committee members attended the launching this week of Amnesty's International campaign to highlight human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor.

Describing it as "intolerable" that fellow EU members were "feeding oppression" in the former Portuguese territory of East Timor, Mr. Lineman identified Britain and Germany as arms suppliers to Indonesia, whose military rule has been challenged by armed resistance since the 1975 invasion. He

said Ireland and Portugal would be working on a joint initiative.

The world-wide campaign was launched in Bangkok by Amnesty's secretary general, Mr. Pierre Sane, who said it was scandalous that governments had let Indonesia get away with abuse for so long. They apparently saw Indonesia "only as an economic prize and strategic linchpin."

An Amnesty researcher who was in Indonesia last week, "found that the government had once again stepped up its intimidation of alleged critics and journalists" a statement said.

In Dublin, Amnesty Director, Mary Lawlor, said: "Foreign Governments will have to stop putting Economics ahead of Human Rights, if we are to see the fundamental policy changes necessary to restore human rights to the people of Indonesia and East Timor.

She called on Indonesia to prohibit political killings, "disappearance's" and torture, to free all prisoners of conscience, and repeal the anti-subversion law and other repressive legislation, and invite UN bodies in to investigate, and to provide fair trials for political prisoners.

The Amnesty meeting was also attended by Mr. Prionsias De Rossa, the leader of Democratic Left, Ms Nora Owen Fine Gael Foreign Affairs spokeswoman and Ms Mary Harney leader of the Progressive Democrats.

The Oireachtas committee has been hearing submissions on East Timor and the Prime Minister, Mr. Reynolds raised the issue with the Prime Minister, Mr. Paul Keating, during his visit to Australia.

Candles in memory of victims of repression in the archipelago of Indonesia-"a country ruled with an iron rod"-in Amnesty's words-were floated this week on the Nore in Kilkenny, the Slaney in Enniscorthy and the fountain in Eyre Square Galway.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL LAUNCH IN DUBLIN

R.T.E. Radio News + Astra Satellite Date 28th Sept. 1994

News reader Shane Kenny;

Amnesty International claims that Human Rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor, illegally occupied by Indonesia since 1975, are still widespread despite it's portrayal as an economic success story. Amnesty concludes Indonesia is a country ruled by an iron rod where dissent is punished by imprisonment, torture and death.

Details of the report were presented to the Oireachtas Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs in Dublin this morning.

Voice-over reports:

Now that we are an Independent Nation it is not proper to teach people through beatings and bayonets, to be afraid to state their opinion and feelings. The violence should be stopped. It is out of date rationalising by the Government to the world that Human Rights

Carol Coleman:

Writer Joe O'Connor reading a passage by Indonesia's leading novelist, Pramoedy Ananta Toer, who was jailed for 14 years after the 1965 military coup that brought the current New Order Government to power. His books are still banned and anyone who reads them risks a jail sentence.

Amnesty's report confirms that Human Rights violations in this growing economic power are the order of the day, even free trade unions are banned as Mary Lawlor of Amnesty's Irish branch explains:

Mary Lawlor: I will give you an example of a 25 year old Marsina, a woman who was involved in a strike in her watch factory where she worked. Now you have to remember that people in Indonesia only get \$2 a day for work. So they had a strike in the factory. 11 of the people involved in the strike were taken to the military HQ where they were beaten and tortured and told to resign or face charges for inciting some sort of subversion. What happened then was Marsina, a beautiful young woman of 25, went to find out what had happened to her friends. She disappeared and her broken body was found 3 days later. She had been tortured, raped before she had been finally killed.

Carol Coleman: Amnesty's Campaign has received the support of the Oireachtas Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs who received the report this morning. Fianna Fail TD, Brian Lineman, chairman of the committee says the Irish and Portuguese governments, colonisers of East Timor prior to its take over by Indonesia would be putting pressure on the EU to do something.

Brian Lineman: Together within the EU we hope to exercise the necessary pressure because there are some countries in the EU who are supplying arms to Indonesia that are part of the oppression of the East Timorese people. These countries include, Britain and Germany. This is just intolerable, that we should be within the EU feeding oppression in East Timor and Portugal and Ireland hope to take an initiative in this respect.

Carol Coleman: Ireland has already been to the fore front of the campaign, the Ballyfermot based ETISC has been bringing to our attention the problems of East Timor where most of the abuses occur in recent years. Campaign Co-ordinator, Tom Hyland says that International response has been slow for one reason only, money.

Tom Hyland: I think it's economics, pure economics. Indonesia has these slave labour conditions where Western Multinationals can operate paying a pittance of a wage. They have these huge shopping list for Western Arms and when it comes to that, particularly with arms trading countries, money is the common denominator. Human Rights and morality just don't enter the equation, unfortunately for the people of Indonesia and East Timor.

Shane Kenny: Carol Coleman reporting there on East Timor and Indonesia.

IRISH FM SPRING URGED TO ACT ON EAST TIMOR

Press Release by Irish Senator Joe O'Toole 6 Oct. 1994

Today at Government Buildings, Independent Senator, Joe O'Toole, presented to the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dick Spring, MP a petition signed by more than half of the MPs and Senators in Leinster House.

They represent every Party and group in both Houses.

The petition called on the Government to raise the question of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor at the United Nations. In a far ranging condemnation of Indonesia's policy in East Timor, the Parliament members also condemned the continuing violation of human and civil rights.

Ireland has been at the forefront of the European Union over the question of East Timor.

Commenting on the issue petition coordinator Senator Joe O'Toole said: "the situation in East Timor is a grave cause for concern to both the Irish public and members of parliament." The willing support given by the whips of all Dail and Senate groups to the organisation of this petition confirms to the Deputy Prime Minister that he has the backing of both the public and the Parliament in this matter. The precise wording of the petition to Government is attached. The Government should now act immediately.

Text of the petition:

We the undersigned members of parliament, share the view that the Irish government should;

Support—at the United Nations the right of East Timor to self-determination

Condemn—the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia and the continuing violations Of human rights in East Timor.

Press—Indonesian government to invite the UN rapporteur on torture and extrajudicial executions to report on East Timor

Call— for the release of all political prisoners in East Timor.

Express—the moral revulsion of the Irish people on the recent violations of human rights.

N.B. five government ministers were among the signatories.

The Irish Times, Friday 7th Oct. 1994

A petition from 118 MPS and Senators asking that Ireland raise the question of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor at the United Nations was yesterday presented to the Deputy Prime Minister and minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Spring

Senator Joe O'Toole made the presentation on the steps of Government Buildings in Dublin and the ceremony was also attended by Mr. Tom Hyland co-ordinator of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign.

At the United Nations General Assembly in September Mr. Spring raised East Timor in the context of human rights abuse though not the issue of self-determination which he is on record of having supported.

IRISH MPS INVITED TO EAST TIMOR TALKS

Irish Times, Sat Oct. 8 1994

The [Irish] Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee has been invited to send a delegation to an inter-parliamentary meeting in Lisbon next year which will consider the occupation of East Timor.

The speaker of the Portuguese Parliament, Prof. Antonio Barbosa de Melo, extended a formal invitation to the committee which he met, with a delegation from the Portuguese parliament, yesterday.

Portugal is in the forefront of the international opposition to Indonesia's occupation

SENATOR MEETS PORTUGUESE GROUP DESPITE ILLNESS

Irish Press, Oct. 8 1994, By Jimmy Walsh

Senator David Norris yesterday showed his concern for the oppressed people of a far-off country by attending a parliamentary meeting in Dublin—despite being stricken with a form of hepatitis.

The severely debilitating illness has prevented the 50 year old Senator from resuming his duties at Trinity college, where he is senior lecturer in English. He has been told he will not be fit to return to the post until after Christmas.

He has also had to accept that his attendance at the upcoming session at the Senate will be greatly curtailed. His hope is that

there will not be an early general election—which would result in him having to stand for re-election to the Upper House.

The Trinity Senator believes he contracted the non-specific type of hepatitis during a visit to eastern Europe last spring. While controllable, the condition causes drastic loss of energy and other uncomfortable symptoms.

A deep commitment to the restoration of human rights in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, currently under military occupation by Indonesia, was the reason why Senator Norris made a special effort to attend yesterday's meeting of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, at which a delegation from the Portuguese parliament was present. "I felt I had to be there because the East Timor issue is of such great significance," he said afterwards.

EVENTS IN FRANCE

FRENCH "FOUR MONTHS FOR EAST TIMOR" CAMPAIGN REPORT

Translation of the report made by Peuples Solidaires on the campaign "4 mois pour Timor-Est" (4 months for East Timor) for the proceedings of CCFD's "Terre d'Avenir" conference held in Paris in mid-September (original: French).

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTION Framework

The campaign "4 months for East Timor" (March 21 - July 5, 1994), as conceived by Peuples Solidaires and Agir pour Timor and then by a whole collective during the preparatory meetings, started from the following postulate: there is no possible lasting development without a lasting peace. Now in East Timor, for 19 years, there has been a conflict between Indonesia and the East Timorese people (which was victim, in the indifference of the international community, of a genocide). In this context, the development aid allocated to Indonesia by the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), of which France is a member, maintains the conflict in effect.

Public targeted

First, the Associations of International Solidarity (AIS), the media and the Parliamentarians (notably the members of the friendship groups France-Indonesia in the National Assembly and France-South-East Asia in the Senate). Those three publics being capable in the run of being relays and multipliers with respect to public opinion.

Objectives

To mobilize public opinion (in a relationship with the international network and the National Council of Maubere Resistance), to exert a diplomatic pressure at the international level towards the set-up of a "just" and "lasting" peace process in East Timor, and to co-ordinate the action of the various organizations working with the same goal. To enlarge as much as possible the essential work of information (especially of AIS activists, media and politicians). To expose the actions of CGI and demand that French aid to Indonesia be conditioned to the respect of the rights of the East Timorese people.

Means

- Financial participation of the European Union, via CRID (FF 30,000) and of each of the movements participating in the campaign (FF 1,500). Meetings for concentration and preparation of common actions every two weeks during the 4 months.
- Conception of information tools of a documentary nature (8 thematic bulletins, posters, exhibitions) and of audio-visual nature (videos, diaporama), and putting them at disposal.
- Two press conferences and a "Space for Timor."
- Spreading in the activist networks of the collective form letters to send MPs and Senators.
- A petition, circulating in the activist networks, addressed to the president of the friendship group France-Indonesia of the National Assembly.

Partnership

Beyond Peuples Solidaires which acted as the secretariat of the Campaign, Agir pour Timor was in charge of documentation, RITIMO of spreading information in its documentation centres, Cimade to co-ordinate the bulletins, CCPF of circulating the exhibition, France-Libertés and FIDH to follow-up instances of international law, SNES, FSU and CGT to inform their networks. CRID permitted contacts with groups in Indonesia.

Support from Agir Ici, ACAT, Amnesty International, Tribal Act and ICRA International.

2. EVALUATION AND PROSPECTS

Evaluation of results

56 associations could carry out actions in favour of East Timor during the 4 months of the Campaign (conferences-debates, information stands...) About 50 articles were written on East Timor, among which about 20 in the mainstream media (notably at the time of the CGI meeting), on the basis of the big documentation and information work nourished by the collective. Reporters-

photographers left for the island in July-August 1994.

Thanks to letters from activists and the campaign bulletins, parliamentarians started to be called upon and react.

The petition had a certain success (800 signatures between May 30 and July 30), especially among groups and individual members of Peuples Solidaires and RITIMO.

On the other hand, all that was scheduled could not be realised: activists networks were very little put into contact, the set-up of a public place devoted to East Timor (with and exhibition, stands of information...) could not be realised; only 4 of the 8 initially planned issues of the campaign bulletin actually appeared (but an issue on the Manila conference that hadn't been planned was realised in order to bounce on the news).

Nature of difficulties

The lack of means, essentially human, reduced the scope of the action (one day per week for the secretariat of the Campaign was too little).

The novelty of the method presiding the unfolding of the Campaign revealed the differences of functioning of the organisations involved in the action and led to difficulties of co-ordination.

Some local groups regretted a too great density of the information provided ("too much to read"), which hampered its exploitation. Indeed, the Campaign organisers didn't have the means to adapt the supports to the various publics targeted (the information tools have perhaps been more useful to some journalists, MPs or senators).

Conditions of successes

Working in a collective was globally positive as it allowed the opening of the field of means and groups participating the campaign.

The documents and information bulletin are rich and dense, and can be easily used again.

The action towards the press, which was at the same time a target and a relay, conferred a certain density to the Campaign.

Teachings

This campaign can be viewed as a relative success, because of a penalising lack of human resources and because of the quasi general misappreciation of the East Timorese drama.

From this observation stemmed the necessity of a first phase aiming to let one discover this reality and make the ordinary citizen sensitive to the means to remedy it. This objective was partially realised (information-sensitization for and by the media, information-sensitization for and by the

AIS, first hints of a responsabilization in political circles).

It is advisable to deepen the method by insisting on a more fluid co-ordination with a better follow-up, and by opening the field of publics targeted to other sectors of the "civilian society" (trade unions, students...).

It would be imperative to systematize network crossing and collaboration of activists of the various movements interested in action in favour of East Timor.

For such a kind of 'rough-out' and sensitization campaign on a subject almost unknown from the public, one should not wait for immediate results, even by fixing precise objectives.

Prospects

It is now important to consider a longer term action involving a greater number of actors out of the Campaign's mailing list, developing personal relations with journalists sensitive to the question, combining "mediatic strokes" (visibility of the Campaign) with underground and diplomatic actions supported at the international level.

Finally, it would perhaps also be desirable to aggregate this campaign to those articulated around wider themes (democratic control of arms sales, reform of the French co-operation policy).

These mid- or long-term designs request an enlargement of human means.

FRENCH "FORUM TIMOR" FORMED

Report From Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, October 5

A "Forum Timor," grouping a number of French NGOs, has been created today. Its aim is to further the action of the campaign "4 months for East Timor" on a permanent basis. Its current membership is: Agir pour Timor, ASTO, CGT, France Libertés, Justice and Peace, ICRA International, Peuples Solidaires.

Agir Ici and Burma Buro (Germany) sent observers to the meeting.

NEWSBRIEFS IN FRENCH PRESS

From Bruno Kahn

Liberation, 28-9-1994

INDONESIA. "Every form of dissidence is punished by torture, imprisonment and death" for 30 years, an Amnesty International report published yesterday observes. Violations are "systematic in the whole country," while the international community accepts without reaction the explanatory arguments on "Asian values" invoked by the Power, Amnesty denounces.

Liberation, 30-9-1994

EAST TIMOR. Four soldiers and four independence guerrillas were killed yesterday in a clash between the Indonesian army and East Timorese separatists. It is the first time for several months that such an incident happens. Indonesia, which has occupied the country since 1976, confirmed this toll yesterday.

Le Monde, 7-10-1994

INDONESIA: President Suharto sued. - The Indonesian president Suharto will have to answer Justice for having illegally provided a nationalised aeronautical firm public funds reserved for reforestation. This trial, which starts October 17, is unprecedented in the history of the 20 years of power of the General, who is sued by seven non governmental organisations and could be condemned to pay a fine of \$2,300 for an "act contrary to the law." - (AFP.)

Liberation, 8/9-10-1994

Beginning of a dialogue between Indonesia and the East Timorese resistance

JOSÉ RAMOS HORTA, the exiled leader of the East Timorese resistance movement, met Thursday night in New York with the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas - a very first and unprecedented contact between the two men which was called a "very frank exchange of views" by Alatas.

Horta wished the "dialogue" to proceed, although all his demands were rejected. He proposed a demilitarisation of the territory under the supervision of the United Nations, a permanent presence of UN observers and the release of José "Xanana" Gusmão, the imprisoned leader of the resistance, condemned in May 1993 to life imprisonment.

Criticised by the international community for its violent repressive policy against East Timor, the former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1976, the Indonesian authorities go on with their charm offensive, claiming for example that the island is freely accessible to military attaches and foreign journalists.

Jakarta has, since 1975, made itself guilty of the death of 200,000 inhabitants, or one third of East Timor's population, according to human rights organisations.

Romain Franklin

EVENTS IN CANADA

CANADA: SIX MONTHS FOR EAST TIMOR!

East Timor Update #37 – Oct. 5, 1994 from the ET Alert Network/ Canada

In October, the East Timor Alert Network and other national organizations will launch a new action campaign, "Six Months for East Timor."

Since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, the position of the Canadian government has been to recognize the de facto incorporation of East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province, while not granting full legal recognition of the annexation and continuing to express concerns about human rights in East Timor. There have been occasional protests issued, but successive Canadian governments – both Liberal and Conservative – have viewed Indonesia as an important trading partner and friend, and played down the importance of East Timor in the interests of a strong bilateral relationship with the Suharto regime in Indonesia. In the view of the East Timor Alert Network, this position represents complicity in the genocide of the East Timorese people, who have still not been allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

Prime Minister Jean Chretien's government, while carrying out a comprehensive review of Canadian foreign policy, has already set its policy with regards to Indonesia. Trade is to be the lynch-pin. Two-trade is expected to hit \$1 billion in 1994, with Indonesia remaining our top export market in Southeast Asia. Government funds, through a number of agencies, are to be spent on encouraging expanded trade and investment. Indonesia is also to remain near the top of Canadian aid recipients (last year, it was the second-largest Canadian aid recipient).

When he was Opposition Leader, Jean Chretien promised to work for the enforcement of United Nations resolutions requiring Indonesia to allow an act of self-determination in East Timor. Our campaign goals are aimed at having the Chretien government fulfill its promises on East Timor.

Free East Timor! We urge the Canadian government to

- 1. End Canadian government funding for the promotion of trade with Indonesia**
- 2. Support an international arms embargo against Indonesia**

3. Call upon the Indonesian government to free Xanana Gusmão and all East Timorese political prisoners.

EVENTS

- Campaign Launch, Oct. 24. Noam Chomsky (U.S. writer-activist) and José Ramos Horta (external representative of the East Timorese resistance movement CNRM) will speak at the Bytowne Theatre in downtown Ottawa from 1-3 p.m. and hold a news conference along with Canadian supporters in the morning. Horta and others will stay on for meetings with Canadian government officials, including cabinet minister Raymond Chan (secretary of state for Asia Pacific in the Department of Foreign Affairs).
 - National days of action around Dili massacre third anniversary on Nov. 12. These will include a vigil with 273 white crosses on Parliament Hill (representing the 273 unarmed women, men and children confirmed killed by Indonesian soldiers on Nov. 12, 1991). as well as educational forums and vigils in cities across Canada.
 - Actions around APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) heads of government summit, to be held Nov. 15 in Bogor, Indonesia. The Canadian delegation is the highest-ever sent to Indonesia, including Prime Minister Jean Chretien, Foreign Minister Andre Ouellet, Trade Minister Roy MacLaren and Asia Pacific secretary of state Raymond Chan. We will be demanding that the Prime Minister boycott the summit on human rights grounds, as an expression of Canadian concern about East Timor and human rights in the rest of Indonesia. Canadian representatives attending the APEC meetings leading up to the summit itself should use the meetings as a forum to press for human rights, rather than focusing exclusively on trade. (There is a precedent for this: last year Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed boycotted the APEC summit in Seattle. Malaysian officials did, however, attend in support of their interests.)
- In Canada, we will use APEC-related publicity to raise the issues of human rights in East Timor and Indonesia, through an open letter to be published an advertisement in the Ottawa Citizen in early November. This ad will be financed by the groups that agree to sign the open letter (\$100 apiece).
- Finally, there will be a counter-APEC forum held in Toronto, co-sponsored by solidarity groups working on human rights in the APEC member countries.

- Dec. 7 commemorations of 19th anniversary of invasion. Hand in petitions in Parliament.
- Speaking tour in February and March.
- Campaign culmination events on April 22, 1995 (Six Months after launch). These would be followed by an evaluation of the campaign and hopefully provide the basis for further work in Canada by many more organizations.

WE NEED YOU

ETAN hopes that this campaign will demonstrate a broad range of concern from many Canadian organizations and individuals about East Timor, thereby showing the government that Canadians do care about the issue. We are seeking as many organizations as possible to endorse and co-sponsor of the Six Months for East Timor campaign.

Since this campaign will cost money, we are asking those organizations that are able to kick in \$100 each towards the expenses of running the campaign. We also welcome donations in kind, such as photocopying and translation services.

The time has never been better to influence the Canadian government's policy on East Timor. ETAN asks all friends to get involved in this action campaign. For details, contact ETAN/Toronto or the local group nearest to you.

East Timor Alert Network/Toronto
PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, Canada,
M5S 2T1
Phone/fax 1-416-531-5850, Email etan-
tor@web.apc.org

FALL ACTION CALENDAR (ONTARIO / QUEBEC)

*From East Timor Alert Network/Canada,
Oct. 15*

Oct. 23, Ottawa Benefit for Artists for East Timor, Grand Central. Featuring dinner, a speech by East Timorese overseas leader José Ramos Horta, and music by Terry Tufts, Abé' Soares and Purple. \$10, doors open 7:30 p.m.

Oct. 24, Ottawa Noam Chomsky (U.S. writer/activist) and Jos Ramos Horta (external representative of the East Timorese resistance movement CNRM) speak on East Timor. Bytowne Cinema, 1-3 p.m. (doors open at noon). Tickets (advance only) are \$10, or \$5 for students and unwaged, available at Octopus Books, 798 Bank St. and Shake Records, 150 Laurier Ave. W. – maximum 3 tickets per person, no reserve seating. Presented by ETAN and the Ontario Public Interest Research Group. This location is wheelchair-accessible and sign language interpretation will be provided for

the hearing-impaired. Contact (613) 742-9141.

Oct. 28, Toronto Fundraising party for Six Months for East Timor campaign, featuring food and music by Abé' ho Aloz. \$10 suggested donation. For location, call (416) 531-5850.

Nov. 7, Toronto Forum on human rights in the Asia Pacific, to coincide with the opening of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings in Indonesia. Presented by human rights groups working on East Timor, Philippines, Taiwan, Tibet, China and others. Free, location TBA, 6:30-9:30 p.m. (416) 531-5850.

Nov. 12, Montreal Benefit for East Timorese political prisoners, featuring Abé' ho Aloz and other bands. La Maison de la Culture Mondiale, 3812 St-Laurent. Doors open 9 p.m. (514) 848-7443.

Nov. 12, Ottawa Demonstration to mark the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor, with 273 white crosses in memory of the 273 known to have been killed on Nov. 12, 1991. Parliament Hill. (613) 742-9141.

Nov. 12, Toronto Candlelight Vigil at City Hall Square, Queen & Bay. (416) 531-5850.

Nov. 12, Windsor One-hour memorial vigil at CBC-TV, 10:30 a.m., with featured speaker Howard Pawley (former Premier of Manitoba). (519) 979-3166.

Nov. 16, Hamilton Film/speakers/music (with Abé' ho Aloz) night at McMaster University, presented by Earth Action. (905) 525-9140 x. 27289.

Nov. 27, Oakville Fundraising dinner for Six Months for East Timor, with Abé' ho Aloz, presented by the Oakville Community Centre for peace, ecology & human rights. (905) 849-5501.

Dec. 7, nationwide Events to mark the 19th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

ETAN is a national association of Canadians working for East Timor's right to self-determination. There are local groups in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Windsor, Guelph, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, plus local contacts across Canada.

NOAM CHOMSKY, JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA TO SPEAK ON EAST TIMOR

*EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK NEWS
RELEASE, October 24, 1994*

Press Conference, Centre Block, Parliament Hill. 11:00 a.m.

José Ramos-Horta, Professor Noam Chomsky, East Timor Alert Network

OTTAWA – Today the East Timor Alert Network/Canada will launch a six-month campaign for East Timor with a talk in Ottawa given by Noam Chomsky “arguably the most important intellectual alive today” (New York Times) and the Foreign Minister (in exile) of East Timor, José Ramos-Horta. The are in Ottawa to speak to a sold out event at the Bytowne Cinema (325 Rideau Street) from 1-3 p.m.

This new campaign, “Six Months for East Timor” will include events across the country. It is co-sponsored by the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada, Portuguese Canadian National Congress, Artists for East Timor, Parliamentarians for East Timor and many other organizations from across the country.

The purpose of the press conference is to denounce Prime Minister Chretien's upcoming visit to Indonesia for APEC. “The aim of trip is to strengthen Canadian trade with Indonesia. This is hypocritical in light of promises in light of promises outlined in the Liberal's Red Book and comments Prime Minister Chretien made in the past while leader of the Opposition,” said David Webster of the East Timor Alert Network. In 1991, Chretien stated that: “The international community should take steps to safeguard the rights of the people of East Timor. Progress towards respecting human rights in much of the world is the direct result of pressure from Western democracies.” However, the APEC delegation will also include Trade Minister Roy MacLaren, Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet, and the Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific Raymond Chan making this the highest level Canadian delegation to Indonesia in the history of ‘Canada's bilateral relationship with Indonesia. “The current agenda for the Canadian delegation is to promote profit, no human rights,” said Webster.

In 1975 Indonesia invaded neighbouring East Timor. Since then East Timor, a small southeast Asian country, has been subjected to what Noam Chomsky calls “the worst case of genocide, per capita, since the Holocaust.” Since then, the position of the Canadian government has been one of consistent support for Indonesia. There have been occasional protests issued, but successive Canadian governments – both Liberal and Conservative – have viewed Indonesia as an important trading partner and friend, and downplayed the importance of East Timor in the interests of “strong bilateral relationship with the Suharto regime in Indonesia. In the view of many international experts, this position represents complicity in the genocide of the East Timorese people, who have still not been allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

In early November, the Canadian government will release the results of its foreign policy review; however, the policy for Indonesia has already been set. Trade is to be the linch-pin. Two-way trade is expected to hit \$1 billion in 1994, with Indonesia remaining our top export market in Southeast Asia.

Government funds, through a number of agencies, are to be spent on encouraging expended trade and investment.. Indonesia is also to remain near the top of Canadian aid recipients (last year, it was the second-largest Canadian bilateral aid recipient).

For further information, please contact the following ETAN/Canada co-ordinators:

Sharon Scharfe, ETAN/Ottawa, phone: (613)822-1227 and fax.(613)834-2021,

David Webster, ETAN/Toronto, phone (416)531-5850

Elaine Brière, ETAN/Vancouver, phone: (604)264-9973

OTTAWA EYES LINKING AID TO FOREIGN DEFENCE COSTS

By Dave Todd, Southam News. Toronto Star, Oct. 27, 1994 (also in other papers across Canada)

OTTAWA – Repressive Third World regimes would have to slash excessive military spending in return for continued foreign aid under a new policy proposed by the Chretien government.

Southam News has learned Canada is attempting to build an international consensus aimed at implementing the proposal, which is already the subject of intense scrutiny by Japan, as the result of a July 20 meeting between Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet and Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono.

"It's something (Ouellet) feels quite strongly about," his press secretary Bob Peck said yesterday, confirming the Japan meeting. "It's obvious that if countries want to send a message they have to do it in a multilateral context."

Canada has also raised the aid-arms spending linkage with other key donor nations regarded as sympathetic to the proposition, diplomatic sources said.

However, the idea has received a frosty reception from some of Canada's closest military partners, including the U.S., Britain and France – which together account for the vast majority of international arms sales to the Third World since the Soviet Union collapsed three years ago.

Participation by Tokyo is regarded as critical, sources say, because Japan has replaced the U.S. as the world's biggest donor of international development assistance and

already seeks to discourage its foreign aid recipients from going on arms spending sprees.

Canada could not alone effectively persuade offending states to substantially reduce weapons imports and spend more on their people's social and economic development, federal officials argue.

The idea, therefore, is to try to compel such action through the collective threat of a general foreign aid reduction, or in extreme cases, boycott, where authoritarian governments persist in spending too much on their military establishments.

Ouellet hinted at precisely this approach during a meeting last week with the editorial board of the Ottawa Citizen. He foresaw a pressure group including Canada, Japan, Scandinavian nations, Australia and New Zealand.

CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE ON APEC

November 1, 1994

NOTE: What follows is the full transcript from the House proceedings relating to APEC. The reply by the Secretary of State for Asia Pacific is of note, not because of what he says, but rather that he completely ignores the issue of East Timor and Indonesia.

Mr. Svend J. Robinson (Burnaby-Kingsway, NDP): Mr. Speaker, recently I asked a question of the government, in particular the Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific, concerning the upcoming visit of the Prime Minister and Team Canada, together with nine provincial premiers on a trade delegation to Asia. In particular I focused on the issue of human rights and democracy in Asian countries being visited by the Prime Minister and by the premiers.

In urging the Prime Minister to speak out forcefully with respect to human rights and democracy in China, Tibet, Indonesia and East Timor in particular I want to remind the Prime Minister of his own words in a letter written in December 1991: "Progress toward respecting human rights in much of the world is the direct result of pressure from western democracies."

I think it is rather ironic that the Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific was one of the very eloquent spokespeople for the pro-democracy movement in Canada, calling for democracy and human rights in China. He had a number of confrontations with that government and was one of the key organizers of a human rights delegation in which I had the honour of participating together with two other members of Parliament,

including his colleague, the Liberal member for Nepean.

The plea I would make today, reiterating a plea I made earlier, is for the Prime Minister, for the Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific, for the Minister of Foreign Affairs to recognize that the concerns which drove that plea for human rights in 1991 which motivated the Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific in subsequent years and before then are alive and well today.

With respect to the situation in China it was on June 4 of this year that Premier Li Peng, on the 5th anniversary of the killings in Tiananmen Square, chose to implement harsh new regulations clamping down even further with respect to human rights.

There has been a crackdown on labour dissidents. The situation in Tibet is very serious. We know for example that China has recently banned the display of pictures of the Dalai Lama, continued its nuclear testing, continued its arms sales to repressive regimes and, most seriously, continued its inhumane policy of population transfer. There continues to be brutal repression of Buddhist nuns and monks in Tibet.

With respect to the issue of East Timor, the human rights abuses there are also very serious. I would urge the government to call for an end to government funding for promotion of trade with Indonesia, to support the international arms embargo, to call for the release of Xanana Gusmão and all East Timorese political prisoners, and to support self-determination for East Timor as the Prime Minister did in his letter of December 1991.

In closing I hope as well that the government will reiterate our concern to the Chinese government about the importance of democracy, freedom of expression and the rule of law for Hong Kong as well, as the transition on July 1, 1997 is coming up in the very near future.

There will be a large banquet in Beijing in the near future. I hope that our government will recognize that in addition to promoting trade we must speak out forcefully for human rights and democracy. We must call for the immediate release of Wei Jingsheng. Certainly we must do everything we can to promote those values of human rights and democracy that are so important and so profound both in Canada and in Asia.

Hon. Raymond Chan (Secretary of State (Asia-Pacific), Lib.): Mr. Speaker, the respect for human rights in China remains an important objective of our bilateral and multilateral agenda. Bilaterally we capitalize on every opportunity to remind the Chinese government at high levels of our concerns. We are pursuing the development of a serious dialogue about these concerns through diplomatic channels.

We will continue to pursue human rights issues in multilateral organizations, including a dialogue on these concerns with Chinese representatives. At the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, which took place from January to March of this year, Canada co-sponsored a draft resolution on human rights in China.

The resolution expressed concern over continuing reports of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including torture, severe restrictions on the rights of freedom of expression, religion, assembly, association and to a fair trial. It called on China to take further measures to ensure the full observance of all human rights, including the rights of women.

Also, we have to recognize that there are fundamental elements that need to be strengthened in China for it to develop into an open, modern state that respects human rights. Therefore at a time when China is going through an extensive liberalization period, we support innovative means to bring about change to the Chinese system.

We will accomplish this goal by supporting activities in areas where we believe China is susceptible to influence. We will be undertaking a number of new co-operative projects to assist the People's Republic of China in its efforts to reform its legal and judicial structure, and in its efforts to build up its human resource development sector.

Trade, economic development and human rights are mutually reinforcing. A China open to the world can only be good for its people, both economically and politically, and will further the cause of respect for human rights.

ETAN/CANADA MEDIA ADVISORY ON APEC

November 3, 1994

OTTAWA (November 3, 1994): The East Timor Alert Network/Canada has been following recent events in Indonesia leading up to the APEC meetings. Below is a summary of some of our concerns.

Since April, 15,000 troops that have been deployed in Jakarta to ensure a "clean and stable" environment for the meetings. The campaign, called "Operation Cleansing," has been used to forcibly break up peaceful demonstrations.

On 21 June 1994, the three leading newsweeklies in Indonesia, "*Tempo*," "*DeTik*" and "*Editor*," were banned by the government on barely concealed political grounds.

The Indonesian government is attempting to suppress the emerging Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), which was established in June in the wake of the bannings

by Indonesian journalists, many from the banned magazines. The AJI, a member of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), is the only free union of journalists in Indonesia and is dedicated to the cause of press freedom. The AJI is an important alternative to the state-sanctioned Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI), which has aided the government in its crackdown on independent journalists which is a serious threat to press freedom. Several AJI members have been directly banned from attending APEC, and all AJI members are implicitly banned because of their membership.

On October 12 a second police summons was issued against academic commentator and political figure George Aditjondro. The summons said he was wanted as an "accused/witness" in a case relating to insulting a state authority. Aditjondro has been an activist in NGO circles for some time and has recently become very outspoken on the issue of East Timor. He had just returned from an international conference on East Timor in Germany and Portugal when he received the summons. At a press conference in Yogyakarta on October 12, Aditjondro told student supporters that he would defend academic freedom and freedom of speech. He had appointed Yogyakarta LBH lawyers to assist him in dealing with the police.

Also on October 12, in Palu, in central Sulawesi, police and military attacked a peaceful rally protesting against changes in the school week implemented by the Ministry of Education. Several students were beaten and several more arrested.

Canada will be represented at APEC with its highest level delegation to Indonesia in the history of this bilateral relationship. In the words of Prime Minister Chretien, while he was Leader of the Opposition, "Progress towards respecting human rights in much of the world is the direct result of pressure from Western democracies." Given that Indonesia has been engaging in genocidal actions against the people of East Timor since 1975, ETAN calls upon Prime Minister Chretien to heed his own words and to ensure that human rights, and particularly East Timor, forms part of all dialogue between Canadian and Indonesian officials.

For further information, please contact the following ETAN/Canada co-ordinators: Sharon Scharfe, ETAN/Ottawa, phone: (613) 822-1227 and fax: (613) 834-2021; David Webster, ETAN/Toronto, phone/fax: (416) 531-5850 Elaine Brière, ETAN/Vancouver, phone: (604) 264-9973

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

PORTUGUESE GOV'T HIRES LOBBY IN WASHINGTON

Publico, 26 August 1994. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Although not a new idea, it has only now been taken up: the Portuguese Government has hired a Washington lobby firm to defend Lisbon's position on the question of East Timor.

The firm, Edelman Public Relations Worldwide, will also be charged with promoting Portuguese investments in the US, but it will have a specific contract to deal with everything related to Timor. The company, whose clientele includes the Mexican, Brazilian, Indian and Israeli governments, has six months to establish its efficiency. If all goes well, the contract will be renewed in March next year.

Lisbon is chiefly interested in increasing support for East Timor among US public opinion. In the view of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, diplomatic channels to Congress (where it is believed there is already a reasonable degree of awareness of {the Timorese problem) and the Administration have been working, so the new lobby ought to concentrate its efforts on the press.

Lobbying activity is regulated in the US and is part of the day-to-day workings of the US capital. Until now, Portugal was an exception - Jakarta already has two such companies working to defend its interests in Washington: one to deal with human rights issues in general, and the other purely to further Indonesia's views in relation to East Timor.

DURÃO BARROSO: U.S. ATTENTIVE TO SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

Diario de Noticias, 17 September 1994.
Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – At the end of a "quite productive" trip to Washington, Durão Barroso said the US was heedful of the situation in East Timor, and expected "progress" before the next meeting with Alatas.

Interest in the question of East Timor has been increasing in the US. Ending his visit to Washington yesterday, the Foreign Minister, Durão Barroso, went as far as to say that the Clinton Administration had been "quite markedly responsive on both the problem itself, and the importance which Portugal attaches to it."

The Portuguese diplomatic chief said that his US counterpart, Warren Christopher, had assured him that the US would continue to press Jakarta on the need for progress in reaching an internationally acceptable solution, through the talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary General.

In Durão Barroso's view, the question of East Timor is "stirring." He said he had reason to believe that some progress would be made before his next meeting with Indonesian Minister, Ali Alatas. However, he added that Suharto continues to be basically "intransigent."

The forthcoming APEC meeting in Jakarta, in which US President Clinton will take part, might be a good opportunity to direct international attention towards the situation in East Timor. Such a scenario is hoped for by Durão Barroso, who "reminded" US officials that he would like to see greater direct support from the US for the Timorese people.

URGE REPRESENTATIVES TO SIGN LETTERS

Two letters now circulating in the House of Representatives. Call or write your congressional representative soon and urge her or him to sign both letters. All members of the House can be called via the Capitol Switchboard 202-224-3121 or written at House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

The first letter is to President Clinton urging him to raise the issue of East Timor with President Suharto when he goes to Indonesia in November. The second is to the UN Secretary General pressing him to intensify his efforts to reach a just settlement. After signatures are collected they will be sent and then released to the press.

For more information contact: John M. Miller, ETAN/US (718)788-6071; e-mail: jfbp@igc.apc.org.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
September 27, 1994

OPPOSE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN EAST TIMOR

Sign letters to President Clinton and U.N. Secretary General

Dear Colleague,

We invite you to cosign the attached letters to President Clinton and United Nations Secretary General Boutros-Ghali regarding the human rights situation in East Timor.

For many years, we have been concerned about the situation in East Timor, the pre-

dominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since that time, at least 100,000 of a population of less than 700,000 have perished in East Timor as a result of Indonesia's occupation. International concern over East Timor has increased since November 1991, when Indonesian troops massacred up to 200 unarmed demonstrators at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, in full view of western journalists, including a British cameraman whose film appeared on American television.

Our concern was heightened recently over severe human rights violations, including torture, beatings, as well as acts of desecration and harassment toward the Catholic Church in East Timor by Indonesian military and security personnel. These acts took place in an atmosphere of intimidation and coercion and cannot be explained away. All of these facts underscore the need for American representations on human rights and for a peaceful settlement under United Nations auspices.

In November, President Clinton will travel to Indonesia for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit. During the course of this visit, we hope that the President will raise the issue of East Timor with Indonesian President Suharto. In January 1995, there will be the next round of United Nations-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal dealing with the East Timor situation. It is our hope that the UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali will work to intensify these talks to bring about greater results on human rights observance and a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Letters to President Clinton and Boutros Ghali that call for a number of concrete measures could help facilitate these goals and bring this tragedy to an end.

It is very important to register our concern over East Timor at this unique moment. If you would like to cosign these letters to President Clinton and Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, please contact Bob Zachritz at 5-6465.

Sincerely yours,
Tony P. Hall Member of Congress
Frank Wolf Member of Congress
Joe Moakley Member of Congress

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Many of us have grown increasingly concerned over the conflict in East Timor, the predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony which was illegally invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and remains a disputed territory. We appreciate

that you raised the issue of East Timor in previous meetings with Indonesian President Suharto and through diplomatic contacts at the United Nations. We welcome Secretary of State Christopher's June 29, 1994 declaration that "This administration is steadfastly pursuing the objective, shared with Congress, of promoting an improved human rights environment in East Timor..."

Against this backdrop, our concern over East Timor was heightened in recent months by incidents in June and July of this year when Indonesian troops committed acts of sacrilege against the East Timorese Church and clergy. These acts, carried out in an atmosphere of intimidation and repression, also took place in this context of a long history of human rights abuses and atrocities.

World attention focused on East Timor after November 12, 1991, when Indonesian troops massacred what may have been more than 200 unarmed demonstrators, in full view of Western journalists, at Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor's capital, Dili. The supposed leaders of the unarmed demonstrators received prison sentences roughly ten times greater than the Indonesian security forces charged with carrying out the shooting. Indonesian courts continue to mete out long prison sentences for such "offenses" as speaking with visiting journalists from such publications as the Washington Post and the Economist or sending abroad information critical of the government's policies in East Timor.

On the occasion of your meeting with Indonesian President Suharto and other senior officials at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit that will be held in Indonesia in mid-November, we hope that you will stress the concern of Congress and your administration over the human rights situation in East Timor. We believe you should stress the need for serious efforts by Indonesia to make progress at the United Nations-sponsored talks as well as the need for Indonesia to agree to direct talks with East Timorese representatives under United Nations auspices. The United States should actively support United Nations moves to bring about peaceful conditions and genuine demilitarization in East Timor, where more than 100,000 of a population of less than 700,000 had died well before the 1991 massacre drew world attention. Only under such peaceful conditions can a free election under United Nations supervision be carried out to determine the future of the territory.

As some of us have stated in the past, we believe that an authentic resolution of the East Timor situation would be in the interest not only of overall US-Indonesian political and economic relations but also in the interest of Indonesia's international relations more generally.

It is in Indonesia's interest, for instance, to ensure an immediate end to harassment of the Church in East Timor. Meanwhile, the United States should support the efforts of Carlos Ximines Belo, East Timor's Catholic bishop, to promote human rights and peace in the territory. As Amnesty International stressed in a recent statement, "While the Indonesian Government has insisted upon its commitment to human rights principles, in practice anyone who expresses even the mildest criticism of Indonesian rule in East Timor continues to be at great risk of torture or arbitrary detention. There is a great need to guarantee the safety of all detainees in East Timor following reports of recent beatings, detentions and disappearances, Amnesty emphasizes.

In addition, the United States should press for the early release of the aforementioned political detainees still held in connection with the November 12, 1991 events, as well as resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. Gestures such as these, and authentic withdrawals of Indonesian troops could help bring about a political solution to the East Timor conflict under United Nations auspices. The next session of United Nations-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal is scheduled for January 1995, and the United States should support intensification of these talks.

Next year will mark the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's independence from The Netherlands, which was ultimately facilitated by the United Nations. It would be appropriate for Indonesia's leaders to use this occasion to negotiate a peace settlement on the East Timor question under United Nations auspices. Such a settlement would also lead to improved US-Indonesian relations. It is in part because we value this relationship so highly that we would like to see an end to the tragic Timor situation.

Sincerely yours,

(signers as of October 31:)

- Herbert Bateman (D-VA)
- Doug Bereuter (D-NE)
- Howard Berman (D-CA)
- Tom Bevill (D-AL)
- Sherwood Boehlert (D-NY)
- Robert Borski (D-PA)
- George E. Brown (D-CA)
- Peter DeFazio (D-OR)
- Ron Dellums (D-CA)
- Julian Dixon (D-CA)
- John J. Duncan (D-TN)
- Richard Durbin (D-IL)
- Don Edwards (D-CA)
- Eliot L. Engel (D-NY)
- Lane Evans (D-IL)
- Barney Frank (D-MA)
- Elizabeth Furse (D-OR)
- Wayne Gilchrest (D-MD)
- Tony Hall (D-OH)

- Amory Houghton (D-NY)
- William Hughes (D-NJ)
- Joseph Kennedy, II (D-MA)
- Herbert C. Klein (D-NJ)
- Mike Kreidler (D-WA)
- William Lipinski (D-IL)
- Nita Lowey (D-NY)
- Ron Machtely (D-RI)
- Frank McCloskey (D-IN)
- Martin Meehan (D-MA)
- Robert Menendez (D-NJ)
- David Minge (D-MN)
- Joseph Moakley (D-MA)
- Constance Morella (D-MD)
- Jerrold Nadler (D-NY)
- John Olver (D-MA)
- Frank Pallone Jr. (D-NJ)
- Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)
- John Edward Porter (D-IL)
- David Price (D-NC)
- Jack Reed (D-RI)
- Bill Richardson (D-NM)
- Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA)
- Martin Sabo (D-MN)
- Jim Saxton (D-NJ)
- Pat Schroeder (D-CO)
- José Serrano (D-NY)
- Christopher Shays (D-CT)
- Louise Slaughter (D-NY)
- Christopher H. Smith (D-NJ)
- Fortney Pete Stark (D-CA)
- Dick Swett (D-NH)
- Esteban Torres (D-CA)
- Ed Towns (D-NY)
- Jolene Unsoeld (D-WA)
- Henry Waxman (D-CA)
- Pat Williams (D-MT)
- Frank R. Wolf (D-VA)
- Ron Wyden (D-OR)
- Albert Wynn (D-MD)
- Dick Zimmer (D-NJ)

The Honorable Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary General
United Nations New York, NY 10017

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

For many years members of the United States Congress from both parties have grown increasingly concerned about the tragic situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. At this time, we would like to register our support for increased diplomatic efforts by the United Nations agencies, including efforts to bring about the release of East Timorese political prisoners. We also believe the United Nations should intensify its efforts to find a just and peaceful settlement to this long-festering conflict in accordance with United Nations resolutions on the issue, which center on the principle of self-determination.

We are aware of the efforts you have made on this matter since assuming office in 1992, in both the field of human rights and in chairing negotiations between Indonesia

and Portugal on the East Timor problem. However, the recent acts of desecration aimed at the Roman Catholic Church and its clergy in East Timor underscore the atmosphere of tension and intimidation that prevails in the territory, along with the continuing, severe problems of human rights. Stepped-up efforts by the United Nations would be timely, especially in light of the upcoming round of talks between Indonesia and Portugal slated for January 1995. The fact that 1995 marks the 50th anniversary of Indonesian independence, which was ultimately facilitated by the United Nations, provides a great opportunity to convince Indonesia of the need to address the East Timor situation in a peaceful, diplomatic manner. A free election under United Nations supervision would be the appropriate means of facilitating an end to this tragedy, which has already caused so much suffering.

We are well aware of the many demands on your time and energy, and appreciate the added effort you may be able to devote to the East Timor matter.

Sincerely yours,

(same names as prior letter)

SUPPORT WORKERS' RIGHTS IN INDONESIA

A draft letter concerning labor rights is now circulating for signatures in the House of Representatives. When signatures are collected it will be sent to President Clinton and no doubt circulated to the press. Please urge your Representative to sign on by October 14 as per the instructions in the cover letter that follows.

September 28, 1994

Dear Colleague:

I am writing to ask that you join me in sending a letter urging the President to include workers' rights as a topic of discussion during his meeting with President Suharto of Indonesia at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) conference scheduled for November 16, 1994.

Last May's decision to renew China's Most-Favored-Nation status was approved with the belief that commercial liberalization would lead to democratic reform. In order for this to also develop in rapidly growing countries such as Indonesia, workers must be afforded the fundamental rights of association, assembly, and expression. Therefore, it is imperative that we take every opportunity to incorporate this issue as part of political and economic liberalization talks with Asia.

The November 16 meeting with President Suharto will provide an ideal forum to discuss workers' rights in Indonesia, as well as in Asia.

Please join me in urging the President to take advantage of this opportunity. The deadline is October 14, 1994. If you have any questions or would like to sign the letter, please contact Lauren Goldblatt of my staff at 225-5905.

Sincerely,

LANE EVANS, Member of Congress

November, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to urge you to include fundamental workers' rights as a topic of discussion during your meeting with President Suharto of Indonesia scheduled for November 16, 1994.

Recent reports of severe labor rights violations in Indonesia have indicated that the government of Indonesia is not committed to protecting the rights of workers to freely associate. For example, on August 16, 1994, Indonesian trade unionist Mochtar Pakpahan, who heads the only independent labor union in Indonesia, was arrested for allegedly inducing labor unrest. Pakpahan is just one of four union activists recently arrested for non-violent campaigns on behalf of workers' rights. However, these recent incidents are just a small chapter in Indonesia's troubled history of human and workers' rights abuses.

Asia is one of the fastest growing areas of the world. Countries and companies will continue to depend on the inexpensive and large labor pool in this area of the world to facilitate trade. Therefore, it is imperative that we press Indonesia, as well as other Asian nations, to make substantive, democratic reforms in the area of workers' rights.

Last May's decision to renew China's Most-Favored-Nation status was approved with the belief that commercial liberalization would lead to democratic reform. In order for this ideal to develop in Indonesia, workers must be afforded the fundamental rights of association, assembly, and expression. Therefore, it is imperative that we take every opportunity to incorporate this issue as part of trade liberalization talks with Asia.

We must demonstrate that while we are committed to fostering economic growth abroad, we will not tolerate flagrant violations of internationally-recognized workers' rights. The November 16 meeting with President Suharto will provide an ideal forum to discuss workers' rights in Indonesia, as well as in Asia. We urge you to take advantage of this opportunity. Thank you for your consideration of this matter.

Sincerely,

HUFFINGTON AND THE TORTURERS

Cover story by John Roemer in *SF (San Francisco) Weekly*, October 5, 1994.

[The cover exhibits a painting of a grinning Michael Huffington with dollars in one hand and a crowd of grim faces behind him. The text says "BLOOD MONEY - U.S. Senate candidate Michael Huffington's oil millions are closely tied to Indonesia's brutal military government"]

Senatorial candidate Michael Huffington's huge fortune derives from his dad's oil company and its close ties to Indonesia's ruthless and corrupt military government

Constância Pinto watched in horror as Indonesian army torturers stripped off the pants and underwear of a fellow East Timor activist and applied a shock baton to his testicles, ordering him to talk. The three-foot metal club was loaded with D-cell batteries and wired to deliver an agonizing jolt of electricity.

"Of course he talked, and so did I when they threatened to do it to me," says Pinto, 31, who was badly beaten before he escaped to the U.S. "In the 1980s the electric shock baton became a tradition for Indonesia."

It's a tradition Republican senatorial candidate Michael Huffington helped establish. The ugly implement used against Timorese resistance fighters like Pinto's colleague was almost certainly one of the U.S.-manufactured shock batons supplied to Jakarta authorities by Huffington's family-owned Texas oil company, Huffco, which long has operated in Indonesia. From 1981 to 1984 - a period when Huffington was vice chairman of the firm - Huffco made eight separate shipments of shock batons, handcuffs, billy clubs, fingerprint kits and fingerprint ink to the repressive regime of Indonesian President Suharto.

Huffco's illegal export of unlicensed police equipment, first reported in the *Wall Street Journal* in August, was detected by the U.S. Department of Commerce and punished in 1986 with a \$250,000 fine. A Huffco lawyer called the shipments a routine favor to the Indonesian government. "We got asked to do things for them all the time, and did," he said.

Huffington, 47, who did not respond to phone and fax requests for comment on this issue, told the *Journal* he knew nothing about the shipments. "I was in the finance area," he said.

Beyond the shock batons lies the larger story of Huffington's finances. The candidate's personal fortune of \$70 million - which he is spending to great advantage in

his multimillion-dollar video-driven bid to unseat Sen. Dianne Feinstein - has come entirely from the natural resources of Indonesia, an impoverished nation where the average worker makes \$1.50 a day.

"Oil and gas are Indonesia's blood," says Agus Sari, a Jakarta native who currently studies environmental science on a Fulbright scholarship at UC Berkeley. "The state shares its monopoly with foreign firms in a very secretive fashion. It is not a clean business. Huffington is spending our money.

"It's blood money," says Charles Scheiner, national coordinator of the East Timor Action Network. "If Huffington's willing to send weapons to Indonesia as a businessman doing favors for a host government, who will be his clients if he gets to the Senate?"

When Huffington's involvement in the shock baton shipments became known, a wave of revulsion spread by phone, e-mail and fax among the far-flung critics of the Indonesian government. Academics at South Asia think tanks, human rights workers at the East Timor Action Network and economists at the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy all denounced an act well outside even the admittedly lax moral norms of corporate America.

Pinto, who is currently studying international development at Brown University in Providence, R.I., says he's appalled that a candidate for U.S. Senate could have been involved in furnishing tools of repression to a police state.

The shock baton revelation prompted a deeper look at the sources of Huffington's funds. Some familiar with the tale say the Huffington family saga brings to life French author Victor Hugo's famous observation that "Behind every great fortune there lies a great crime."

Daddy's money. In the 1970s it was the name of a popular Dallas nightclub where the offspring of the wealthy parked their Corvettes in a neat row out front every night. And it was during the same decade that Michael Huffington's father Roy, a legendary wildcatter who is frequently listed as one of the hundred wealthiest Texans, began harvesting the bounty flowing from an immense natural gas field off Borneo, the island Indonesians call Kalimantan.

Michael Huffington was still in college when his daddy struck the petroleum fortune that is now fueling one of the most expensive campaigns for public office in American history.

The candidate can afford to spend \$20 million of his own money on a Senate seat because - so the legend goes - a retired U.S. Army general named Arch Sproul noticed during World War II that the steaming jungle

terrain of Borneo strongly resembled the landscape of southern Louisiana, where natural gas is plentiful.

Sproul, published reports have long held, suggested in 1967 that his geologist friend Roy Huffington check out Indonesia. The men became partners, gambled all they had, struck it rich, built the biggest gas liquefaction plant in the world and pulled off a multibillion-dollar deal to ship liquid natural gas to Japan.

So the story goes. Roy Huffington says today that a lot of that is hokey. He's been deeply angry at Sproul since his old buddy's highly critical comments about Michael's performance as a Huffco executive began appearing in press reports. "Everyone who knew him doubted his business ability," Sproul said of Michael Huffington.

The senior Huffington, now 77, speaks in a low growl suggestive of John Wayne. "It was a totally uncalled-for, stupid remark," he says in a telephone interview from his offices in a Houston high-rise complex that's been described as looking like a dollar sign. "Arch likes to talk." He even provided a motive for Sproul's perfidy. Michael once dated Sproul's daughter, Roy Huffington says, "and Arch would have liked to see that continue, but it didn't."

In his outrage, Roy Huffington is eager to see that Sproul gets none of the credit for their profitable exploration of Kalimantan. The real reason Huffco ended up in Indonesia, the senior Huffington says, is that he was mad at America. In the mid-1960s, the Federal Power Commission lowered a promised price for oil, leaving Huffington's small domestic operation in debt.

"I told 'em to go find the oil themselves," he says. "I was leaving the country." The situation foreshadowed his son's campaign attacks on big government, the elder Huffington says, adding, "Washington screws up everything." The line sounds odd coming from a \$300 million contributor to the Republican cause who was rewarded by George Bush in 1990 with a two-year post as U.S. ambassador to Austria; a man whose secretary today still answers the phone, "Ambassador Huffington's office."

Indonesia in 1968 was ripe for foreign entrepreneurs like Roy Huffington. A CIA-backed coup three years before had replaced the left-leaning President Sukarno with military head Gen. Suharto, who claimed that communism was about to sweep the world's fourth most populous nation. The coup was prelude to a notorious purge of Indonesian society in which at least half a million peasants and ethnic Chinese - all alleged communists - were killed.

With the army in control, "Indonesia lay there as the most significant resource prize

in Southeast Asia, a major market ready to be exploited," says Sunil Sharma, 24, an Indonesian American who studies music at Sonoma State University and devotes his free time to the East Timor Action Network.

Roy Huffington was scanning the globe. He said he first considered likely sites for oil in South America, Africa and the Middle East. But revolutions were all too common in South America; the Nigerian government was uncooperative; and the Shah of Iran's man in New York was more interested in his American girlfriend than in development talks. "I've often wished I could find that young lady and thank her," Huffington says. "If I had gone into Iran I'd have been nationalized when the Ayatollah took over."

Huffington says two things made him favor the far-flung island nation in the South Pacific. Royal Dutch Shell had located oil in Indonesia as far back as 1892 and had dug a few small wells, but the country had been free from petroleum development ever since the 1945 revolution that expelled its Dutch colonial masters, leaving it virgin territory for modem exploration techniques. And Huffington says he'd always been attracted by the exotic lure of the land known as the Spice Islands.

"Java, Sumatra, Borneo," he says, savoring the names. "Columbus was headed in that direction, you know, only America got in his way. This is what makes a geologist love his work, a life out in the open in places most barely hear about."

When Huffington sought out Pertamina, the Indonesian government petroleum monopoly, officials there cut a deal that gave the American 35 percent of all the gas he could find. But they warned him they'd been unable to locate any at all. "You didn't dig deep enough," he replied. He and a handful of U.S. partners sank \$300 million into discovering and developing the Badak field off East Kalimantan, a gas-bearing site so rich that by 1977 he was able to negotiate an \$8.8 billion contract to supply natural gas to Japan for the next 21 years.

Michael Huffington joined his father's company in 1976, just in time to cash in on Huffco's Indonesian success. But he arrived to find the family company in partnership with a government of corrupt thugs.

In 1975, Indonesia had invaded East Timor to suppress the former Portuguese colony's bid for independence, slaughtering a third of the population (about 200,000 people) in the process. At about the same time, Pertamina - run by Suharto's family members and trusted henchmen - was becoming a dominant force within the Indonesian state, just as its enormous headquarters building towered over the Jakarta skyline. Corruption and theft involving Pertamina

officials left it on the verge of bankruptcy with debts of \$10.5 billion, requiring an expensive bailout by international banks. Far from aiding Indonesia's development, the company's shenanigans only drove ordinary citizens further into poverty,

By 1984, as Huffco's shock baton shipments to the Indonesian government were helping to quell popular resentment of its police-state economic policies, an article in *Oil & Gas Journal* summed up the situation from the Huffington family's point of view. Written by a top Huffco executive, the piece extolled the benefits available to a mid-size independent oil company in the international marketplace. "Independent/host country teamwork pays off, headline boasted. Huffco's secret? ..." [M]atching its goals and actions with the basic objectives of the host country and join common effort."

Dissident Indonesians say that's exactly right. "Michael Huffington has for 20 years profited enormously from an investment climate the U.S. helped design when it backed the Suharto coup," says Sharma, who has visited his mother's native land four times. "He's enjoyed a cushy arrangement with a government that enriches its officials with no regard for the needs and desires of the impoverished Indonesian people. Michael Huffington disgusts me."

That kind of talk infuriates Roy Huffington. "The economy of Indonesia was in the dumps in 1968," he says. "People were living in the mud. I hoped to help the country develop."

What has developed instead is the Indonesian military. World Bank loans and revenue from the sale of natural resources have gone to finance Indonesia's armed forces at a level well beyond that justified by any imaginable external threat.

"Indonesia's armed forces dominate the politics of the country, not only at the national level through a military dictatorship, but at the village level," reported Caleb Rositer of the Washington-based Project on Demilitarization and Democracy in April. The military is "configured primarily to control dissent, both in Indonesia and in occupied areas such as East Timor," he added.

Such criticism of Indonesia, Roy Huffington insists, is unwarranted. "They say there are no human rights there," he complains. "But if the government wasn't firm it'd be another Iran. They are fair. They shipped off the communists and the Islamic fundamentalists to a little island out in the Java Sea for a few months. Oh, they fed 'em and everything. It improved their attitude. I'm unaware of any heads being chopped off."

But according to the U.S. State Department's most recent report on Indonesia, the

country is characterized by extrajudicial killings, unfair trials of political prisoners, arbitrary arrests, torture, restrictions on basic freedoms and the inability of citizens to change their government by democratic means. President Suharto is currently in his sixth five-year term in office.

Michael Huffington's father has an explanation for those shock batons and handcuffs as well. He insists they were for the personal protection of Huffco's American employees living in the company town near the big gas liquefaction plant. "There'd be a few bad fellows who'd steal or rob you. One of our people was knifed to death. Since guns are not allowed in Indonesia, some of our people asked for cattle prods or something to protect themselves. We came up with the batons. They don't knock anybody out, just give a little shock. Then you can handcuff the fellow while you call the police."

Roy Huffington is enormously proud of his Indonesian achievement. He insists Huffco has a tremendously good reputation among the country's people. Evidence to the contrary he calls "total B.S." In a long lifetime of receiving awards and honors for his success in business, he particularly prizes a medal awarded by President Suharto in 1986. "Only solid gold medal I ever got," he says,

[A photo of Huffington with dollar signs for eyes is captioned: THE COLOR OF MONEY Candidate Huffington's personal fortune, says a coordinator for the East Timor Action Network, is "blood money" from Indonesian oil. "Who will his clients be if he gets to the Senate?"]

SIDEBAR: FEINSTEIN'S INDONESIA PROBLEM

Dianne Feinstein's hands aren't clean on Indonesia either, according to the East Timor Action Network and other advocates for human rights.

They distinguish her record from Michael Huffington's because she has never personally profited from dealings with the Suharto government. Yet, as they charged in a flier distributed August 30 at a Feinstein fundraiser in Los Angeles, "Indonesia is making a killing with Senator Feinstein's help!"

The charge is that the invasion, occupation and repression of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor was accomplished largely with U.S. weapons - whose sale Feinstein supports. Despite United Nations resolutions calling for Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor, and despite Clinton administration pressure for human rights improvements there, lucrative U.S. weapons sales to Indonesia continue.

On a global scale, this is a moral problem; in California, it's also a political problem. Feinstein's de facto support for Indonesia's brutal military dictatorship may make her hesitate to use Huffington's Indonesia connections against him, although a recent ad quotes charges made in the Wall Street Journal.

Last year when the State Department shelved the transfer of U.S.-made F-5 fighter jets from Jordan to Indonesia, Feinstein battled to allow the deal to go through. She argued that California jobs were at stake because of a \$7 million contract held by Eidetics Aircraft Inc. of Torrance (an industrial suburb of L.A.) to refurbish the craft. To the anger of Eidetics officials, the project remained blocked.

"These are supersonic planes that can also fly slowly enough to be used for strafing," says Caleb Rossiter, director of the Washington-based Project on Demilitarization and Democracy. "They can easily be used to kill East Timorese."

When a bipartisan group of U.S. Senators wrote two letters to President Clinton urging him to raise the East Timor issue in a meeting with President Suharto, Feinstein refused to sign either one.

Last June, Feinstein co-sponsored an effort to cripple a law that would have prohibited Indonesia from using U.S. arms in East Timor. The effort succeeded.

Her spokesperson did not return a call asking for comment. In response to an earlier story about the Eidetics deal, Feinstein chief of staff Michael McGill says the senator is "continuing to seek some appropriate means of making this deal possible" for Eidetics.

Ann Treseder, a San Francisco attorney who is a member of the East Timor Action Network, calls Feinstein's stand disappointing. Though Michael Huffington potentially would be even worse on the issue, Treseder said; "many people [concerned with East Timor] are still trying to decide whether to vote for Feinstein in the hope that she can acquire some sensitivity on East Timor, vote for a third-party candidate or sit out the U.S. Senate election this year."

SUHARTO'S CANDIDATE (HUFFINGTON)

Independente (Lisbon), 14 October 1994

By Paulo Mascarenhas. Translated from Portuguese, Summary

In the 1980s, the Republican candidate for the Senate in California, Mike Huffington, sold not only shock batons to the Indonesian dictatorship, but handcuffs and other police equipment as well, thereby breaking all the US trade laws and embargo on commerce with Suharto's country. Companies

owned by "Mike," as he likes to be called, have also been trading with the Jakarta regime. However, until now, nothing has been heard about it from the Portuguese Embassy in Washington.

According to the Democrats' campaign headquarters for the Senate in California, Huffington "earned a quarter of a million dollars" from his business dealings with Indonesia, which included the sale of computers, police equipment, and other embargoed goods. It would be interesting to know exactly how, when and what Huffington has been selling to Indonesia and whether the US allows such trade when, officially, trade has been restricted with human rights violator Indonesia.

CNN Exposés

It was through CNN's "Larry King Live" program that Huffington's activities were given national coverage. In response, Huffington claims that the batons were sold for use by employees in his oil and gas company, and had a low voltage to work the batons' flashing light.

US journalists were unconvinced by his story, and for a whole week continued to run the story. The Wall Street Journal reported that several unlicensed shipments of shock batons, handcuffs, fingerprinting equipment and computers (all of which could be used for purposes of repression) destined for Indonesia, known for human consistently violating human rights in its own territory and in Timor, had been found at Huffington's oil and gas company, and sold in the 1980s when the economic embargo was already in force.

Millionaire Mike Huffington, known as a kind of Republican Ross Perot, has been accused of tax evasion in California, to the tune of over 6.7 million dollars. In spite of this, polls show him to be running neck to neck with his Democratic adversary. He helped finance the Reagan and Bush presidential campaigns, and it is said that his father made his money from trading with Indonesia. So, apart from the enormous financial profits, perhaps it was a kind of gratitude which led Huffington to send arms in the 80s to assist with Suharto's repression.

It now remains to be seen what Portugal's position will be, on the scandal involving support from a US candidate to human rights violations in Indonesia, and possibly in Timor.

US 'DISMAYED' OVER MAGAZINE SUSPENSION

Reuter, 12 October 1994. Abridged

The United States has expressed "dismay" at a recent decision to suspend publi-

cation of an Indonesian magazine, the latest victim of a crackdown on the country's revitalised media.

In a statement released in Washington on October 8 and made available by the U.S. embassy here on Wednesday, it said that government-affiliated bodies last week had pressured the magazine *Simponi* to suspend publication.

"We are dismayed by this. It is a retrograde step that further diminishes press freedom in Indonesia. We have made our views clear to the Indonesian government," the statement said.

The Clinton administration has been critical of Indonesia's human rights and labour record but has stopped short of sanctions, such as cutting trade privileges.

Eros Djarot, editor of *DeTik* and consultant to *Simponi*, said last week the re-launched magazine had agreed to suspend publication after one issue until it had met procedural terms laid down by the government.

He denied the move amounted to a ban.

The United States said in the statement that it had earlier encouraged the government to lift the June banning. "We see this latest action as particularly unhelpful," it said.

Indonesia is next month due to host a meeting of leaders, including President Clinton, from the fledgling Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

Activists have accused the government of trying to muzzle dissent ahead of the meeting by jailing trade unionists, silencing the media and reining in non-government organisations and academics critical of President Suharto's rule.

AMERICANS TO INVEST IN TUNA FISHERY INFRASTRUCTURE IN EAST TIMOR

AFP, 12 October 1994

Jakarta – An American tuna fishing company, World Tuna Development Inc., is to invest five million dollars in land-based fishing infrastructure in East Timor, a report by the Antara news agency said Tuesday.

Negotiations between the US Export-Import Bank and Indonesian banks were currently underway to make liquid the initial investment of about five million dollars, the head of the Fisheries Department of East Timor, João Freitas, told Antara.

The money will be used to prepare land-based infrastructure and wharf facilities at the fishing village of Hera, he said. This will include housing for ships crews, cold storage facilities, an ice factory and a means of providing clean water.

The project was an early step in the efforts to exploit the area's natural resources, he said

CLINTON TO BRING EAST TIMOR TO SUHARTO

Diario de Noticias, October 14, 1994.

Abridged

[Comment: Other APEC government leaders should be urged to raise East Timor with Indonesia and to do so publicly while in Jakarta. Their statements should be strong and clear, and point to specific steps that can be taken to improve the situation, such as monitored troop withdrawals and release of political prisoners.]

President Clinton told [Portuguese Prime Minister] Cavaco Silva that he will speak to the Indonesians about the question of East Timor. Cavaco Silva asked the President to support respect for human rights in the territory.

The American President said he will raise the East Timor question during his next meeting with president of Indonesia. The meeting will held during the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) summit in November. Clinton also told the Portuguese Prime Minister that this would be the second time that he speaks on the theme (East Timor) with the Indonesian authorities.

Cavaco Silva told journalists after his meeting with Clinton (which lasted twice as long as the scheduled time) that he asked the American President to raise with the government of Indonesia during his coming trip to Jakarta two important positions of the Portuguese government. First, that the Indonesian authorities respect human rights and stop their violation in the former Portuguese colony; secondly, that the negotiations between the two parts under the UN supervision be a true dialogue with goodwill. A theme that Cavaco Silva will discuss today when he meets with the UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali.

RESTART THE RIGHTS CLOCK IN INDONESIA

Editorial, The New York Times, October 17, 1994

The Clinton Administration is having a hard time deciding whether to impose modest trade sanctions against Indonesia for denying workers their basic rights. First it demanded changes by February 1994. Then it let that deadline pass and dropped formal scrutiny of Indonesia's performance for six months. Now it seems ready to delay any action until after President Clinton visits

Jakarta next month for the Asia-Pacific summit meeting.

Such protracted delay helps no one. The Administration should tell Indonesia now what it still needs to do and set a firm deadline for doing it.

As a low-income developing country, Indonesia is eligible for reduced tariffs on certain products through a program called the General System of Preferences, or G.S.P. About \$900 million in Indonesian exports entered the U.S. under this program last year. But by U.S. law, countries benefiting from G.S.P. are required to take steps to accord their citizens internationally recognized labor rights.

In Indonesia's case that means getting the army out of labor disputes and letting workers form independent unions. As the February deadline approached, Indonesia promised Washington it would take meaningful steps in both areas. It has had eight months to put those promises into effect.

A U.S. investigative team recently visited Indonesia to assess compliance. Its findings are not yet available. Human rights groups report some progress, but say the military still interferes in labor matters and the Government is still trying to crush the main independent union. Last month, 28 members of Congress urged the Administration to revoke Indonesia's G.S.P. benefits.

But the G.S.P. debate is now taking place in a radically changed context. In May, the Clinton Administration dropped all human rights conditions on trade with China. As repressive as Indonesia's labor policies are, they are less harsh than Beijing's. In recent weeks, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown has called for expanding trade with China and Indonesia, ignoring human rights concerns.

The message is clear: Washington's human rights talk need not be taken seriously. If President Clinton wants to salvage any credibility on rights, he needs to modify that cynical message at once.

Withholding trade benefits is an appropriate tool for punishing labor abuses. Such abuses offend human rights and confer unfair trade advantages to the violator. In the case of G.S.P., upholding labor standards is required by law. But if the Administration sincerely believes that trade and development are the best ways to advance human rights, other forms of pressure are available.

These include outspoken diplomacy, votes in the U.N. human rights commission and restrictions on military training and sales for countries whose armed forces are involved in human rights abuse. The latest foreign aid bill specifically instructs U.S. representatives in multilateral development banks like the World Bank to take worker rights into account when they cast their votes.

Right now, the Clinton Administration seems at a loss over human rights policy. Renewing the pressure on Indonesia over labor rights could help it find its way again.

P.R. FIRM PUSHES INDONESIA

According to "O'Dwyer's Washington Report" that Robinson Lake/Sawyer Miller has signed a \$530,000 contract with "a group of Indonesian plywood producers which want to make sure the November summit of Pacific nation leaders in their country goes off without a hitch."

The contract includes "in-depth" interviews with "U.S. opinion leaders" before the summit. Distribution of color materials to journalists, members of congress and administration officials and \$60,000 to bring 10 journalists to Indonesia. ("RL/SM gets \$531K contract to push Indonesia summit," Oct. 24, 1994)

CALL CLINTON ON NOVEMBER 7: EAST TIMOR MUST BE FREE

Alert from ETAN/US, Oct. 30, 1994

In 1975, Indonesia brutally invaded East Timor with the weapons and the blessing of the United States. Over 200,000 people, nearly one-third of the population were killed by the military, starvation and disease in this small country north of Australia. Serious human rights violations continue, and the right of East Timor to determine their own future is denied. Now, after years of unquestioning support of Indonesia, U.S. policy has begun to change.

On November 14, President Clinton goes to Indonesia for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit and to meet with Indonesia's President Suharto. While in Indonesia, President Clinton must send a strong message that the U.S. stands firmly on the side of human rights and international law.

On November 7, the East Timor Action Network (ETAN/US) is urging people to call or email President Clinton. (If you can't call or email on November 7, do so when you can.) Urge him to support East Timor's right to self-determination while in Indonesia. He should publicly:

- call for a UN-supervised vote by the East Timorese on their future status, as required by UN Security Council resolutions;
- announce a cutoff of all arms sales to Indonesia and urging other nations to do the same; and

- call on Indonesia to fully respect the human rights of all of its citizens and the people of East Timor; to withdraw under international supervision its troops from East Timor; and to free all East Timorese political prisoners, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

Call the White House comment line: 202-456-1111; email: president@whitehouse.gov; or write: President Clinton, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC 20500. Please let ETAN/US know if you have sent a message. (Also if you know of journalists who may going to Indonesia or East Timor for APEC, please give us their names.)

NETWORK NEWS (ETAN/US NEWSLETTER), NOV. 1994

Excerpts from the Newsletter which include materials not already included in other articles in recent issues of East Timor Documents:

NOVEMBER 14-16: CLINTON HEADS TO INDONESIA

President Clinton will travel to Indonesia in November to participate in the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) summit. His visit will last three days. From November 14-15, he will attend the APEC meeting in Bogor, 40 miles from Jakarta. He then goes to Jakarta on November 16 for a state visit to Indonesia and one-on-one meetings with Indonesia's President Suharto.

The President will arrive in Indonesia in an atmosphere of intensifying military repression (see page 4) designed to silence critics of state policies. Ironically, the APEC summit coincides with the November 12, 1991 massacre of 271 people in Dili, East Timor. The military systematically fired into a peaceful crowd of independence demonstrators. More were killed as they sought treatment in local hospitals.

While President Clinton has said he will not raise human rights or other non-economic issues in the APEC meetings, he has told Portugal's Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva that he will raise East Timor directly with Indonesia. Cavaco Silva had asked the President to support respect for human rights in the territory.

ETAN/US believes that the human rights of the East Timorese can not be fully guaranteed until their right to self-determination is respected through a UN-supervised referendum on the status of the country. This is the underlying cause of the conflict. ETAN has launched a campaign to urge Clinton to press Indonesia on concrete steps it can take on the issue.

Already, a presidential aide has said that the administration does not plan to raise the issue of self-determination at all with Suharto. ETAN is urging President Clinton to reconsider this policy and to forcefully and publicly raise East Timor with Indonesia. While the administration has taken a number of positive steps in response to public and congressional pressure on the issue, Clinton's general policy has been to place trade and economic policy before human rights, democratization or other concerns. One need only look at his reversal on China to be seriously concerned that both human rights and self-determination will take a back seat in Bogor and Jakarta.

Since he took office, President, Clinton has met twice with President Suharto. In July 1993, President Clinton reportedly angered President Suharto by speaking to him about East Timor in Tokyo prior to the G-7 summit. But President Clinton was silent on the issue at the APEC summit meeting held a year ago in Seattle.

Separate letters urging Clinton to raise East Timor with President Suharto are circulating in the House of Representatives and Senate. The House letter calls on the President to "stress the concern of Congress and your administration over the human rights situation in East Timor [and] the need for serious efforts by Indonesia to make progress at the United Nations-sponsored talks as well as the need for Indonesia to agree to direct talks with East Timorese representatives under United Nations auspices. The US should actively support United Nations moves to bring about peaceful conditions and genuine demilitarization in East Timor."

In addition to the US and Indonesia, the members of APEC are Australia, Brunei, Canada, China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand. Chile join APEC at the summit. The leaders of Japan, Australia, and Canada have already said they plan to speak about East Timor with President Suharto.

Media Watch

Several thousand reporters from around the world are expected to converge on Indonesia to cover the APEC summit. Clinton will surely be asked about East Timor by the press. Many reporters have already asked permission to go to East Timor. Indonesia has launched a public relations effort to show human rights and "development" improvements in East Timor. (This will intensify as the summit approaches, and a surprise announcement of a "major improvement" by Indonesia in East Timor is also a possibility.)

But the quantity of coverage provides no guarantee about its quality and Network

News readers are urged to monitor media coverage of East Timor during the summit. The summit provides a important opportunity for letters to the editor, op-eds and phone calls to radio talk shows about the need for changes in US policy to promote self-determination for East Timor.

Letters to the editor and other contact with the media should stress the need for not only human rights improvements, but for self-determination by the East Timorese. Remember, contacts with the media are most effective if you are succinct, to the point and polite. Contact us if you want help with letters to the editor or other media work.

ETAN STEERING COMMITTEE MEETS

After a productive year of meeting by email, phone and fax, ETAN/US's steering committee (SC) met face-to-face in Westchester, New York, last September. At the meeting, the SC evaluated the past year's activity and charted the future of the organization. After updating ourselves on the issues, the SC discussed and agreed on launching several new projects. The short-term focus is President Clinton's mid-November trip to Indonesia. ETAN's views this one of our best opportunities for getting the word out about East Timor and focusing on the need to change US policy.

Working with Congress will remain a priority. After the fall election, ETAN will begin educating newly-elected members of the House of Representatives and Senate and start pushing for new legislative initiatives. We also plan to continue monitoring the implementation of the small arms ban and IMET cut off. And we hope to repeat the success of last year's lobby days, with several trips to Washington.

ETAN is also readying a corporate campaign targeting selected US multinationals doing business with Jakarta, especially in the Timor Gap. ETAN also hopes to build strong relationships with Amnesty International chapters as they work on their Indonesia and East Timor human rights campaign (page 5). ETAN will also promote showings of the powerful film, *Death of a Nation* (see Network News, April 1994) and the music CD, *All in the Family*.

A proposal to clarify ETAN's structure was passed and is now being refined. The SC was also pleased to welcomed a new chapter, ETAN/Colorado.

Next year will mark the 20th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor and the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's independence. Both offer opportunities to elevate the issue of self-determination for East Timor. The SC stressed the need to intensify our fund-raising efforts and tighten up our structure

in anticipation of these historic anniversaries.

CONGRESS LIMITS ARMS SALES AND MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIA

By Charles Scheiner

A House-Senate Conference Committee agreed on a final version of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Bill (HR 4426) for Fiscal Year 1995 on July 28, 1994. Both houses passed it in early August, and it has been signed into law. Two provisions limiting US military support to the Indonesian regime, one inserted by each House, are included in the \$13.7 billion appropriations bill. The provisions continue the ban on military training aid (IMET) and codify the State Department's ban on sales of small arms to Indonesia.

Passage came a month after the Senate rejected a ban on the use of lethal US-supplied military equipment weapons in East Timor (see Network News #10). Senators Russell Feingold (D-WI) and Patrick Leahy (D-VT) – outraged that Senator J. Bennett Johnston's (D-LA) had reneged on his word by moving against the ban on the Senate floor – persuaded the State Department not to oppose a statutory prohibition on the sale of "small or light arms or riot control items" to Indonesia.

This provision – unanimously approved by the Senate and accepted by the House – is the first ever limitation on arms sales to Indonesia because of human rights violations in East Timor. The small arms ban codifies and expands current State Department policy by prohibiting commercial and government-to-government sales until the Secretary of State reports to Congress that Indonesia has made "significant progress" in human rights in East Timor and "elsewhere in Indonesia," by complying with the recommendations in the United Nations Special Rapporteur's January 1992 report and the March 1993 recommendations of the UN Human Rights Commission; significantly reducing Indonesia's troop presence in East Timor; and participating constructively in the Secretary General's efforts to resolve the status of East Timor.

The IMET ban, first introduced by House Appropriations Committee Chair David Obey (D-WI), continues the ban on US military training aid to Indonesia that Congress enacted after the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. A House proposal that would have also barred Indonesia from purchasing military training from the US was dropped by the Conference Committee on technical grounds. Chairman Obey has vowed to press for a cut off of the sale of training next year if the

situation in East Timor does not improve. The House Appropriations Committee report declares that "It was and is the intent of Congress to prohibit United States military training for Indonesia." Representatives Nita Lowey (D-NY) and Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) were also active on the Appropriations Committee in support of East Timor.

In addition to the military limitations, HR 4426 includes a provision submitted by Senator Paul Wellstone (D-MN) to provide \$500,000 to environmental and human rights NGOs in Indonesia, with an emphasis on East Timor.

By banning both light arms sales and military training aid, Congress has put Indonesia and the world community on notice that concern over East Timor is not going to vanish as long as atrocious human rights violations and the denial of self-determination continue. Both measures are modest but important steps that build on past administration and Congressional policy. Indonesia reacted strongly to the Senate's action, rejecting any "conditions" on sales and threatening to take their business elsewhere. Human rights activists in Indonesia's European arms suppliers are using the US action to pressure their own governments to limit weapons sales to the Suharto regime.

Throughout the Congressional process, ETAN provided information and action alerts to key Congressional offices, arms control and human rights lobbyists, and activists around the US. If you can use such fast-breaking information and aren't getting our email or faxes, please let us know.

ETAN's April lobby and follow-up visits to Washington generated over a hundred meetings between Congressional staffers and East Timor activists. We plan to intensive our efforts in Washington during the 1995 legislative season.

INDONESIAN SCHOLAR EXPOSES OCCUPATION'S IMPACT

by Matthew Jardine

George Aditjondro's book, *In the Shadow of Mount Ramelau: The Impact of the Occupation of East Timor*, is important for a number of reasons, not least of which is that the author is Indonesian. A lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University in Central Java, Aditjondro is the first Indonesian scholar to take such a strong, public stance against Jakarta's brutal occupation of East Timor.

His high profile has drawn attention from the authorities. Recently, Aditjondro endured 15 hours of questioning on a charge of "insulting the existing authority of the state of Indonesia with words or speech." The case grew out of a talk he gave discussing

democratization and the presidential succession in Indonesia. This is not the first attempt to intimidate him. Last March he was questioned by local military authorities about his views on East Timor.

An anthropologist and Indonesia's 1986 environmentalist of the year, Aditjondro has long been acquainted with the ongoing struggle for self-determination in the former Portuguese colony. As a writer for the Indonesian weekly, *Tempo*, he was with the first group of Indonesian journalists to visit Portuguese Timor following the April 1974 Carnation Revolution that marked the beginning of the end of Lisbon's overseas empire. Extensive archival research and a return visit to East Timor in 1993 have provided Aditjondro with much of the empirical foundation of his book.

Last March, Aditjondro released two papers (previously distributed in Indonesia) in Australia detailing the environmental and socioeconomic impact of Jakarta's invasion and occupation of East Timor. Although the West Australian was the only paper that reported his findings, the reports had a wide impact and infuriated the Indonesian authorities due to the international publicity (see Network News, April 1994). Several weeks later, Aditjondro gave an interview to the Australia Broadcast Corporation strongly criticizing the Indonesia's presence in East Timor. Hours after his return home, hooligans stoned his house, breaking a number of windows.

In the *Shadow of Mount Ramelau*, made up of the three essays including those released in Australia, assumes a rather high level of familiarity with the subject and is not designed for newcomers to the issue. While there is an introductory historical survey by Dr. Rudie Trienes, it is rather cursory in parts, at times awkwardly written and sometimes inexact. It wrongly states, for example, that "Only Portugal and its five former colonies in Africa brought out their vote in favour of an independent East Timor each year at the General Assembly's Resolution [sic]."

The body of the book, however, is very important. Its most novel aspects include an analysis of the human and financial costs of the war and occupation on Indonesian society. Regarding East Timor, Aditjondro details the effects of the Indonesianization of the territory in terms of agricultural production, economic self sufficiency, forced resettlement, and the environment. He also provides a systematic outline of the Indonesian military conglomerate P.T. Batara Indra Group's increasing monopolization of the East Timorese economy and the growing economic marginalization of the indigenous population. Finally, Aditjondro offers a comprehensive look at the conflict between

the East Timorese Catholic Church and the Indonesian state.

Aditjondro's book includes, by far, the most systematic attempt (at least available in English) to understand the ecological impacts of "Indonesianization." His discussion of the effects of the occupation on Indonesian and East Timorese women and children is especially interesting. While describing sexual pressures brought to bear on East Timorese women by Indonesian soldiers, however, Aditjondro neglects the subject of rape – a well-documented and common crime of the occupying troops.

On a few occasions Aditjondro does not sufficiently justify and explain some of his conclusions. Nonetheless, his book is a great contribution to our collective understanding of East Timor. It contains much valuable new material and insightful analyses and provides news directions for further research on East Timor. Finally, given that the author is Indonesian, the book is of great import in marking the growth of a movement within Indonesia in favor of East Timorese self-determination and a national state based on democracy and human rights.

In the Shadow of Mt. Ramelau: The Impact of the Occupation of East Timor, published by Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre in The Netherlands, is available from ETAN for \$13 plus \$2.50 postage and handling.

RESOURCES

The film "*Death of a Nation*" is available for benefit showings in the U.S. If you interested in arranging a showing contact: ETAN/US, (914)428-7299 for details.

Chomsky Film on Video

"*Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky & the Media*," which includes an extensive section on East Timor, are now available. The two-tape set is \$59.95 plus \$6.95 shipping for private (individual) use by calling (800)626-8266.

Groups can buy copies for public showings (no commercial showings, no cable TV), for \$79.00 plus shipping. Order from Zeitgeist, (212)274-1989.

UPCOMING ETAN/US EVENTS

Monday, November 7

Nationwide. Call and e-mail President Clinton. Urge him to tell Indonesia's President Suharto to allow self-determination for East Timor. Call 202-456-1111; e-mail: president@whitehouse.gov.

Thursday, November 10

Washington, DC. Demonstration at Indonesian Embassy, 2020 Mass. Ave., NW, 5 pm. ETAN/DC (301)589-9071.

Friday, November 11

New York City. Interfaith Memorial Service to Commemorate the Santa Cruz Massacre, 2 pm, UN Church Center Chapel, 777 UN Plaza (44 St. and First Ave.). ETAN/NY (718)788-6071.

Los Angeles. Commemoration at Indonesian Consulate, 3457 Wilshire Blvd., Noon. (Also several showings of "Cold Blood" have been tentatively scheduled, call for info). ETAN/LA 310-450-5375.

San Francisco. Vigil at Indonesian Consulate, 1111 Columbus Ave., and other events. ETAN/SF (415)647-6820

Saturday, November 12

Boston. Constância Pinto will speak at Amnesty International's human rights conference. Univ. of Mass/Boston. Contact: ETAN/Boston (617)646-6393.

Portland. *Death of a Nation* benefit showings at the Clinton St. Theatre, 2522 SE Clinton. Contact: ETAN/Portland (503)235-4986 or (206)944-4029.

Thursday, November 17

Seattle. *Death of a Nation* will be shown at the Seattle Human Rights Film Festival. ETAN/Seattle (206)547-7802.

Wednesday, December 7

New York City. Demonstration on anniversary of Indonesian invasion of East Timor at the Indonesian consulate. 4:30-6:30 pm. 5 E. 68th St. Contact: ETAN/NY (see above)

Austin. *Death of a Nation* benefit showing.

Houston. Demonstration at Indonesia Energy Outlook conference

January 1995

San Francisco, Seattle and Portland Constância Pinto will speak at various events. Contact ETAN/Portland and ETAN/Seattle (see above)

EAST TIMOR NETWORK URGES PRESIDENT CLINTON TO SPEAK OUT

FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR EAST TIMOR IN INDONESIA

PRESS RELEASE, Nov. 3

As President Clinton prepares to depart on the first Presidential trip to Jakarta since President Ford gave the go ahead for the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, the East Timor Action Network (ETAN) is calling on President Clinton to support self-determination for the island nation.

Nineteen years ago President Ford visited Jakarta and gave the go ahead for the Indonesian invasion of East Timor which began 12 hours after he left. With this trip, President Clinton has the opportunity to pres-

sure President Suharto to reverse its policy and allow the referendum that Indonesia's invasion has for too long denied, said John M. Miller, spokesperson for ETAN.

"We are urging President Clinton to press President Suharto to allow a UN-supervised vote by the East Timorese on their future status, as required by UN Security Council resolutions," said Mr. Miller.

ETAN is also calling on President Clinton to build on the current cutoff of small arms sales by announcing an end to all arms sales to Indonesia. Earlier this year, Congress put into law the informal State Department ban on sales of small arms.

ETAN is also urging the President to raise forthrightly human rights issues. Indonesia should take steps to improve the human rights situation in East Timor, including an internationally supervised troop withdrawal and the freeing of all East Timorese political prisoners, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmão," said Mr. Miller.

Indonesia should open direct talks with Mr. Gusmão immediately.

President Clinton will travel to Indonesia on November 14 for the APEC summit, and then hold bilateral meetings with President Suharto in Jakarta on November 16. This will be the first Presidential trip to Jakarta since President Ford visited the city the day before Indonesia launched its invasion of East Timor. (President Reagan visited Bali in May 1986.) It is generally accepted that President Ford gave permission for US weapons to be used in violation of the 1958 Mutual Defense Agreement between the US and Indonesia, which states that the US provided weapons...shall be used solely for legitimate national self-defense.

In mid-October, President Clinton told Portugal's Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva that Clinton plans to discuss East Timor in bilateral talks with Suharto. ETAN/US is urging President Clinton to raise self-determination along with human rights issues.

Since he took office, President Clinton has met twice with President Suharto. In July 1993, Clinton angered President Suharto after by discussing East Timor with him in Tokyo prior to the G-7 summit. But President Clinton was silent on the issue at the APEC summit meeting held a year ago in Seattle.

In one of the worst cases of genocide since World War II, over 200,000 people, nearly one-third of the population, were killed as a result of the December 7, 1975 invasion and occupation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony north of Australia.

ETAN/US was founded following the November 12, 1991 massacre of over 271 people in Dili, East Timor's capital.

ETAN/US supports genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor in accordance with the UN Charter and pertinent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. ETAN/US currently has a dozen local chapters.

ETAN/US has a background packet on East Timor. Ongoing information on East Timor from a range of sources is also available via e-mail; contact: fbp@igc.apc.org to be placed on the distribution list. Key documents on East Timor are also available via the Institute for Global Communications Gopher. To access the East Timor information: gopher to IGC's public gopher, and look under "Peace, Human Rights and Social Justice." Type 'gopher igc.apc.org.'

CLINTON WILL RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS WITH SUHARTO

AP, Nov. 4 1994 [Abridged]

JAKARTA, Indonesia - President Clinton will bring up the topic of human rights violations when he talks with President Suharto later this month, a top U.S. official said Friday.

"We will discuss the human rights problem, workers rights problem, recent closing of some magazines, and East Timor issues," Winston Lord, assistant U.S. secretary of state for Asia, said in remarks televised from Washington.

U.S. IN BALANCING ACT ON INDONESIA

Nov. 3, 1994 (Abridged)

Washington (Reuter) - The United States cannot let concerns over Indonesia's human rights record overshadow its basically good relationship with the Muslim nation, a growing economic power, a top U.S. official said Thursday.

The comments by Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord underscored the administration's increasingly pragmatic approach to human rights as it pursues wider global trade opportunities and other matters of concern to Washington. ...

Calling ties with Indonesia "generally very positive" at this time, Lord said: "We consider the human rights problems (in Indonesia) very important and they're always on our agenda, but we cannot lose sight of our overall relations with this very important country."

"It's the world's largest Muslim country - and, by the way, I would point out that it has consistently opposed extremism in religion and has been tolerant of its communities," he said.

"It is an important player in ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Na-

tions). It is the host to APEC. It has been a moderate leader of the non-aligned movement."

Knight-Ridder (Abridged)

Washington—Nov 2—President Bill Clinton will raise East Timor and human rights issues in talks with Indonesian President Suharto later this month but won't allow the topic to overshadow positive bilateral ties, a senior US official said today.

Assistant state secretary Winston Lord said the US has a "very wide and diverse relationship" with Indonesia and bilateral discussions on human rights will be conducted within the context of larger bilateral relations.

EAST TIMOR MAY BE RAISED AS SHAREHOLDER ISSUE

IRRC News for Investors, November 1994. By Sean Killen.

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News for Investors is an independent newsletter published 11 months a year by the Investor Responsibility Research Center Inc., 1350 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036. Telephone: (202) 833-0700. The cost is \$275.

Church shareholders and the East Timor Action Network are considering using shareholder proposals to raise questions about Indonesian human rights abuses in East Timor. Valerie Heinonen of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility likened the situation in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony in the Indonesian archipelago approximately 400 miles north of Australia, to the situations in Burma or in apartheid-era South Africa, with consistent violations of human, civil and political rights by an illegitimate government.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, annexing the Portuguese territory the following year. International response to the invasion was considerable, the United Nations Security Council and the UN General Assembly passed resolutions demanding Indonesian withdrawal and a referendum on self-determination, to no effect. The European parliament has also called for Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor and for Timorese self-determination.

An international corporate angle that could provide a hook for shareholder resolutions enters the East Timor controversy because Australia and Indonesia signed a treaty in 1989 dividing the oil reserves in the Timor Gap between the two countries. Today, three U.S. companies - Chevron, Oryx Energy, USX/Marathon - and many non-U.S. corporations - British Petroleum, Shell Phillips, Nippon Oil of Japan, Pertamina

(the Indonesian state oil company), Petroz, Indonesia Petroleum Ltd., Broken Hill Proprietary, Sagasco Holdings, Hardy Oil and Gas, Bridge Oil Ltd., Enterprise Oil, Santos, Korea Petroleum, Woodside Petroleum and Western Mining Corp. Holdings - reportedly have signed contracts for the right to explore and develop these reserves.

The Occupation of East Timor

Portugal, while recognized as the administering government of East Timor, was inwardly focused during the mid-1970s, following the overthrow of a fascist regime and installation of democratic government led by a leftist party in 1974. This allowed Indonesia, led by President Suharto, to invade East Timor in December 1975. Since the invasion, approximately 200,000 East Timorese have died as a result of the violence and starvation, and many others have been forcibly resettled.

Australia is apparently the only major nation, other than Indonesia, that explicitly accepts Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor. Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke recognized Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor in 1985, on behalf of his Labour government. Three months after the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty, the governments of Australia and Indonesia announced plans for the joint exploration and development of petroleum resources in the Timor Gap. By March 1986, bids for drilling rights in the Timor Gap had earned the Australian government Aus. \$31.5 million. The 1989 Timor Gap treaty codified the previous agreement.

In August 1994, the Australian High Court denied a bid by three East Timorese activists to have the 1989 Timor Gap Treaty overturned. The activists argued that the treaty violated international law and the Australian constitution. The High Court said that it could not rule on questions of international law and that the treaty did not violate the constitution. Some sort of international legal action is still possible, though; Portugal had filed suit against Australia at the International Court of Justice before the Australian suit, and a hearing will be held at the Hague on Jan. 15, 1995, with a ruling expected in late 1995.

Indonesia Today

Indonesia has received extensive criticism for its human rights record, particularly in East Timor but also more generally. Amnesty International in a 1993 report asserted that "killings, disappearances and arbitrary arrests and torture have been institutionalized as the normal response to political dissent." The U.S. State Department Country Report on Human Rights for 1993 also notes the occurrence of grave human rights abuses in East Timor and Indonesia gener-

ally. In anticipation of the November 1994 Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum in Indonesia, which President Clinton will attend, Amnesty International released a report entitled "Power and Impunity," calling Indonesia "a country ruled with an iron rod, where dissent is punished by imprisonment torture and death."

While Indonesia has been widely criticized for violations of human rights, the country has taken large strides since Suharto assumed power in 1965 towards becoming an economic powerhouse and achieving newly industrialized nation status. Indonesia's exports were valued at \$872 million in 1968; by 1993, exports were worth \$36.5 billion. Foreign investment is on the rise, expected to reach \$20 billion by the end of 1994, according to the State Minister for Investment, Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo.

But while these economic growth figures are impressive, Indonesia has been under fire because of working conditions and wages that are among the worst in southeast Asia, and union organizers have been arrested or killed for their activities. The Clinton administration placed the U.S. preferential trade relationship with Indonesia on probation because of Indonesia's harsh treatment of labor organizers. And while there have been considerable gains in a number of social welfare measures - average life expectancy increased from 45.7 years in 1967 to 62.7 years today - disparities in regional and individual wealth are causing the government some concern. Yuli Ismartono, in an article for the Inter Press Service, noted that the provinces with the highest rates of poverty are all in the east, including East Timor.

Activists say the decimation of self-sufficient agricultural practices and the economic system in East Timor occurred after the forced internment of the majority of the Timorese population in the 1970s and the 1980s. In the view of Charles Scheiner of the East Timor Action Network, the Indonesian military now controls the economy, and in East Timor the agricultural production has been specialized so that coffee is the only exported product. The financial gains from both agricultural specialization and agreements to develop oil reserves have not aided Timorese development, says Scheiner.

Increased international attention to East Timor came after a November 1991 massacre in Dili, the capital, in which hundreds of unarmed people, peacefully demonstrating in remembrance of an earlier assassination, were killed and two U.S. reporters severely beaten. Public outrage at the incident opened doors for public discussion and sanctions, and Indonesia softened its stance on the East Timor issue internally, even allowing discussion by Indonesian news publications.

This led to an embargo of certain types of weapons and training by the United States, and European aid donors began placing conditions on the receipt of aid.

This openness was short-lived, however, and in June 1994 the Indonesian military closed three of the most outspoken publications, and Amnesty International reported the beatings and arrests of striking workers. The Indonesian government also leaned heavily on the Philippine and Thai governments to ban human rights conferences focused on East Timor.

Activists and the Corporate Role

The East Timor Action Network/United States (ETAN) was formed in 1991, after the massacre in Dili. The organization is a grassroots network of local groups, working to alter U.S. policy through education, lobbying and the organization of events. Its most recent focus has been on eliminating U.S. arms sales and cooperation with the Indonesian military.

The network has been particularly concerned about alleged U.S. corporate lobbying on behalf of Indonesia. ETAN cites Freeport MacMoRan as one of the most active companies involved in lobbying Congress, receiving an open ear from Louisiana Democratic Sen. J. Bennett Johnston. Scheiner says that several companies - Freeport, AT&T and General Electric, among others, have lobbied against cutting arms sales to Indonesia, although the issue has no relation to their businesses. He said, "I don't think most consumers and shareholders would agree with doing such favors for murderous dictators."

Still, the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act for 1995 contains two measures limiting U.S. military support to Indonesia. ETAN says this bill passed two weeks after Johnston, with the help of the State Department persuaded "the Senate to reject a ban on the use of all future U.S. government-supplied lethal weapons in East Timor." Johnston's motion passed despite a 1958 U.S.-Indonesian treaty that disallows the use of U.S.-supplied weapons for "an act of aggression against another state." The act also includes a provision to give \$500,000 to environmental and human rights non-governmental organizations in Indonesia, with an emphasis on East Timor.

The Shareholder Resolution Approach

ETAN recently has held discussions with religious shareholders on filing proposals with companies active in East Timor. The group's ultimate goal is to permit self-determination for East Timor, but Scheiner said the organization wants to educate shareholders on the issue and to encourage them to ask questions at annual meetings, to request special meetings with management

to request reports on company operations in East Timor, or, possibly, to ask for a cessation of company activities in the region until East Timor is no longer occupied.

Valerie Heinonen of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility says that filing shareholder resolutions or letters of inquiry with corporations involved in East Timor, mainly oil companies, would make both management and shareholders aware that Indonesia does not have the right to make deals involving Timorese resources. Some Interfaith Center member groups, including the Methodists and the Roman Catholics, have specific statements opposing the Indonesian occupation and the violation of human rights in East Timor. She noted that the reason for religious shareholders to become involved is to place "financial concerns in the context of human rights and moral concerns."

If it pursues a shareholder resolution campaign, ETAN hopes to focus on corporations with operations in East Timor or that actively support Indonesian President Suharto through lobbying. It says different approaches may be necessary depending on the type and level of corporate involvement in East Timor. ETAN believes that corporate "complicity with the occupation of East Timor and the financial risk of getting involved in a legally problematic area could raise questions in shareholders' minds."

SENATORS WRITE CLINTON

November 7, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

We continue to be concerned over conditions in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975. Our concern has been heightened over recent beatings, and acts of desecration and harassment toward the Catholic Church by Indonesian military and security personnel. A recent report by Human Rights Watch Asia observes that "East Timor remains a place where arbitrary detention and torture are routine and where basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly are non-existent."

We urge you to take the opportunity of your talks with President Suharto during the November meeting of the Asian Pacific Economic Organization in Indonesia to underscore U.S. support for the disciplined, responsible action to end the human rights abuses in East Timor and for demilitarization and the restoration of peaceful conditions through negotiations under United Nations auspices.

We understand that you have raised the issue of East Timor in previous meetings with President Suharto, and we appreciate

the actions of your Administration at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Nonetheless, it is important that we continue to reiterate our concern. We also believe that the United States should enlist our friends in the region to convince Indonesia to cooperate with U.N. efforts to resolve this matter peacefully.

Our interest in the East Timor situation is motivated by pragmatic interests as well as concern for human rights and the even-handed application of international law. As some of us have emphasized in the past, we believe that a resolution of the East Timor conflict could create a better environment for American and Indonesia business interests and U.S.-Indonesia relations in general.

In 1945, after untold suffering by many of its people, Indonesia proclaimed independence from the Netherlands. Next year marks the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's successful drive for independence, facilitated and supported by the United Nations and the United States.

In view of this history and the approaching anniversary, it would be fitting for Indonesia to use the occasion of the January 1995 session of the U.N.-sponsored talks on East Timor to negotiate a peaceful and equitable resolution of the East Timor conflict. The United States, with its Asian allies, should give its strong support to the efforts of U.N. Secretary General Boutros-Ghali to bring peace and an end to suffering to East Timor.

Thank you for your consideration of our concerns.

Sincerely,

- Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-DE)
- Bill Bradley (D-NJ)
- John H. Chafee (R-RI)
- Larry E. Craig (R-ID)
- Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY)
- Christopher J. Dodd (D-CT)
- David Durenberger (R-MN)
- Russell Feingold (D-WI)
- Tom Harkin (D-IA)
- Mark O. Hatfield (R-OR)
- Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA)
- John F. Kerry (D-MA)
- Herbert H. Kohl (D-WI)
- Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ)
- Patrick Leahy (D-VT)
- Carl M. Levin (D-MI)
- Joseph I. Lieberman (D-CT)
- Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-OH)
- Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL)
- Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY)
- Frank H. Murkowski (R-AK)
- Patty Murray (D-WA)
- Claiborne Pell (D-RI)
- Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (D-MI)
- William V. Roth Jr. (R-DE)
- Paul S. Sarbanes (D-MD)
- Paul Simon (D-OH)
- Arlen Specter (R-PA)
- Malcolm Wallop (R-WY)

- Paul D. Wellstone (D-MN)

GEN. SINTONG PANJAITAN OWES \$14 MILLION

FEDERAL COURT IN BOSTON TO HEAR TESTIMONY ON 1991 MASSACRE

Witnesses to Give Evidence in Multi-Million Dollar Suit Against Indonesian General

Press release from the Center for Constitutional Rights

For more information, contact:

*Riptide Communications (212)260-5000
Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights (212)243-3805*

New York, October 18, 1994 - Three years ago next month Indonesian generals gave the order for their soldiers to open fire on a peaceful memorial procession on the island of East Timor. Among the demonstrators was Kamal Bamadhaj, a citizen of New Zealand, who was killed along with dozens of young Timorese as they protested sixteen years of organized brutality against the people of East Timor.

On September 21, 1992 shortly after it was discovered that one of the architects of the massacre, General Sintong Panjaitan, was living in Boston and studying at Harvard University, a federal lawsuit was filed charging General Panjaitan with responsibility for a program of systematic human rights violations, including the execution of Bamadhaj. Relying on the precedent-setting work of the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), Helen Todd, the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj and plaintiff in the lawsuit, came to Boston to seek "not only justice for my son but for the hundreds of the mothers of other victims" who could not join the suit due to the threat of reprisals by the Indonesian military.

On Monday, October 24th at 1 p.m. a federal court in Boston will hear dramatic testimony from witnesses to the massacre including journalist Allan Nairn, winner of the Columbia University Dupont award for his reporting on the massacre, Ms. Todd, and Constância Pinto, a Timorese activist currently attending Brown University. The evidentiary hearing will be conducted before Judge Patti Saris at the U.S. federal courthouse in Boston who will set damages in the case. Attorneys Michael Ratner and Beth

Stephens of the CCR will examine the witness.

HOLDING THE INDONESIA MILITARY ACCOUNTABLE

Notice from ETAN/Boston, Monday, October 24, 6pm - 8pm

MIT Center for International Studies
(Building E-38)

Hear Helen Todd & her lawyers from the Center for Constitutional Rights

Helen Todd's son, Kamal Bamadhaj, was the only non-Timorese among the 271 people killed at the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. She won a lawsuit against an Indonesian general. Hear a report from her and Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) attorneys on holding the Indonesian military accountable, following a court hearing in Boston.

ALSO: Leafletting at the Federal District Courthouse, Boston, noon-1pm (prior to court hearing)

Contact: Mark Salzer, ETAN/Boston
(617)646-6393

MOTHER TO COLLECT DAMAGES FOR EAST TIMOR MASSACRE

by Lisa Sandberg

NEW YORK, Oct. 24 (IPS) - Her son died in East Timor three years ago, and this week, Helen Todd expects to receive damages in a U.S. district court in Boston.

The case involves the victim's mother, an Indonesian general, and a 200-year-old U.S. statute which enables victims to sue their tormentors of human rights abuses, no matter where they occurred, so long as the defendant is in the United States.

Todd's son, Kamal Bamadhaj, was one of dozens killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on pro-independence demonstrators in the East Timor capital, Dili, in Nov. 1991. Though he was not present during the massacre, Indonesian Gen. Sintong Panjaitan was the top military officer at the time.

Todd filed a civil lawsuit in the United States in 1992 against Panjaitan for his role in the killings. The general was studying at Harvard University at the time, but fled the country - thus defaulting the case. Damages are now to be awarded to Todd.

Todd said she is seeking, "not only justice for my son but for the hundreds of mothers of the other victims" who would not join the suit because of fear of reprisals by the Indonesian military.

Todd is suing the Indonesian general under the U.S. Alien Tort Claims Act of 1789,

which assigns Federal district courts jurisdiction over suits resulting from wrongful acts "committed in violation of the law of nations or a treaty of the United States."

The statute originally applied to acts of piracy on the high seas and the illicit slave trade and was seldom used until the late 1970s, when lawyers at the Centre for Constitutional Rights in New York saw it as a means to pursue violators of human rights.

The act has since been applied to win damages against numerous foreign human rights abusers. In July, a Miami federal judge ordered former Haitian dictator Gen. Prosper Avril to pay 41 million dollars to six plaintiffs who accused him of ordering their torture.

Former Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, former Guatemalan Defence Minister Hector Gramajo, and former Argentine General Carlos Suarez Mason are other well-known defendants who have been sued under the act.

The Alien Tort Claims Act was strengthened in 1992. Congress passed the Torture Victims Protection Act which restates the 1789 law and applies it to torture victims.

Legal sources here says Todd's case against the Indonesian general may also be based on the 1992 Protection Act, since her son died of multiple bullet wounds some time after the shooting - a fact that could fit the definition of torture.

Todd says though her son was bleeding profusely after the shooting, Indonesian authorities thwarted efforts by Red Cross officials to rush him to the hospital.

"They were detained once at a military roadblock and then in front of a police station," she says, arguing that the 20-minute delay may have made the difference between life and death.

Gen. Panjaitan could not be reached for comment since he remains in Indonesia. But an official at the Indonesian Embassy here, who preferred not to be identified, called the suit "crazy."

"The position of the Indonesian embassy is that we do not respond to such a case," said the official. "Gen. Panjaitan did not order the massacre...since shots were fired from those in the crowd first."

The official said some soldiers did act improperly, and were either dismissed or jailed after a government inquiry into the killings.

Human rights groups, including Amnesty International, have said that over 100 people were killed in the massacre, and maintain that the protesters were unarmed. Amnesty has also said the government's investigation into the incident was flawed.

The 1991 massacre was only one in a series of well-documented human rights abuses committed by the Indonesian au-

thorities in the former Portuguese colony which it invaded in 1975 and then annexed the following year. More than 200,000 East Timorese are believed to have been killed since the annexation.

Constâncio Pinto, an East Timorese activist who is to testify against the general at this week's hearing, claims that the army threatened and harassed survivors of the massacre to dissuade them from speaking out.

Though Pinto was in hiding at the time of the massacre, he says his wife was kept under house arrest and interrogated daily for two years until her release in May this year.

INDONESIAN SUED FOR ROLE IN EAST TIMOR MASSACRE

Reuter, Oct. 24, 1994

Boston - A woman seeking \$15 million in damages from an Indonesian general she alleged orchestrated the 1991 East Timor massacre told a U.S. court on Monday that the military under his command killed her son and more than 200 others.

In her testimony, Helen Todd alleged that Indonesian soldiers opened fire without warning at about 1,000 peaceful demonstrators protesting Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

Her son Kamal Bamadhaj, a 20-year old political science student at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia and a New Zealand citizen, was among those killed during the attack.

Former General Sintong Panjaitan, currently a senior advisor to the Indonesian Minister of Technology, headed the military in the region at the time of the November 1991 shooting.

The Center for Constitutional Rights, a New York-based public-interest law group, filed the lawsuit in Boston on Todd's behalf after learning that the Indonesian government had "punished" Panjaitan by sending him to study at the Harvard University School of Business. He was also relieved of his military duties.

But Harvard told Todd's lawyers they have no record of Panjaitan's enrollment.

"In no sense was he punished," the Centre's attorney Beth Stephens told Reuters. "There's no punishment but a public relations transfer."

Panjaitan fled the United States shortly after hearing of the lawsuit, which was filed in August 1992, Stephens said.

The Indonesian consulate could not be reached immediately for comment on the case or Panjaitan's whereabouts.

Todd, a former journalist from Seremban, Malaysia, is seeking \$15 million, including

\$5 million compensation and \$10 million in punitive damages. She plans to donate any money awarded from the lawsuit to the families of other victims.

"I'm the only plaintiff in this case because I'm the only one of those 270 families that can bring a case here," Todd told the court. She said she was unable to get any affidavits from members of the victims' families. "I would be signing their death sentence if I got any such statement," she said, sometimes crying during the testimony.

The court action is believed to be one of the first in the U.S. under the Torture Victim Protection Act, which provides federal jurisdiction over acts of torture and summary execution, regardless of where they are committed.

U.S. journalist Allan Nairn, a witness to the massacre while on assignment for *The New Yorker* magazine, told the court the army pre-planned the attack by digging mass graves.

But he thought the presence of foreign journalists would keep the army from attacking the unarmed demonstrators.

Judge Patricia Saris said she would rule on any damages in a few days.

Indonesian ready to face U.S. court charges

In Jakarta, former general Sintong Panjaitan, said on Tuesday he was ready to face the charges.

"I am ready; 100 percent," Panjaitan, who was apparently informed about the case, told Reuters.

Panjaitan, who declined to give further comments on the suit, denied reports by the Centre for Constitutional Rights that he fled the United States shortly after hearing of the lawsuit.

He also refused to comment on the reports, which said that he was not a student at Harvard.

SPOTLIGHT ON 1991 EAST TIMOR MASSACRE

BOSTON JUDGE WEIGHS DAMAGES

The Seattle Times, October 25, 1994.

With next month's Asian economic summit in Indonesia approaching, a court case in Boston about a massacre in East Timor is a potential embarrassment to the Indonesian government.

By RANDOLPH RYAN, Boston Globe [which ran an almost identical story, headlined "US court weighs case of officer in Indonesian killings"]

BOSTON - Memories of a 1991 massacre by Indonesian soldiers brought emotional testimony yesterday in U.S. District Court in Boston, where a judge is weighing

compensatory and punitive damages against the Indonesian commanding general whose troops killed more than 250 unarmed marchers in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

The incident on Nov. 12, 1991, was vividly described by Allan Nairn, a U.S. journalist who suffered a fractured skull while witnessing the shooting.

"I didn't think they would stage a massacre in front of us," Nairn said. "At first I thought they were firing blanks. I couldn't believe they were going through with this. Then I saw blood and people falling."

The court also heard testimony from Constâncio Pinto, a Timorese student attending Brown University in Providence, who helped organize the 1991 march; and from Helen Todd, the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, a 19-year-old student with Malaysian and New Zealand citizenship. Bamadhaj died after he was shot by Indonesian troops and was denied medical assistance.

The evidentiary hearing took place in Boston because Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, who commanded the troops in the Dili incident, was served papers in 1992 after he came to enroll in Harvard Business School. A default judgment was entered against him in February 1993.

Panjaitan now is an adviser to Indonesia's minister of industry and technology, Nairn said.

With next month's Asian economic summit in Jakarta approaching, the case is a potential embarrassment to the Indonesian government. Indonesia invaded East Timor soon after the Timorese won independence from Portugal in 1975. The occupation, which human rights observers say has killed about a third of the original Timorese population, has also been embarrassing to U.S. officials, in part because the United States has sponsored the Indonesian regime.

The United Nations has repeatedly condemned the invasion.

Nairn, who has specialized in foreign affairs and received several awards for his reporting on East Timor, said he first visited the area in 1990. "I have never actually seen a place where the level of terror was so all-encompassing," he said.

Nairn said that in 1991, as Timorese citizens prepared testimony for a visit by a U.N.-Portuguese observer delegation, the Indonesian government intensified repression and warned that people who spoke to foreign visitors would be executed.

In October 1991, the U.N. observers' visit was canceled. Indonesian troops then stormed the Motael Catholic Church in Dili, which had become a sanctuary for protesters, and a man was executed.

Two weeks later, after a commemorative Mass for the victim, troops opened fire in

what Nairn described as "an orderly, systematic killing operation." The death toll was estimated at 271.

Todd said her son, a student at the University of New South Wales in Australia, had been visiting East Timor as a translator and human-rights observer. He was shot in the arm and chest by soldiers, she said. Troops prevented a Red Cross vehicle from taking him to a hospital.

The case was brought by the Center for Constitutional Rights as "international tort," a precedent-setting technique for pursuing international human-rights violators.

HELEN TODD'S SUIT HAS BROADER IMPLICATIONS

Letter sent to the editor of the Seattle Times, not yet printed. 27 Oct. 1994

To the Editor:

We were pleased to see the Times' coverage of the federal court hearing in Boston regarding the culpability of Indonesian Army General Sintong Panjaitan in the massacre of over 200 unarmed civilians in East Timor in 1991 ("Spotlight on 1991 East Timor massacre," October 25, 1994). For far too long, the American media have ignored Indonesia's brutal occupation of East Timor, despite the fact that our tax dollars (in the form of financial support for and arms sales to the Indonesian armed forces) have underwritten that occupation. The Times should continue to give this issue prominence in its news pages, particularly in view of President Clinton's trip to Indonesia in mid-November to attend the APEC summit. A number of journalists who will be covering the APEC meeting (including, we hope, someone from the Times) are planning to visit East Timor as part of the assignment, and we encourage you to carry their reportage.

Horrible as it was, the Dili massacre was unique only in that it was witnessed by outside observers. In the nearly two decades since the 1975 invasion, as many as 200,000 of the 600,000 citizens of East Timor have died as a result of Indonesia's occupation, many under circumstances as grim as those described in federal court in Boston this week.

Helen Todd's lawsuit was one of the first filed under the Torture Victim Protection Act, which establishes federal jurisdiction over acts of torture and summary execution, regardless of where they are committed. Winning a judgment against Gen. Panjaitan will send a strong signal to human rights violators around the world that they will not enjoy a safe haven in the United States, but will in fact be held accountable here for their crimes. And it marks the first time a senior member of the Indonesian armed forces has

been found culpable for the killings at Dili; the pro forma trials held by the Indonesian government in response to international outrage over the massacre resulted in convictions of some lower-ranking military personnel, who were given token sentences. To add insult to injury, the government then prosecuted several survivors of the massacre, resulting in convictions and sentences ranging from several years to life in prison.

It has only been recently that the Congress has been sufficiently embarrassed by the publicity arising from the Dili massacre to begin restricting the sale of arms to the Indonesian security forces. Moreover, letters to President Clinton are currently circulating in both houses of Congress, asking him to raise the issue of human rights and self-determination for East Timor when he attends the APEC summit. To date, President Clinton has only promised to raise "concerns" about human rights in East Timor during his one-on-one meeting with Suharto. ETAN/Seattle urges readers who are concerned with the situation in East Timor to contact the White House and request that the issue of self-determination for the East Timorese people, as well as human rights abuses, be made a central point of discussion at the APEC summit.

Charles E. Albertson
Mariza Cabral
Loren Ryster

East Timor Action Network/Seattle

US COURT RULES \$14 MILLION AGAINST INDONESIAN GENERAL

by Michael Ellis, Reuter, Oct. 27, 1994

BOSTON – A US District court on Thursday ruled that a former general with the Indonesian army must pay a woman \$14 million in damages for his role in the 1991 massacre in East Timor in which her son was among more than 200 people killed.

The federal court in Boston ruled against former general Sintong Panjaitan, who did not appear in court, awarding \$2 million for pain and suffering and \$10 million in punitive damages to Helen Todd and \$2 million to her son Kamal Bamadhaj's estate.

"There's nothing in this that can bring my son back. I'm satisfied that at last, after three years, there's some recognition that a wrong was done," Todd told Reuters from New York by telephone.

The death of Bamadhaj, a 20-year old political science student at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia and a New Zealand citizen, sparked a brief diplomatic tussle between Indonesia and New Zealand and Australia.

Panjaitan, currently a senior adviser to the Indonesian Minister of Technology, headed the military in the region at the time of the November 1991 shooting of some 1,000 unarmed demonstrators protesting Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

Panjaitan told Reuters in Jakarta on Tuesday he was ready to face the charges. "I am ready, 100%," he said. He declined to discuss the suit further.

The Indonesian consulate in New York declined to comment.

The Center for Constitutional Rights, a New York-based public-interest law group, filed the lawsuit in Boston on Todd's behalf after learning that the Indonesian government had "punished" Panjaitan by sending him to study at the Harvard University School of Business. He was also relieved of his military duties.

But Harvard told Todd's lawyers they have no record of Panjaitan's enrollment.

Todd said she plans to distribute the award, if it is ever received, to the families of the estimated 271 victims.

"That's still very much up in the air because the likelihood of getting it is quite distant still, although it's a little closer than it was before," she said.

Until then, she hopes to spur economic pressure on Indonesia, which invaded East Timor in 1975, ten days after the territory declared its independence from Portugal, and annexed it in 1976.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over the island. Amnesty International has said that the Indonesian army has killed about 200,000 people or a third of the population since the invasion.

"I intend to write to governments that are dealing with Indonesia, particularly those that are giving military aid, and asking that they don't do any more business until this damage award has been paid," she said.

The court action is believed to be one of the first in the US under the Torture Victim Protection Act, which provides federal jurisdiction over acts of torture and summary execution, regardless of where they are committed.

"I think it's an important victory...for the people of East Timor, to have a US court state so clearly and emphatically that this Indonesian general, and through him the whole Indonesian military, is responsible for a horrendous massacre," Beth Stephens, an attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights which represented Todd told Reuters.

MASSACRE JUDGMENT

October 27, 1994. By Jon Marcus

BOSTON (AP) - A federal judge ordered a retired Indonesian army general to pay \$14

million to the mother of a 20-year-old man killed by Indonesian soldiers during a massacre in East Timor.

The judgment is one of the largest ever under the Torture Victim Protection Act, which allows lawsuits to be filed in US courts over human rights violations committed anywhere in the world, said the Center for Constitutional Rights.

It also draws new attention to Indonesia's occupation of its South Pacific neighbor.

The amount awarded "is symbolic of the full horror of what was done there to everybody, not just my son," said Helen Todd, who filed the lawsuit. "That's why I pursued it. I'm not interested in money. It's a small step but I think all these little steps will add up."

Michael Ratner, Todd's attorney, called the judgment "an indictment of the entire Indonesian government and military."

Ratner acknowledged that it may be difficult to collect the money because of the amount and because the general lives in Indonesia. He said he would seek federal legislation to make future aid to Indonesia conditional on payment of the judgment.

Todd's son, Kamal Bamadhaj, was killed Nov. 12, 1991, when Indonesian soldiers advanced on a demonstration by pro-independence Timorese. Hundreds of people were killed, according to journalists who were there.

Todd testified that her son, a college student and activist, was shot in the arm and the chest by soldiers who tried to take away his camera. A Red Cross driver tried to take him to a hospital but soldiers blocked the way, she said.

In the aftermath, the Indonesian government accepted the resignation of Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, who was in charge of East Timor. Panjaitan moved to Boston in 1992, allowing Todd to sue him in a US court.

He has since returned to Indonesia, where he is an adviser to the minister of industry and technology.

Panjaitan didn't show up in court and had no attorney. A spokesman for the Indonesian embassy wouldn't comment Thursday.

In her brief decision, Saris said she was swayed by the "impressive and painful testimony" of Todd and two people who witnessed the massacre.

INDONESIA GENERAL SAYS COURT VERDICT A "JOKE"

by Lewa Pardomuan, Reuter (October 28, 1994) Abridged

Jakarta – A former Indonesian general, ordered by a U.S. federal court on Thursday

to pay a mother \$14 million in damages for his role in the 1991 massacre in East Timor in which her son died, on Friday labelled the verdict a joke.

The court in Boston ruled against former general Sintong Panjaitan, who did not appear in court, awarding \$2 million for pain and suffering and \$10 million in punitive damages to Helen Todd and \$2 million to her son Kamal Bamadhaj's estate.

"Just assume it (the verdict) is a joke," Panjaitan told Reuters.

Panjaitan, who said he had not been informed of the decision until he was reached by Reuters for comment, laughed when asked how he would pay Todd, whose son was among up to 200 people killed in the incident.

He also refused to comment if the Indonesian government would take any responsibility in the case.

"Just wait and see," he said.

Panjaitan, currently a senior adviser to the Indonesian technology minister, headed the military in the region at the time of the November, 1991, shooting of about 1,000 unarmed demonstrators protesting against Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

RESOURCES

ALL IN THE FAMILY AVAILABLE IN U.S.

An elegantly produced new compilation CD of Australian rock bands in support of East Timor has garnered widespread public attention Down Under among music fans who otherwise may not have given much thought to the killing and cultural destruction unfolding on their doorstep. The CD, *All in the Family: A Compilation for the Children of East Timor*, has the potential to spark a similar wave of interest here in the US, but help is needed to getting air play on local radio stations and having it stocked in local music stores.

All in the Family feature 20 tracks by Australian rock bands, some of which, including Midnight Oil, Frente! and Crowded House, are well-known in America. In Kolele Mai, Peter Garrett of Midnight Oil repeats Timorese poet Borgia da Costa's refrain "Who is really to blame?" over the haunting voices of a Timorese choir. Da Costa set his revolutionary lyric to a traditional funeral song that seems so cheerful one would never guess the tune is actually a dirge. Nicola Quilter & the Choir of Faith & Hope's "Cry Freedom," composed especially for this CD in the tradition of radical urban folk, delivers a building vocal tension

which is released in a rhetorical call to action.

All in the Family features two tracks by East Timorese musicians. The opening track by Mariano Abrantes carries the listener into the tranquil heart of the mountains of East Timor on the crest of the sounds of his flute. Abrantes is the last in a line of distinguished musicians and drum makers. He is now teaching young Timorese in the Diaspora his craft in the wake of the wholesale destruction of traditional instruments since the Indonesian invasion. Agio Pereira's "I'm Still Fighting" reminds us of the unflinching determination of the East Timorese in their struggle for freedom.

Proceeds from the CD will go to establish orphanages and scholarship funds in East Timor administered by Bishop Belo of Dili and Bishop Hilton Deakin of Melbourne. The producers calculate that the sale of 3000 copies of the CD will provide 160 promising East Timorese youth with annual secondary scholarships. The project began at the initiative of Paul Stewart (of the Australian band Painters & Dockers) whose brother was one of the Australian journalists killed during the Indonesian invasion. Stewart is available to help promote the CD on US radio.

All in the Family is a professionally produced effort, complete with attractive liner notes which include photos, lyrics and contact information for selected international solidarity groups. A striking blue map of East Timor and Northern Australia is printed on the disc itself. The CD would fit easily into the international or world beat section of virtually any independent music store in the country.

To get your local record store to carry the CD, simply express your interest and inform their buyer that it is available in the US from Phantom Distributors (714-650-7900) and TCI (612- 645-0227). Tower Record chains will want to order from Bay-side (916-373-2548).

East Timor Action Network/US has CDs available for \$15 each plus \$3 shipping and handling (ETAN/US, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602). Folks in the U.S. who want to participate in promoting this CD nationally should contact Lorne Rider at (206)522-0867 or e-mail him at loren@u.washington.edu.

TIMOR RAP

Independente, 23 September 1994. By P.B.M., Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon - Consolidated, a trio from San Francisco, are on to their fourth album. It's called *Business of Punishment*, and in it the band continues its interesting probing

through hip-hop crossed with the riffs of rock. The album could easily pass for an alternative to always self-focusing black rap, because the theme is much more varied and perhaps because Consolidated are white.

Their subject matter is so far-reaching that there's even a reference to East Timor - proof that echoes of the tragedy have already reached San Francisco. The mention of Timor comes on the track entitled "*Worthy Victim*," and goes "have you heard of East Timor, where all the Dolphins gone prisoner, Israel, Lebanon, some people will sing this song, it goes on and on, we are all responsible, and indifference is a sin." *Business of Punishment* is distributed in Portugal by Polygram.

TIMORNET: INTERNET INFORMATION RESOURCE ON EAST TIMOR

University of Coimbra, Portugal

This electronic service, which is being set up at the University of Coimbra, intends to help the flow of information about East Timor across the Internet.

Communications between computers have become today one of the most important ways of transferring information. Mailing lists have proved very useful in spreading the news about East Timor. Gopher and FTP servers are also available, where up-to-date sources about East Timor can be found, e.g. the letters from Xanana Gusmão, Bishop Ximenes Belo, etc.

The present service uses the more recent technology of the World Wide Web, based on multi-media software like N.C.S.A. Mosaic. Through this tool not only text but also pictures, sound and moving images can be made available to the international community. Mosaic permits you to use Hypertext as a mean of navigation, i.e., to jump to other documents by clicking on highlighted phrases and words. These links can connect your computer to other information servers in any other part of the world, a feature that enables the creation of information resources linking together several international sites.

The service we are preparing is structured in two parts. The first part provides Historical data on East Timor, from Prehistory to the present (including of facts since Indonesian invasion), as well as insights into geography, geology, natural resources, etc..... The second part, which can be useful to NGOs, will provide information on: solidarity and political movements interested in Timor, including a short account of their origin, present activities and contacts; links to Internet resources linked to East Timor and relevant bibliography.

To know more about this service and to volunteer information contact:

TimorNet project
a/c Joaquim Carvalho
Instituto de Historia e Teoria das Ideias
Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra
3049 Coimbra Codex, Portugal
Email: timornet@mercurio.uc.pt

TIMOR IN MAINSTREAM FILM

From Manuel da Silva, 10 October 1994

The 94 Philip Noyce Movie - *Clear and Present Danger* - is now being shown in Portugal.

The film-maker is the Australian (?) Philip Noyce and the main actors are Harrison Ford, Willem Dafoe and Anne Archer. The Portuguese actor, Joaquim de Almeida, has also one of the main roles in this movie.

The film script is about drug traffic and tells a story about U.S. DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) /CIA /Pentagon struggle against a Colombian drug cartel.

The movie includes a brief (but objective) mention to E.T. It's on a scene (more or less, 1 hour 30 minutes after the beginning) where takes part the U.S. President and one of his advisers. Starting a briefing session, the last one informs the President that "the situation in East Timor has stabilized." Then, the President nods and the subject of dialogue changes.

According to a Philip Noyce interview to SIC, this happened because Joaquim was constantly speaking about the E.T. issue. As a result of this lobby work, the film maker decided to include this mention in the movie.

GEO ON EAST TIMOR

Geo is a French monthly magazine rather like the US's *National Geographic*. The October issue features East Timor on pp. 40-46. There is text, color photos from Julio Etchart, Steve Cox, Lindsay Heberd, Kal Muller and Max Stahl, and some maps. Although the texts are marred by a number of inaccuracies, some of them serious, this is a new kind of breakthrough for East Timor in France.

NEW BOOKLET: STOP ARMING INDONESIA

A European perspective on arms trade to a military regime

Published by The European Network Against Arms Trade

Published in September 1994, the book represents in a concise manner the factors which necessitated the launch of the interna-

tional campaign, "Stop Arming Indonesia," in the beginning of the same year.

Divided into two parts, the first provides an analysis of the situation in Indonesia and South East Asia while, the second gives a factual account of European involvement in this military society.

As an introduction, information on the publisher The European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAAT) is provided. ENAAAT is a dedicated group of Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's) who have been monitoring and researching arms production and exports in Western Europe, as a network, for the past ten years and as individual organisations for considerably longer. This is supplemented by an annex of campaign and research contacts - a virtual who's who in this specialised field.

In an informative chapter on the Indonesian military apparatus, the first part of the book is opened in an attempt to answer the questions of both those approaching Indonesia for the first time and those more knowledgeable on the subject. For the former, insight is given into the establishment of the Indonesian army and its increasing role in the civilian and political life of the country. For the latter, an analysis is made of the power base of the army in respect of political, economic and ideological factors, together with an update of developments and conflicts within the regime since 1990.

This research is carried on in the next chapter where Indonesia is placed in context in the South East Asian region. An alarming picture of military build up unfolds in "South East Asia, Arming Itself To The Teeth" and this is analysed in terms of the strategic importance of the region, its relations with world powers and potential conflicts in the area.

The hard fact of European involvement in the construction of this war machine is brought home in the second part of the book. The ensuing chapters deal, on a country to country basis, with the nuts and bolts of arms export to Indonesia.

This information represents, for peace and human rights activists, concerned parliamentarians, researchers and journalists both the facts on what is happening as well as the ability of the Network to expose what Governments and arms manufacturers' would most likely wish to be kept secret.

More information : Martin Broek, AMOK, Pesthuislaan 39, 1054 RH Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Tel/fax 020 6164684.

INNOVATIVE THEATRE TAKES UP EAST TIMOR

From Green Left, Nov. 2.

Quito

By Martin Wesley-Smith and Peter Wesley-Smith; Performed by the Song Company; Presented by the Sydney Metropolitan Opera; Directed by John Wregg
Seven performances from November 11 to 27 at Rozelle Hospital, Sydney.

Quito has been described as a piece of audio-visual music theatre. It integrates computer music, live vocal and choral music, puppetry, test and visual images to produce a work about Francisco Baptista Pires, a Timorese musician.

Pires, nicknamed Quito, suffered from schizophrenia. He was found hanging by the neck in Royal Darwin Hospital in 1990 at the age of 26. This theatre piece deals with both the issue of schizophrenia and the situation in East Timor. It covers Quito's life in East Timor until his escape with his family in 1975, as well as events there post-1975.

The traumas of Quito's life at the hands of the Indonesian invaders are portrayed as having deeply affected a sensitive young man and sped up the onset of his disease. His personal plunge into despair is a metaphor for the horrific events occurring in his homeland.

The show has been developed with the full support of Quito's family and other members of the East Timorese community in Australia. It has been designed to be performed in a meeting room at the Rozelle Hospital. Bookings can be made on (02) 364 9457.

INT'L FEDERATION FOR EAST TIMOR

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The International Federation for East Timor was founded in 1991 by East Timor solidarity groups in Japan, Australia, Europe and North America to be a clearing-house for NGO initiatives on East Timor and to support those initiatives, particular in United Nations fora. IFET is accredited with the U.N. Department of Public Information and has a U.N. Representative in New York. The secretariat is in Japan.

IFET invites all NGOs concerned with East Timor – particularly with ensuring that the East Timorese people are able, at the earliest possible moment, to freely exercise self-determination guaranteed by the U.N. Charter – to join IFET, so that

- NGOs in solidarity with East Timor can maintain the minimal mutual contact to ensure the effectiveness of our common struggle.
- We can fully reflect in UN fora the worldwide support for East Timor.

IFET includes single-issue East Timor groups, and others with a wider range of concerns which work on East Timor. At present, there are about 20 members from all over the world. We are primarily concerned with information sharing and occasional joint statements to U.N. bodies.

IFET does not receive funding from anyone and depends on membership contributions of affiliating groups to cover the costs of printing and mailing biannual bulletins and occasional urgent updates. We hope you can contribute on a sliding scale – funded groups or groups in First World countries are asked to contribute \$100.

One ongoing activity is the United Nations Committee of 24 (Decolonization) hearings on East Timor in New York every July. IFET helps NGOs present petitions by providing information and arranging for someone to present the statement in person; we also provide support for representatives of groups coming to New York.