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EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

SYAHNAKRI:

“IF THEY COME OUT AGAIN, I’LL CUT THEM TO PIECES”

Jawa Pos, 1 Dec. 1994. Abridged translation

Dili – Colonel Kiki Syahnakri, commander of the Wira Dharma/164 military commander (East Timor) said the armed forces (ABRI) will not tolerate it if there are any more disturbances or demonstrations in East Timor, particularly in Dili, the capital. If there is any repetition of recent actions that have been damaging to the general public, ABRI will take stern action against those who participate as well as the organisers.

“If any more demonstrations occur, I will not hesitate to cut them to pieces (‘sikat’) because there have been enough appeals and there are limits to our patience,” said Kiki Syahnakri. These stern measures against participants or organisers will be taken in accordance with the laws in force.

“The disturbances and demonstrations have been very brutal indeed. But this was done to provoke ABRI into shooting at them. That’s what the clandestine wants, so that the situation in East Timor continues to be on the boil,” said Kiki.

Even so, demonstrators who behave in brutal fashion will be arrested and treated according to the law.

“I have the greatest admiration for the forces who were able to restrain themselves even though they were confronted by intolerable behaviour,” Kiki added

John MacDougall: ‘cut them to pieces’ as a translation for ‘sikat’? Seems a bit off to me. Usually literally ‘brush’ or ‘rake’ and colloquially ‘wipe out’ or ‘clean out.’

Paul Salim: I didn’t read the original article. However, IMHO, ‘sikat’ can also mean (in Indonesian) ‘serang’ or ‘pukul.’ So in English it will be translated into ‘smash.’

INDONESIA TO DEPORT JOURNALISTS FROM EAST TIMOR

Reuter, 1 December 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – Indonesia will deport two female journalists, one Australian and one Dutch, for lacking proper accreditation to enter the troubled territory, police said on Thursday.

At least four foreign journalists were asked to leave East Timor last month on similar charges.

“The two journalists Irena Felak from the Netherlands and L. Rosemary from Australia [given in AFP report as Jill Rose Mary Jolliffe] will be deported tomorrow (Friday). They are now at the quarantine of the immigration office,” East Timor Police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto told Reuters.

He said that the women, whose media was not revealed, entered the province on November 28 with tourist visas and had since conducted journalistic activities in the territory until they were arrested on Wednesday in Baucau, 180 km (112 miles) east of Dili.

“They were caught hiding in the ditch when the police wanted to arrest them,” he said.

Sugianto said that the police were still trying to find out with whom the women stayed during their stay in East Timor. The immigration office was not available for immediate comment.

REPORTERS EXPELLED FROM TIMOR

2 Dec. 94

DILI, Indonesia (AP) – The government expelled two foreign journalists today from the disputed territory of East Timor, accusing them of working without proper permits.

One of the journalists was Jill da Rosemary Jolliffe, who in 1991 was refused permission to accompany a Portuguese parliamentary mission to East Timor. That led the team to call off its trip, prompting a demonstration in East Timor on Nov. 12, 1991 in which Indonesian troops shot and killed dozens of protesters.

On Wednesday, Ms. Jolliffe, 49, of Australia and Irene Slagt, 42, of the Netherlands, entered Dili, the capital of East Timor, on tourist visas.

Maj. Laeden Simbolon told The Associated Press the journalists were interviewing people 40 miles east of Dili. It was not immediately clear what publications the two women were working for.

Journalists need permits to report from East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976. Such permits are rarely given. Exceptions were made last month, when Indonesia hosted the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit, but restrictions were reimposed afterward.

East Timor is the only Roman Catholic region in overwhelmingly Muslim Indonesia, which has often been condemned for reported human rights violations by its troops in East Timor.

The expulsions coincided with the visit of two U.N. envoys to Dili today to prepare for [talks on East Timor between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal next month.]

REPORTERS SANS FRONTIÈRES DENOUNCES JOURNALISTS ARRESTS

Le Monde dated Dec. 3, 1994. Translated from French

The press freedom organisation Reporters sans Frontières (Reporters without Borders) protests in an open letter addressed Thursday, December 1st to President Suharto against the summons of eight foreign journalists or photographers that occurred since the APEC (Asia-Pacific Forum) summit, which was organised in Bogor on November 15. Two of these persons, Irena Felak and L. Rosemary, of Dutch and Australian nationalities, remain “quarantined” in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

TIMOR BISHOP TELLS SECURITY FORCES TO BE HUMANE

Reuter, 2 December 1994. Abridged

Dili – East Timor’s outspoken bishop told several hundred new policemen to be humane when dealing with the local populace.

“You have to learn the culture, history and the Portuguese influence on East Timorese,” Carlos Belo told some 540 policemen about to be commissioned at police headquarters in Dili.

It was the first time Belo, a vocal critic of Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony, has been invited to address such an occasion, local sources said.

“The problems of East Timor are complex,” Belo said. “East Timor does not need modern technology but humanitarianism.”

Dili was rocked by a string of demonstrations and riots last month, sparked by a combination of anti-Indonesia sentiment and conflict between East Timorese and immigrants.

East Timorese said the disturbances were followed by house-to-house searches by police, who arrested some 150 people since the first incident on November 12.

“Police should be patient when dealing with demonstrators,” Belo said. “When the situation gets critical, shoot into the air not into the crowd.”

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year, although the United Nations still recognises Portugal as the administering power.

U.N. envoys are in East Timor as part of a fact-finding mission before U.N.-brokered peace talks between Indonesia and Portugal in Geneva on January 9.

BBC SAYS DOZENS TORTURED IN DILI

BBC, 8 Dec. 1994. By Catherine Napier

Jakarta – Reports from East Timor say dozens of people arrested following disturbances in the capital, Dili, last month were subject to severe ill-treatment while in custody of the security forces. Usually reliable sources in East Timor told the BBC that many had been beaten and several, including a young teenager, had been tortured with electric shocks. The reports provide further evidence of a crackdown on pro-independence support in the territory following the most serious bout of anti-Indonesian unrest for the past three years.

The allegations of torture and ill treatment mark a renewal in what until now had been regarded as a slight improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor. Although the security forces were mostly restrained in their public handling of the unrest, the reports of beatings and electric shock treatment used against detainees are some of the worst to have emerged for many months. Most of the one hundred and thirty or so people rounded up in Dili were subsequently released, but those who remained in custody were said to have been denied access to their families and legal representatives. In another district south west of Dili, several youths, regarded as potential trouble-makers were, reportedly stripped naked, beaten and tortured with electric shocks by the military. They and others were also ordered, apparently by the local mayor, to have their heads shaved as a deterrent.

Contacted by the BBC, the military spokesman in East Timor denied the allegations of ill-treatment and said there had been no cases of beatings or torture by either soldiers or the police. The security forces have said many of the arrests in Dili were for crimes committed during a riot when widespread damage was caused to property.

But the unrest included several pro-independence protests as well and the recent questioning of several leading independent activists and the detention of a civil servant, said to be a key figure in the underground resistance, are all signs that the authorities are determined to put an end to any further expressions of discontent with Indonesian rule.

(CHINESE) BOAT PEOPLE FOUND IN E. TIMOR

AP, Dec. 6, Abridged.

JAKARTA, Indonesia (AP) - A group of 89 Chinese boat people including 37 children, was found stranded in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, an official said Tuesday.

Sri Triswojo, chief of immigration office in East Timor, said the group was sailing to Australia but was stranded in East Timor waters when their boat had engine trouble.

He disclosed that the Indonesian navy found them stranded Tuesday morning in East Timor, about 1,250 miles northeast Jakarta. They left Canton, China, Nov. 20.

Triswojo said the officials of Dili port supplied them with food and water for humanitarian reason.

The boat people would immediately leave for Australia as soon as the boat was fixed, he said.

EAST TIMOR'S NEWSPAPER VANDALISED BY PRO-GOVERNMENT YOUTH GROUP

AFP & Reuter, 7 & 8 Dec. 1994 Abridged

[Activities in East Timor by the infamous Pemuda Pancasila, known in many parts of Indonesia for its thuggish conduct against pro-democracy groups, could signify an attempt by certain forces to heighten ethnic tension in East Timor.

Jacob Herin, the reporter who was beaten up, used to file fairly sympathetic reports about East Timor in The Jakarta Post. – TAPOL]

Jakarta -- Members of Pemuda Pancasila, a pro-government youth group smashed up the office of East Timor's only newspaper, Suara Timor Timur on Wednesday.

Six members of the PP who made the attack were infuriated over the paper's reporting of an assault on a PP leader, the sources said. The STT had reported the violent assault on Ahmad Alkatiri, the PP leader in East Timor who was attacked Sunday night outside his home in Dili.

Tensions are running high between native East Timorese and Indonesian settlers who have moved in the past 20 years.

Reuter reported Thursday that police were questioning eight youths after they apparently ransacked the offices of STT and beat up one of its reporters.

A witness to the Wednesday incident told Reuters the men cut phone lines, smashed the TV and video set and broke

glass covering desks in the newspaper office.

The witnesses said the men later beat up the reporter, Yacob Herin, who was believed to have written a story about the local PP leader. Men later returned to the office and warned the daily not to write any stories about the incident, the witness said.

AJI STATEMENT CONDEMNING ASSAULT ON THE 'STT'

The following is an abridged translation of a report in 'Independent,' the newsletter of AJI, the Alliance of Independent Journalists, published on 7 December 1994:

On Wednesday 7 December, the 19th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor by Indonesian troops, at 10 am, 6 to 8 youths claiming to be from Pemuda Pancasila, entered the office of Suara Timor Timur and destroyed electronic equipment. They were looking for Jacob Herin who they blamed for writing a report about an attack on Ahmad Alkatiri who heads the Advisory Council of the PP Dili branch. The item, published on 6 December was entitled: 'Ahmad Alkatiri clobbered, gets broken finger.' The item reported an attempt to kill Alkatiri on Sunday 4 December by a gang of armed youths who broke into his house. He survived the attack.

The youths could not find Jacob Herin, so they destroyed equipment including a TV set, a tape-recorder, a video-tape and several computers. Security guards tried to phone the police but were unable to do so as the phone line had been cut. Several journalists in the building were powerless to halt the attack and fled through a back window.

Having caused widespread destruction, the youths left the building. They had managed to find out that Herin was covering an event at Hotel Mahkota which is some 50 metres from the STT office. They dragged him out, beat him up outside the hotel, causing serious injuries, and kidnapped him, taking him to the home of Ahmad Alkatiri, where he was again subjected to maltreatment before being handed over to the police.

Journalists and editors of the paper were in a state of fear throughout the day. The youths responsible for the assault were still roaming freely whereas the police and security forces did nothing to protect the paper's office even though the incident had been reported to them. But scores of young people who support the paper stood guard at the office, along with journalists and editors.

For reasons that are unclear, the commander of a battalion in Dili made a threat to the paper by phone, saying that if the paper was unable to resolve the case peacefully, he would not be able to restrain his men.

According to our sources, the incident is closely related to news items published in the regular Saturday column 'Hukum' about the murder (of a Timorese trader) in Becora Market on 12 November which led to a wave of demonstrations, and some reports about the anti-integration demonstrations in Dili.

In July 1994, the paper's vehicle was destroyed by fire by unknown assailants outside the office.

Statement of Concern

AJI expresses its profound disquiet at this incident when people took the law into their own hands and attacked the staff of the STT and our colleague, Jacob Herin.

AJI vigorously condemns the assault on the office of STT which caused widespread damage.

It strongly condemns the action of members of Pemuda Pancasila to threaten and intimidate the staff of the paper in order to get them to reveal the whereabouts of their colleague, Jacob Herin because of a news item deemed to be harmful to Ahmad Alkatiri.

It also strongly condemns the maltreatment of Jacob Herin while he was carrying out in his professional duties at Hotel Mahkota which resulted in his being badly wounded. He was even taken to the home of Ahmad Alkatiri before being handed over to the police.

1. AJI calls on all sides to respect the laws in force and not take the law into their own hands which could lead to anarchism.
2. AJI calls on the National Press to abide by the Journalist Code of Ethics, particularly the right of reply of those who feel that they have been damaged by a news item.
3. AJI calls on the forces of law to investigate this incident and bring those responsible to court.
4. AJI calls on the national leadership of Pemuda Pancasila to take firm measures against elements who act in the name of the PP. Since it bears the name Pancasila, the members should have a higher sense of discipline than other youth organisations.

7 December 1994

Ahmad Taufik, Chair of the Presidium of AJI

FRUSTRATIONS OF A PARTICIPANT (MANUEL CARRASCALÃO)

(INTERVIEW WITH MANUEL CARRASCALÃO)

Publico, 7 Dec. 1994. By Adelino Gomes
Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – The early hours of 7 December 1975. Air Force One is still within Indonesian air space, as it takes President Ford and his diplomatic chief, Henry Kissinger, back to the USA. Aircraft, carrying paratroopers from Suharto's army, take off and head for Dili, capital of the Portuguese overseas colony Timor. Dramatic appeals, launched over the radio by pro-independence Fretilin, meet with the indifference of the world and particularly of Australia and Portugal which, for historical reasons, are Timor's natural allies. The UN does not recognise annexation of the territory, but proves incapable of stopping the subsequent genocide, described by human rights organisations to have been on a relatively greater scale than the genocide of the Kampuchean people under Pol Pot. Today, another anniversary of the invasion, *Publico* transcribes some of the views and frustrations of a Timorese participant in the event, the pro-Indonesian deputy Manuel Carrascalão, who took part in the operations one side of Suharto's troops, believing that this would bring "peace and tranquillity" to his country. Nineteen years later, Boutros Boutros Ghali's envoy ends up in Lisbon after completing a mission which took him to Indonesia and Timor as part of the process to find "a comprehensive, just and internationally acceptable solution" for East Timor, for whose cause thousands of Timorese appear willing to continue to risk their lives.

In Portugal to visit a seriously ill niece, the 60-year-old pro-Indonesian Timorese deputy, Manuel Carrascalão, agreed to talk about the time he was a member of the forces that, 19 years ago today, invaded his country. Manuel is one of three "political" brothers of the legendary Timorese family that owns one of the territory's largest private coffee plantations, and is the only brother still living in Timor. His brother João living in Australia, is leader of the UDT; Mario, formerly Governor of Timor, now heads the Indonesian Embassy in Rumania. Although he is provincial deputy for the ruling Golkar party, requested Indonesian nationality, and still believes that integration constitutes the most useful option for the Timorese, his name is second on a list of Timorese who the Indonesians would happily be without (first on the list is Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Mnsgr. Carlos

Felipe Ximenes Belo). Perhaps this is because he is against keeping the "status quo," and because he favours broader dialogue leading to special status for his country, out of which "autonomy with a view to self-determination" could emerge.

Publico: When did the invasion of Timor really start? On 7 December, or on 15 October when a force took over Balibo and Maliana?

Manuel Carrascalão: Even before then. It all started with the occupation of Batugade early in October. We stayed there organising the forces. We had about 1,000 men - 400 UDT and 600 Apodeti. The Indonesians had little faith in us. I did not take part in the defeat of Balibo and Maliana. The local forces that took part in that action were led by Tomas Goncalves (Apodeti) and João Tavares (UDT), but the military operations were under the command of Indonesians pretending to be volunteers. It was they who appointed the Timorese commanders, not the parties. The commander was Colonel Dading Kaboadi.

Q.: Where were you 19 years ago today?

A.: I was on board a ship with three or four hundred men. I can't remember whether we set off on 6 or 7 December. We left from Atabai, which we had defeated some time before. We were anchored in the bay of Dili for two days, and didn't disembark. This might have been because they (the Indonesian commanders) knew that, if we did, we would stop the slaughter. We eventually disembarked near Laga...and then walked to Baucau, always backed up by Indonesian volunteers (as the soldiers and officials sent by Suharto for operation Komodo - the invasion of East Timor - called themselves), and armoured vehicles. Baucau had already been occupied and there was, therefore, practically no resistance.

Q.: What operations did you take part in against Fretilin?

A.: I stayed until 27 December. We witnessed several incidents in which people were killed just for their valuables. There was opposition to this and the Indonesian authorities thought that I was the instigator of the protests. Then I was told that one of my children was sick, and asked if I wanted to go and visit him. I spoke to Sergeant Hornai who, coincidentally, had received a similar message about his son. I realised that I was walking into a trap, but went anyway. The plane made a stopover in Dili, but we were not allowed to get off. When we arrived in Kupang (capital of Indonesian Timor) we were taken to stay in a hotel.

Q.: How long were you in that situation?

A.: Not for long. On the last day of the year a young Protestant told me that mass was going to be said in a certain church. I decided to attend. Of course, there was no mass. I met up with the local Governor, General El Tari, a friend of mine. He gave me protection and saved me from detention.

Different civilizations

Q.: Did you return to Timor?

A.: No. As I said when asked that question before, I wasn't interested in blood. I went there in 77 or 78, on the invitation of the commander who led the invasion, Colonel Dading, and I disliked the atmosphere. It was five years before I returned again.

Q.: What is your assessment of the situation after that?

A.: My guiding principle has always been this: when I was Portuguese, I tried to be a good Portuguese citizen; once Indonesian, I tried to be a good Indonesian. However, the situation made this desire a little difficult to fulfill. Our civilizations are different. I look back on that time with a feeling of frustration. We had the support of a non-communist country but, unfortunately, things did not work out as we had intended.

Q.: What did you find frustrating?

A.: Indonesia's attitude, represented by individuals without the preparation necessary to occupy a country with a different civilization, with a people unused to accepting injustice, but accustomed to being listened to and respected. We thought we would be bringing peace to Timor, but we only brought it distrust and discontent.

Q.: What about today?

A.: I don't know to what extent I can help to improve things. I do all I can to make the views of the people heard, but our opinions are not listened to. Some Timorese work for the people's happiness, but there are others who do not. As it is easy for Indonesia to hand out money, they get drunk, they go mad.

Q.: But it all began with the invasion, actively supported by you..

A.: At that time it was the only solution. The trouble is that the government deals with individuals who are not interested in serving the people of Timor, but only in helping themselves.

Q.: What exactly should Indonesia do?

A.: It should pay attention to the Timorese, and be aware of their feelings. It is a different civilization. Jakarta has still not fully comprehended that even though our skins are the same colour, we are different inside. We have been influenced for 450 years by

the Portuguese and by the Catholic faith. Portuguese presence was not marvelous, but the Portuguese government never taught them to be cowards, and never forced anyone to be Catholic. The way the Timorese express themselves is different. Now one is obliged to say that everything is fine. Timorese people are not used to that; they are used to speaking their minds.

Q.: What do you think would be best for Timor? Self-determination? Special status?

A.: Quite frankly, given the developments, I am afraid that people would only start fighting again. Perhaps the best solution would be a kind of special status which would respect the rights of the Timorese and their Portuguese heritage.

Q.: Is this what the young people have been fighting for over the past few weeks?

A.: Indonesia has done a lot in Timor. In education, for example: everyone speaks Bahasa, in contrast to the time of the Portuguese, who never managed to get the people to speak their language. However, in spite of the fact that the students who entered the US Embassy speak Bahasa and not Portuguese, they prefer to be here (in Portugal). In my view, the Indonesians made a mistake when they did not try to enlist the participation of the priests. Instead, they ran after the pseudo-Indonesians who only made mistakes. If it had not been for those Timorese, the Indonesian government would not have committed so many abuses. I have never been in favour of using violence. The Timorese people need love and affection, but that cannot be bought with money.

Q.: Given this scenario, what solution can there be?

A.: I don't know. I think the solution is in discussion to find out what we really want. I mean democratic discussion, and not the Indonesian kind, in which only a certain amount may be said.

Q.: Along the lines of the reconciliation meetings?

A.: Those meetings only involve those who support Indonesia's position. Everyone should take part. I was not invited and neither was the Bishop. We both have credibility in Timor. We are there to help when people's lives are at risk. I can speak with a clear conscience, because I am not indebted to the Indonesians for anything, especially not financially indebted.

90% in favour of independence

Q.: You seem to be putting the blame on the ambitious and corrupt Timorese rather than on Indonesia, which has blood on its hands.

A.: I know different kinds of Indonesians. All 180 million of them are not criminals. I have some excellent Indonesian friends. We understand each other. The ones who go to Timor are the ones who are no good. People who go to Timor come away with the impression that Indonesia is murderous, bloody and criminal. If they went to Indonesia they would get a different impression.

Q.: So what is the solution?

A.: A forum in which everyone may participate, but in which there are neither military nor suspect infiltrators. Otherwise the majority will end up supporting integration.

Q.: What makes you say that? What can a country like Indonesia offer the Timorese after everything that has happened?

A.: The Timorese individual is unsure. I am afraid that, if troops are ever withdrawn, there will be a return to violence.

Q.: All the plans put forward by the Resistance provide for a transition period, so as to avoid that very danger. Don't you think that would work?

A.: Yes I do. If it were to happen now, over 90 per cent would choose independence without realizing the dangers involved. After another ten years they might be in favour of integration. Not all that Indonesia has accomplished has been negative.

Q.: According to your reasoning, that kind of solution would suit Indonesia. Why then does Jakarta not agree to such a tactic?

A.: Even though there are many (generals, people who fought for Indonesia's independence) who favour this way out, they have been marginalised.

Q.: In that case, why do you stay on as deputy?

A.: I speak there as I am talking here now. Being a deputy is the only way I can take an active part and defend the interests of the people. Having said that, when a deputy speaks the truth, nobody pays attention. There's a saying there which goes: a deputy is an individual with five duties - he must "arrive, sit down, listen, keep quiet, and receive money for the province."

Q.: In spite of what you are saying, Indonesia accepts you. Why?

A.: I don't know. At the last elections, my name did not appear on the lists ... it was the military commander's decision which got me in.

Q.: Abilio Osorio, the Governor, said that the recent events were no more than actions undertaken by criminals, and that there were no underlying political motives.

A.: The events were set off by a crime committed in the Becora market place, but were taken over by a third force - I don't know who it was - which emerged demanding the withdrawal of Indonesia.

Q.: *What was said in the Assembly about these events?*

A.: There was only one session, which I missed, to express support for the Governor.

Autonomy with a view to self-determination

Q.: *What do you suggest should happen in the near future?*

A.: I propose an open discussion until we reach an agreement. It should take place in Dili, and possibly be supervised by neutral forces.

Q.: *Would you agree to a referendum?*

A.: I would be against one because it would stir up feelings, and I don't know whether it would be in Timor's interest. At the moment everyone wants to chase the Indonesians out of there, but they don't stop to think about afterwards. I ask myself this question: if the Timorese living overseas cannot agree among themselves now, what would it be like later in Timor? Who does Ramos Horta represent today? Nobody has been elected. The only way might be to go towards autonomy with a view to self-determination. Perhaps Indonesia would agree to a federation. What is unacceptable is a direct administration as there is now, because not everything can be applied in Timor as it is in Indonesia.

Q.: *Nineteen years after the invasion, do you regret the choice you made when you opted to support the request for integration?*

A.: To a certain extent I do, because I was seeing Indonesia through the eyes of my friends. The system in force in Timor and its application are wrong. They do not allow leadership from anyone who does not agree with the oppression they practice. I would never go along with killings or unfair imprisonment.

Q.: *What does Bishop Ximenes Belo mean to the Timorese today?*

A.: He is a symbol of freedom. He emerges on the bitter days, when the people are suffering, when the people have no one else to turn to. He does use his immunity for his personal advantage but for the good of the people. He and the priests are essential elements in reaching a solution to the problem. They are the most impartial; they have neither partisan ambitions nor salaries to defend. Let me just add that we could have done better and we did not. We, the leaders,

we betrayed the people of Timor. We promised peace and tranquillity, but there was a lot of fighting for personal gain. Perhaps that is what led to the problems. The Indonesians of the armed forces, who do not know us, misinterpret our intentions and these problems arise.

We, in Timor, need to help the people more, and we do not do so because we are afraid we might lose our own livelihood. Those outside Timor don't agree among themselves because they do not understand the reality of Timor today. It is different now: the schools have brought considerable progress. People are up to date on what's happening in the world outside. There is a need to be more realistic, and that is why the inclusion of the Church in the whole process is necessary. The Church is impartial.

TIMORESE WOULD CHOOSE INDEPENDENCE

Diario de Noticias (DN), 7 December 1994. By João Pedro Henriques. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

(Excerpts from Interview with Manuel Carrascalão)

The leader of the Golkar party in Timor, Manuel Carrascalão, told DN that, in a referendum today, the Timorese would opt for independence. He also described Abilio Araujo as "an opportunist," the reconciliation meetings as "a farce," and the Timorese as being "different from Indonesians."

Manuel Carrascalão, brother of former Governor Mario, and UDT leader João, returns today to Timor. He said that, during his stay in Lisbon, he met no celebrities because his visit was unofficial.

Leader and deputy of the Golkar party (the only party in Indonesia) at the Timorese Provincial Assembly, Carrascalão said that the current Governor of Timor, Abilio Osorio, is on the way out. He praised Ximenes Belo highly, and managed to be more critical of Abilio Araujo than of José Ramos Horta. The reconciliation meetings are, according to him, a farce. He went further by saying that if a referendum were held today, the Timorese would opt for independence.

"Recent events in Timor are, to a certain extent, the results of our (local government's) failure to resolve the people's problems. A contributing factor is unemployment among young people. There are about 16,000 unemployed..."

"The Timorese blame the Indonesians for their unemployment and, to a point, they are right to do so because it is difficult for a Timorese to compete for a job against an Indonesian."

"If I had chosen to be Portuguese, then I would not be in a position to do anything

for Timor. I have to be realistic. My country has become Indonesia, so I have to be Indonesian if I want to work for my country. I think the only way to improve the system is to work within it. In Indonesia, those outside the system make a lot of noise, but it makes no difference."

"Abilio Osorio is calling for autonomy for Timor, but everyone knows that he belongs to the Apodeti party which supports integration with Indonesia. The people are, therefore, suspicious of the autonomy he is asking for."

"I find him (José Ramos Horta, spokesman of the Maubere Resistance National Council) a little fictitious. I don't know to what extent he interprets his representation. I don't know...I am very wary... Up to a point he may be the Resistance's chief representative abroad. For those in Timor who have any resistance sympathies, anyone making a noise on the outside is legitimate."

"I don't know what the exact size of the armed resistance movement is nowadays. We have to realise that, after 20 years, the resistance out in the bush must be limited... It is not a matter of age, but rather a question of survival in a situation in which there are many who betray."

"I believe that, now, Abilio Araujo is no more than an opportunist. I say this because he suddenly changed from being categorically anti-Indonesian, and has become an individual who loves Indonesia. Yes, I think he is more pro-Indonesian than I am! But his love is not really for Indonesia, but for Indonesian money. I cannot be absolutely sure but my impression is that, basically, what they want is to do business, using their contacts to facilitate trade between Portugal and Indonesia. For the meetings to be authentic meetings of reconciliation, Ramos Horta, João Carrascalão and Vicente Guterres ought to be included, and they have not been invited. From the Indonesian side, perhaps I and possibly the Bishop (Ximenes Belo), but we were not invited. But I am sure we will be. The meetings are a farce. Their only purpose is to mislead everyone."

"Timor, as a province of Indonesia "could be a closed case" as the Jakarta government says. If we believe that the request for Timor's integration in Indonesia (declaration of Balibo, signed just before the invasion in 1975) complied with the rules of good sense, then perhaps it is a closed case. I for one would not mind if it were, as long as the Indonesians respect individuals of a different culture, and of a different nature to themselves. Yes, autonomy would fit in with this idea. I think that, whether they like it or not, we are not Indonesians as in other provinces. We are only Indonesians because we asked to be integrated in Indone-

sia. So, Indonesia ought to treat us differently on the political level, as well as house and road building, etc.”

“I don’t think Indonesia will ever consent to a referendum because it considers Timor a fait accompli. If a referendum were held now, the independence vote would win. My choice would be the people’s choice. The people see me as a leader. Therefore, I always have to interpret to thoughts of the people even though, sometimes, it is hard for me to do so.”

“I believe Ximenes Belo to be coherent, well aware of his responsibility and position. He is the kind of Timorese I would like other Timorese to be. Yes, he is in favour of a referendum but, failing that, he would support broader autonomy too. If Indonesia wants peace and tranquillity in Timor, then it will have to go along with this broader autonomy. Yes, I believe cultural and religious autonomy is important. Political autonomy too, because the other Indonesians passively accept nominations, while in Timor that is not the case.” This kind of political autonomy “would not go as far as allowing political parties, but would serve to ensure a more effective participation by the people. Participation in the Indonesian system is somewhat theoretical.”

THE REPRESSION WILL BE RESUMED IN JUST A FEW MOMENTS ...

(REPORT FROM DILI)

*Expresso (Magazine), 10 December 1994.
By Paulo Nogueira (journalist with LUSA
Agency). Translated from Portuguese*

Dili – Nineteen years have gone by since the invasion of East Timor, and Jakarta’s generals suddenly decided to relax their policy of forced integration. Only Bill Clinton and accompanying journalists noticed.

Some Timorese officials on duty at Dili’s airport were quite openly studying the passengers as they boarded the Merpati (Indonesia’s domestic airline) Focker 100. When they noticed a Portuguese journalist, they approached the steps, waving, smiling, with a special twinkle in their eyes. They momentarily forgot their fear and, as well as wishes for a safe journey - shouted out (in good Portuguese) so they would not be drowned by the noise of the engines - they ask the journalist to come back to East Timor again.

There is no mistaking the look in their eyes. The Timorese in Dili are living in fear, terrified of any complaint against them which would result in them being harassed by the Indonesian police or soldiers.

The “mau uhu” (spies) are everywhere, not to mention the omnipresent Intel (Indonesian intelligence) agents, who arrogantly flaunt their authority that even exceeds that of Jakarta’s civil authorities in Dili.

But the Portuguese-speaking Timorese (whose numbers are apparently decreasing rapidly) were willing to risk a special greeting for the “journalist from Portugal” as they passed him in the street. Very soon, the whole city knew about the rare visit, and anonymous faces went out of their way during those days to catch the journalist’s eye and say “Boa tarde, senhor!”

Even in the Indonesian military headquarters in Dili - the last place one would expect it to happen - the journalist’s nationality had a noticeable effect. Timorese soldiers enlisted in the Indonesian Armed Forces even suggested - in excellent Portuguese - that the reporter take packages for them back to relatives living outside East Timor.

“That Chinese s.o.b.”

It was two o’clock on a hot afternoon in Dili. The small air terminal filled up with passengers and others who were meeting people (and who, unlike the many who were waiting outside, obviously had special authorization to be there). In the small, somewhat dilapidated room an old Australian gentleman, a veteran of the Pacific war, attracted attention with his accent and his hat, obviously bought in a tourist souvenir shop. By his side a European looking woman was chatting in English, but then reverted to Portuguese to tell something to someone. “If I catch that Chinese s.o.b. I’ll tear him apart.” she cried, filling the room with her penetrating Portuguese voice. We introduced ourselves and after a while I was driven off to the Hotel Turismo in Arsenio’s (Ramos Horta’s brother) bus.

First impressions of the city were muddled. Many people in the first streets, less towards the centre. Some buildings were unequivocally Portuguese. There was the Governor’s palace to the right, like a monument to Prince Henry. To the left, the remains of boats on the sea shore were another reminder of Henry the Navigator, just as if these were the boats he had sent out of Sagres into the unknown, and that were now rested from their long pioneering journey.

The Hotel Turismo was a hive of activity. Foreign journalists, who had been there for several days, had transformed it into a real Press Centre, from which news of East Timor was being sent all over the world. Mr. Costa, a hotel worker, and Cristina, the cook, remembered Rui Moreira from LUSA and the other Portuguese journalists who had stayed there while they covered the Xanana Gusmão trial in Dili. The house in which the resistance leader was arrested is a

landmark, and Xanana’s father would be seen the following day at the door of his house near the Cathedral, shouting at the “civilians” throwing stones at the demonstrators who were demanding the release of his son.

Demo at the Cathedral

Friday, 18 November. The journalists had been tipped off. Something was going to happen at the Cathedral after four o’clock mass, which was being said for the souls of the religious workers who had served in East Timor. Half an hour before, hundreds of people had gathered. Most were on the Cathedral steps, but many were in the churchyard, separated from the road by a wall. Many were young and there were women and children too. Two nuns were there in their white robes. The journalists were also there. As we stood in almost total silence, the air became thick with tension.

Close to four o’clock a priest walked through the multitude telling the people that mass had been canceled. For a few minutes there was muttering, and then many people, especially the older ones, started to leave by a side door. The journalists carried on taking photos and filming the closed, tense faces.

Suddenly, some young people started to shout out in English - “Viva Xanana!,” “Viva the CNRM!,” “Independence for East Timor!,” “Death to Indonesia and the invaders!,” and pulled out banners bearing the same messages. They also waved a FALINTIL (armed wing of the resistance) flag. For a few minutes there was chaos in the churchyard. The demonstrators sought out the TV crews, knelt before the cameras, shouting even more fervently. Then from within a group of protesters, an individual emerged with his face covered in blood. He was being savagely beaten by the Timorese, who were accusing him of being an Indonesian spy. He was chased, and fell near a Canadian TV crew, who tried to protect him from being lynched there and then in the churchyard. One of the Canadians pulled a wooden pole out of the hands of one of the attackers and threw it far away, and that’s when the stones started flying around.

Panic reigns in the Churchyard

A group of individuals in civilian clothes who had concentrated in the street in front of the Cathedral started stoning the demonstrators. The latter immediately responded by throwing stones back at these individuals who were, according to the Timorese, a group of agents provocateurs in the pay of the Indonesians, including soldiers and police in plain clothes. Panic reigned in the churchyard. Many people, including the reporters, sought shelter from the hail of stones thrown by the alleged Indonesian provocateurs. The riot police arrived and the

first shot rang out - a tear gas grenade. A young girl shouted "The weapons will kill us!" She was terrified and did not know where to hide. The cries and scenes from Santa Cruz flashed into mind...

A young Timorese tried to help the journalists escape. He tried to jump over wire fencing on one of walls around the Cathedral. He suddenly shouted in pain and fell to the ground, but got up straight away. The palms of his hands had been completely torn by the barbed wire and were bleeding profusely. But he still managed to show the journalists a way out before disappearing, when all the others were already fleeing from the riot police who were surrounding the place.

Two members of TV crews were wounded in the legs by stones thrown from the street. As the journalists left the Cathedral area on police orders, one was punched in the face and other reporters were insulted by the alleged Indonesian agents and accused of being the cause of the disturbances.

Mnsgr. Ximenes, the Savior

About 140 people were surrounded and forced to remain within the Cathedral for some hours. One was an Australian citizen who was "invited" to leave Dili the following day. The siege only came to an end when Bishop Ximenes Belo intervened. He negotiated with the military leaders and managed to get the protesters released without detention. The International Red Cross delegate ensured that the agreement was honoured and the people were led away in buses to the areas where they lived.

Back at the Hotel Turismo, after all the magnetic telephone cards for the only telephone box there with access to the international network had been used up, the second drama of another eventful Friday in Dili was about to commence. A young Timorese, who said he was a boy scout, took refuge in the hotel room of a German TV crew, after he had been badly beaten. He was unrecognizable. The Germans said that the boy had been attacked in their very presence by soldiers and civilians at the entrance to a barracks. He had been trying to explain that he had not been involved in the demonstration.

According to the Germans, the young man had asked the journalists to go with him to the barracks so they could confirm his innocence because, after being seen in the streets of Dili in the company of journalists (whom he had been showing the way back to the hotel), he was likely to be harassed by the police. The Germans, enraged by what had happened at the barracks, had not allowed him to be taken to the hospital until the ICRC delegate arrived. The Bishop, alerted by other journalists, also arrived at

the hotel to find out what had happened. The young man was eventually given medical treatment and, two days later, the condition of one of his eyes was still extremely bad. In the hotel, an official, sent specially from the office of Minister Ali Alatas, noted down details of the case.

It was nightfall when the young Timorese was finally taken to the hospital in Dili, and it was impossible for the journalists to know what was going on in the dead of night

Disturbances at the University

The weekend was relatively calm and on Monday night the journalists started to leave Dili, even though there had been a few incidents at the University of East Timor (UTL), which had been closed since 15 November, in order to avoid any demos and disturbances. The preventative measure at the UTL was extended to Thursday, 24 November, the day on which classes were due to recommence. The students arrived early, but a group of individuals was there waiting for them - the same group the Timorese accused of being agents provocateurs. They were assembled in the street in front, and some even went inside the UTL.

The students saw this as provocation and reacted violently. Stones rained down on either side and it wasn't long before the arrival of riot police, who were also welcomed by a hail of stones. The area was immediately cordoned off, and witnesses said tear gas was used.

The two foreign journalists still in Timor were prevented from going anywhere near the UTL and were not allowed to take photos of the police. They were insulted in Bahasa Indonesia (in which the reporter for Time Magazine was fluent) by some of the uniformed agents. An official from the regional Department of Information arrived, worried about the safety of the two foreigners. He only went there to protect the reporters, but was rudely reprimanded by a plain clothes agent for allowing the reporters to be there at all. It seemed that military power prevailed over civil authority in Dili.

At the UTL there was a repeat of the events at the Cathedral: the students were surrounded by police and there was an impasse. Some civil leaders negotiated the end of the siege and, after a few hours, everything was back to normal in the area. However, the Indonesian military commander summoned UTL's Principal and Vice-Principal and informed them that further demonstrations would not be tolerated.

Political Games

After a further week in Dili, now as the plane heads for the West, I reflect on everything I saw and heard, and come to the conclusion that the question of East Timor is

far more complex than what I had originally imagined. Although accustomed to categorizing into good and bad guys (the invaded and invaders, Timorese and Indonesians), I found that, even without leaving the city, there is a multiplicity of nuances which confound the observer.

The presence of nearly 20 foreign journalists in Dili significantly changed life in the city. The Hotel Turismo, at which most of the reporters stayed for over a week, became the centre stage towards which many of the actors in the Timorese tragedy converged, each one attempting to play his part in the best possible way. There were those who sought to let the visitors know what it is like to live in Indonesia's "27th Province." There were the pro-independence activists who made the most of every opportunity to express their rebellion. The journalists were at risk as they went around the city by involuntarily unleashing all kinds of expressions of protest - from the clenched fists of young people in passing cars to organised demonstrations at the Cathedral or University of East Timor. Young activists wandered about the Hotel Turismo, letting the journalists know that at such and such a time in such a place there would be a demonstration.. It got to the point where they would almost demand the presence of TV cameras, without which it made little sense to run such risks.

This does not mean that all the protests were organised around the journalists. The causes of the disturbances which followed the death of Timorese Mario Vicente, on 12 November, in the market at Becora, east of the city, were too specific to have been premeditated, even though the Indonesian authorities subsequently tried to justify the fact that the troubles lasted for three days by stating that the Timorese were "taking advantage of a crime to make political points."

The "gentle" soldiers

The Indonesian military were at pains to "treat demonstrators well" in order to avoid the disastrous consequences, for their own image and that of Indonesia, which followed in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991. That is the reason the police were armed with batons rather than the guns, with which they had killed scores of Timorese at the cemetery. This attitude was mirrored by the Indonesian military, namely the Military Commander of Dili, Colonel Kiki Syahnakri who, at a meeting on 21 November with journalists, admitted he had given strict instructions to Timorese police officers to avoid the use of violence.

Journalists did not, in fact, see the Indonesian riot police beat demonstrators. They did see agents isolate the activists, and sur-

round them, as they did for example at the Cathedral and the UTL, until their "release" had been negotiated with the civil or religious authorities. The eventual consequences for those who dared to risk public protest in Dili are not known, and the world will only hear about it later through reports from the underground resistance network. This is an important point to consider when judging foreign journalists. Although impartial observers of the Timorese question believe in the suffering of the Timorese people, they tend to consider the reports of extreme violence that they have not witnessed as being exaggerated.

The frustrations of integration

There is no doubt that the Timorese in general are not satisfied with the results of 18 years of integration in Indonesia. Even those who supported integration from the outset do not hide their frustration, and confess that this is not quite what they had wanted. "This" meaning total domination by the Indonesians of East Timor's natural wealth and the consequent marginalization of the Timorese. And then there is the repression and the impunity with which the soldiers sent by Jakarta act throughout the territory, which has nothing to do with the picture of integration that the Indonesian Foreign Office is trying to paint for everyone. "Indonesia builds many roads and houses, but it is Indonesian companies, many of them linked to the army, which win all the construction contracts, and nothing is left for us," said one Timorese.

Theories abound in Dili about the military. One, for example, suggests that East Timor is a paradise for their business dealings and, faced with the constant threat of their numbers being reduced (as Jakarta keeps promising), it is the military themselves who encourage destabilization, in order to provide justification for their continued presence.

According to official statistics, seven "social" battalions (i.e. battalions whose purpose is to assist in the reconstruction of the territory) and one combat battalion are currently deployed in East Timor, with a total of 5,300 men. However, Timorese resistance sources have provided a list of 18 ABRI battalions, which total over 15,000 men.

Numbers relating to the armed resistance also vary. The Indonesian military commander in Dili affirms there are only 189 guerrillas left with a total of 103 weapons, and that they are active mainly in the Lospalos, Baucau and Viqueque zones. The resistance puts the figure at over 700 armed guerrillas and a further 600 unarmed, making a total of about 1,300 men.

Then there are the cultural and religious differences between Timorese and Indonesians (i.e. the Indonesians in general, because in the approx. 17,500 islands that make up the archipelago, there are over 190 million people who belong to about 300 different ethnic groups). Father Domingos Soares, a Timorese religious worker who does not always share the views of Bishop Ximenes Belo, believes that the conflict in East Timor is not purely political but partly religious, and he talks about a kind of "holy war" between Catholics and Moslems. "Although the Portuguese may not have developed East Timor, they did conquer the hearts of the Timorese because they taught them the Catholic religion, and gave them a human dimension. This contrasts with the Islamic faith, based on constant fear of God," he says. "This attitude does not suit the Timorese. The people compare everything to the time of the Portuguese, and do not accept what Indonesia wants to give them," he adds.

The Portuguese evil

A member of the underground resistance movement, claiming to be a former quartermaster in the Portuguese army and a believer that independence is the only solution for Timor, told LUSA that given the choice "between Portuguese evil and Indonesian evil, the Timorese would prefer Portuguese evil." An old Timorese makes a more romantic comparison: "The Portuguese came, sat at the table, ate, and made love with the Timorese. The Indonesians came, sat at the table, ate, and then beat the Timorese."

But the few who still talk about the return of the Portuguese do so only to ask that "Portugal finish what it started," i.e. the decolonisation process. A Portuguese citizen from Beja who has been living in East Timor since 1965 believes that "one cannot live on nostalgia" because "time and history never come back, and only time will resolve the problem of Timor."

Difficult Solution

For all these reasons, because of the different views of those in Timor itself, who have lived for 18 years under Indonesian domination, the solution is far from easy, not just because of the intransigence of Jakarta (which, although it does not admit it, fears the spread of nationalist movements in the archipelago if it were to give in on the question of East Timor, and has other politico-economic reasons as well as the argument that it was Portugal that abandoned the territory), but also because of the international community's fear of confronting Suharto.

The UN has not succeeded in getting Indonesia to comply with its Security Council resolutions, and while Bill Clinton talks to

Suharto about East Timor, Exxon signs a contract with Jakarta worth 40,000,000,000 dollars. A member of the Indonesian Government actually told me that Portugal is the only country in Europe that is not making money out of the Indonesian market opening.

Even the Vatican considers that the 600,000 Timorese Catholics to be worth less than the nearly four million Indonesian Catholics.

Those in favour of integration are also disillusioned and now looking at autonomy as a possible way of ending the current impasse in which there is an intransigent Indonesia on one side and an unsatisfied and repressed Timorese nation on the other. But nobody is sure about what kind of autonomy ought to be put forward, and those that dare suggest it to Jakarta, like the present Governor, Abilio Soares, risk facing Suharto's fury. Rumour has it in Dili that Abilio Soares' days are numbered as Governor of East Timor, and that not even Jakarta's military like him anymore because of the "nuances" of his statements. In a meeting with foreign journalists on 16 November, Abilio Soares admitted and defended recourse to house searches as a means of combating the rebellion of young Timorese. Days later, Indonesian military commanders and police denied such a practice, exposing a clear rift with the Governor whom they had put in power.

But what definitely irritated the Jakarta authority must have been the Governor's proposal to the Indonesian President last May, which suggested that East Timor be given special status as a way of resolving the problem. In Dili they say that Abilio Soares was recently summoned to Jakarta to hear President Suharto call his suggestion unconstitutional.

In October, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo also proposed progressive autonomy for East Timor, and now he complains that the Indonesians tried to kill him, setting up ambushes that did not work because those supposed to do the job were Timorese soldiers in the pay of the Indonesian armed forces, whose Catholic consciences made them repent at the last minute.

Every Timorese in Dili has a story to tell, tragic stories, of the civil war that killed relatives and very close friends, and of the invasion and integration that killed still more. A lot of criticism is also heard about those on the outside, including allegations, unsupported by any evidence, that some have been making money out of the Timorese cause.

In spite of feeling that they were abandoned by Portugal, the Timorese still hold the Portuguese in high regard and even go as far as saying that a whole nation should not

be stained by a few men who just happened to be in power in 1975.

Generally speaking, the in the conversations they dared to hold with this journalist, they admitted that Indonesia has invested a lot in East Timor, but confessed that roads are not everything. They complained about the lack of respect for their dignity, and that they would like to go down other paths. They would at least like someone to ask them what they think.

I left Dili with the feeling that nothing was clear cut, that on both sides there is a lot of truth as well as a lot of imprecision. I left with new clues on which to reflect, and rethink. But, above all, I left feeling extremely sorry for the Timorese people because everything happened the way it did. And I left Dili with a tremendous desire to return again.

MORE OIL FOUND IN TIMOR SEA

The Australian, December 10, By Matthew Steven: Summarized

Preliminary drilling at BHP's latest Timor Sea exploration well, Kakatua I, has found hydrocarbons. BHP Petroleum confirmed last night that production tests would be conducted over the weekend. If successful this will be the third oil discovery made this year in the Zone of Cooperation formed by Indonesia & Australia. Kakatua I is 15km west of the first find at Elang which is now being operated by BHP.

In February, Elang 1, then run by Petroz NL & the fifth well to be drilled in the zone permits area, flowed at 5800 barrels a day. Elang holds an estimated 70 million barrels and production is expected to begin as early as 1997 at a cost of \$A 350 million.

More importantly Kakatua I is close to Laminaria 1, Woodside Petroleum's boom find which last month flowed at 7,500 barrels a day. It is believed to contain some 300 million barrels.

Laminaria 1, which excited oil analysts by its size, sits in a previously unexplored area. Woodside projects that it has a potential for 400 million barrels.

Santos, one of BHP's partners in Kakatua, confirmed that hydrocarbons had been found and that a great attraction of the site was that it could be joined to the proposed Elang development by a submerged production line. BHP was more circumspect - it told the Australian Stock Exchange that wireline tests were being run and that production tests would be conducted.

The partners in Kakatua I are BHP Petroleum (42.4%) Santos (21.4%) Inpex Sahul Ltd (21.2%) and Petroz NL (15%)

TIMOR GAP BLACK GOLD MINE

Barry Fitzgerald, in the West Australian, Sat 17 Dec. 1994, tells of great riches in the oilfield that lies between Australia's North and Indonesia's provinces of Timor.

The maximum flow rate for the new Kakatua 1 well is 8,100 barrels per day. The Elang well, in the same permit, flowed at up to 5,800 barrels per day.

Laminaria is the other major oil strike in the area.

Partners in Kakatua/Elang are BHP Petroleum, Santos, Inpex Sahul and Petroz. Laminaria belongs to Woodside.

FEAR FOR TORTURED TIMORESE ACTIVIST

TAPOL Report, 15 December 1994

An East Timorese man, Henrique Belmiro Guterres, about 40, is currently undergoing interrogation and is being subjected to severe torture at the headquarters of the army intelligence unit, SGI, in Dili. He is accused of being the ring-leader of the recent demonstrations in Dili. He has no access to a lawyer, in violation of the Procedural Code.

Belmiro was arrested at his home in Manuleuana, Dili, on Sunday, 4 December, for allegedly having given refuge to a member of the resistance army, FALINTIL. No evidence of this was found at his home when he was taken into custody.

Belmiro has spent years in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta. He was first taken into custody in 1980 together with David Ximenes after an attack on a TV transmitter on the outskirts of Dili on 10 June of that year. He was subsequently released but re-arrested in November 1992 in connection with the capture of Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese resistance, on suspicion of having been the guerrilla leader's chauffeur (he was then working as a taxi driver).

His arrest this month followed the brutal torture of a young East Timorese while being interrogated who may have been forced to mention his name.

Reports from Dili state that Belmiro has suffered serious injuries to his head as a result of the torture and beatings he has sustained. His wrists are swollen after having been tied very tight and he is being subjected to continual electric shock.

On the day Belmiro was arrested, a friend was shot in the back as he was trying to avoid being arrested. His identity is not clear. People in the vicinity heard two shots ring out but were unable to see his face because his face and body were quickly covered with a cloth, he was bundled into a

vehicle and driven away. His present whereabouts is not yet known.

Contacts in Dili have asked that this case be given all possible publicity as Belmiro's life could be in grave danger.

REPORT ON THE ARREST OF HENRIQUE BELMIRO

CNRM MEDIA RELEASE, Sydney, 15 Dec. 1994

1. Henrique Belmiro, was arrested on 4 December and accused of being the mastermind of all the recent disturbances and demonstrations in Dili. At present he is detained at the SGI (Intelligence Headquarters) in Dili.

He is being intensively questioned without being granted the right to be accompanied by a lawyer. He is constantly being tortured as part of the questioning.

The accused had been heavily wounded in the head as a consequence of torture and beatings. His wrists have been severely wounded as a result of his being tied up and continuously subjected to electric shocks.

2. On the same day of Henrique Belmiro's arrest, a friend of his was shot in the back as he was trying to escape. His identity is still unknown, since the persons who heard two shots fired were not able to see his face nor were they able to recognise him as immediately after he collapsed he was covered in cloth and taken away in a car. Attempts have been made to find the corpse but so far these have not been successful.

Jakarta, 15/12/94

The above information was received from Dili along with a further report on the arrest of "enfermeiro Matias." This arrest apparently took place also on 4/12/94, and the report received from Dili is dated 11/12/94. The latest information is that this Matias has since been released from detention, but is still under military custody.

EAST TIMOR'S BISHOP NOMINATED FOR NOBEL

Peace Media Service, Dec. 16

Bishop Carlos Belo of East Timor has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by laureate Mairead Maguire of the Peace People movement in Northern Ireland.

Maguire praised Belo for "his spiritual and moral leadership of the East Timorese people in these days of deep sorrow caused by the brutality of the Indonesian invasion and aggression. He has inspired me as he speaks out courageously for truth and justice in spite of death threats."

Maguire said the Nobel Prize is most effective "when given to people who, in the nonviolent spirit of King and Gandhi, work

at great personal risk to uphold human rights and democracy. They give light in a dark world where poverty, violence and cruelty dehumanize so many people.”

INDONESIAN SOLDIER'S DIARY

Reports in the West Australian, Dec. 17, 1994. By Michael Casey

[Three articles, published with three photos of Indonesian troops from the Indonesian soldier's personal collection and a relief of the battle plan map]

SOLDIER'S DIARY TELLS OF WAR IN THE FIELD

Indonesian Army documents smuggled out of East Timor reveal a far bigger level of military engagement in the province than Jakarta has admitted.

The West Australian has obtained the possessions of an Indonesian soldier believed killed in October by East Timorese resistance fighters.

They include a battle map, the agenda for a secret command meeting in Dili, a diary of military notes, a list of supplies and photographs of Indonesian soldiers in the forests of East Timor.

After close analysis and cross-referencing, The West Australian is convinced the material is authentic.

The battle map, pertaining to a region in the east end of Timor, contains a coded attack plan involving units from eight battalions moving against more than 100 resistance targets.

The code for one of the battalion units is "Passus," which suggests the involvement of troops from Indonesia's crack anti-insurgency force, Kopassus.

Kopassus troops were trained in Perth this year by the Australian Army's Special Air Service regiment.

The program drew criticism from many East Timorese expatriates, who claimed Kopassus soldiers were guilty of the worst atrocities committed during Indonesia's 19-year occupation of East Timor and were directly responsible for the genocide of 200,000 people.

According to East Timorese familiar with the Indonesian Army's tactics in their homeland, the circles on the map represent either the camps of the resistance army Falantil or civilian villages providing assistance to the guerrillas.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has claimed there are only five battalions deployed in East Timor, all of them engaged solely in development projects such as road-building.

But José Ramos Horta, a spokesman for the coalition resistance movement the National Council of Maubere Resistance, said the group's intelligence showed there were 20,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor. This figure comprised 13,000 Indonesians from outside East Timor and 7000 ethnic East Timorese conscripts.

With about 1000 men per battalion, the presence of eight battalions in one small part of the island showed how understated Mr. Alatas's claims were, Mr. Horta said.

An agenda and instructions for a meeting of high-ranking officers in Dili in April also came with the documents. Involving more than 100 personnel – most of them colonels – the meeting was to be a full evaluation of the previous 12 month's operations in East Timor.

The points of reference for the meeting were divided between the intelligence operation, the combat operation, the "territorial" operation, the "social and political" operation, and the "peace and order in society" operation.

A list of military supplies, which was also given to the West Australian, shows that for each patrol, each man in seven platoons from Battalion 431 was given only four magazines and 90 rounds of ammunition for his M-16 automatic rifle.

Resistance sources claimed the limit on ammunition was to reduce the opportunity for Falantil fighters to arm themselves with the weapons of dead Indonesian soldiers. Despite far-greater firepower and troops outnumbering their enemy by 20 to one, the Indonesians were still pessimistic about their survival chances after 19 years of fighting.

This was because the resistance fighters were supported overwhelmingly by the local population, the sources said.

The photographs belonged to Sgt. Budi-anto – believed to have been killed by resistance sniper fire – who was second-in-charge of a platoon within Battalion 431. His snapshots are of soldiers engaged in combat practice in scrub and forest settings, of army helicopters and of off-duty leisure activities in a mountain camp.

Sgt. Budi-anto's diary, which was also recovered, is a series of military notes in handwritten Indonesian focusing on guerilla tactics.

It describes eight ambush and counter-ambush attack plans, listing code names for soldiers in the troop and setting out separate roles for the group's scouts, assistants and leaders.

According to the notes, platoon members are instructed to rely on the local people for information about movements of the enemy.

The diary includes basic notes on the culture of East Timorese people and a list of

translations between Tetum and Indonesian for such words and phrases as "gun," "surrender" and "bring water."

It also appears from the notes that the soldiers were given a brief psychology lesson, perhaps to help them either understand the enemy or, as the Americans sought to do in Vietnam, to win the hearts and minds of the local people.

The details of the military briefings in the diary reveal the soldiers were neglecting to cover their footprints and were not paying attention to those of the enemy. They were told to go to the toilet in groups of two or three.

They were not aggressive enough when they heard gunfire and they needed to fight boredom in the forest. They had to be brave, strong and resilient.

They were not to oppress the local population and they were to pay attention to the "matters of women."

The soldiers were told to remember that "guerilla warfare has high risks," to "try to merge with nature," to avoid well-known tracks and above all, to pray.

Mr. Horta said the apparent death of Sgt. Budi-anto was a powerful example of the futility of the drawn-out war Indonesia had waged in East Timor.

"How come this young man – him and so many others – are still dying 19 years later? Yet the world allows the Indonesian regime to continue this war," he said.

"It is not only the East Timorese who have been killed, but of course we suffered the most. Also young Indonesian soldiers, who in fact have nothing to do with East Timor.

"It is just unacceptable morally that this war should continue. It is not to the benefit of the Indonesians, let alone the benefit of the East Timorese people."

DIARY BARES ARMY LIFE

The diary and other possessions of Sgt. Budi-anto give a revealing insight into life in the Indonesian Armed Forces.

They suggest reasons why Indonesian soldiers may have dutifully followed the brutal instructions of their superiors.

Throughout his diary, Sgt. Budi-anto wrote shorthand versions of military songs and oaths of allegiance.

In this way, he would have been able to memorize their patriotic content, which he would have had to recite regularly.

In translation, they appear as propaganda, a means of indoctrination and an unquestioning loyalty to the Indonesian regime, couched in the language of nationalism.

An example of this is the second statement of the Sapta Marga, a list of missions

statements for the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), of which Sgt. Budiarto kept a copy. It reads: "We are Indonesian patriots, supporters and protectors of the national ideology who will never know surrender."

Another example is the first statement of a list titled *The Essence of ABRI as Soldiers of the People, Soldiers of the Struggle*. It reads: "ABRI are soldiers of the Indonesian people, carrying out a pledge to fight the struggle of the nation originating from the people, borne and fought together with the people for the sake of the people."

There are the words to a song in the last few pages of the diary. It begins: "We sons, the brave soldiers of Kostrad." (Kostrad is an elite force of the presidential guard.) It continues with pledges of willingness to sacrifice all for the people.

A glance at Sgt. Budiarto's pay slips shows the importance of the indoctrination. It is clearly not the money that lures young Indonesians to the army.

Sgt. Budiarto's gross pay was the equivalent of about \$80 a month. But there was a range of deductions, most of which would seem standard items for any soldier. These included his boots, for which he paid \$5 in February, and his monthly rent of \$3.

He also appeared to be in debt, with a \$20 loan repayment to the army bank every month.

On average, Sgt. Budiarto's net pay was about \$50 a month.

Paid a pittance and armed heavily, Indonesian soldiers would appear to have a great incentive to derive income violently from a persecuted East Timorese population.

East Timorese resistance spokesman José Ramos Horta said the Indonesian Government went to great extremes to keep the truth of its operations hidden from the public.

He suspected Sgt. Budiarto's family had not been told of his death.

"In the past, the Indonesian Army usually informed relatives of the death of a soldier six months to a year later," he said.

Mr. Horta said the family of another sergeant killed by guerrillas was told he died when a tree fell on him.

*The West Australian will pass Sgt. Budiarto's belongings to the International Committee for the Red Cross in Geneva to ensure they are returned to his family in Indonesia.

WAR CUTS SHORT A LIFE IN THE MAKING

Like any soldier, in any war, Sergeant Budiarto carried with him mementos of a life to which he hoped to return.

His personal belongings – his photographs, diary, unposted letters – are striking for one reason: their familiarity.

And while they now have taken on a wider political significance, the picture they present is not that of a political actor, nor of a necessary victim of the brutal reality of war, but of a son, a fiancé, and a friend – a young man with a full life ahead of him.

The politics seem irrelevant. A man who could have been anybody's son, fiancé or friend has had that life cut short.

To the resistance, he was an intruder, who did not have the right to be there. But it should be clear, even to thousands of East Timorese whose loved ones have been killed by soldiers like Sgt. Budiarto, that he too is a victim of a war that only Indonesia can end.

Sergeant Budiarto's photographs could be those of any young soldier on a tour of duty to a foreign place. They especially reflect the comradeship of war.

There are photographs of people standing with their weapons ready. But the staged bravado seems empty against the hard lesson of mortality.

Like all who leave to fight a foreign war, Sgt. Budiarto left loved ones behind. This is poignantly emphasised by the inclusion of two non-military photos in his collection – one of Tutik, his fiancé, with a friend of hers, the other of two different women, perhaps sisters.

Tutik wrote a note on the back of the photograph she sent to Sgt. Budiarto, urging him to "keep the photo close to you lest it be blown away by the forest wind."

Before his death, Sgt. Budiarto wrote two letters that were never posted – one to his parents, and one to Tutik. Those letters show a man concerned about the well-being of his family.

His letter to Tutik reveals little about the nature of their romance. But one line, which was crossed out, began: "If you really care about me..." and in another, he suggested that when he returned home, the two of them should meet in Madiun, in East Java.

All these belongings have been removed from their original context. They now form part of a collection of documents with a specific political importance.

The records of Sgt. Budiarto's activities in East Timor have become evidence with which the East Timorese independence movement can call Indonesia's bluff. They have entered the world of international diplomacy.

With Sgt. Budiarto emerging as a pawn in this political battle, the West Australian has been faced with a moral dilemma.

But the decision to tell his story has been made in the knowledge that the human side to it is the most important.

As it was with the Americans in Vietnam 25 years ago, when a nation is forced to deal with the loss of its people, not just with the statistics of war, pressure to end a futile war can mount.

XANANA GUSMÃO END OF YEAR MESSAGE TO EAST TIMOR SOLIDARITY SUPPORTERS

From Cipinang Prison, Dec. 31, 1994

CNRM-Falintil

To all solidarity groups and dear friends of East Timor the world over I send our greetings and most ardent hopes that 1995 will bring successes to our struggle. 1995 opens its door to receive our concerns and expectations, and to receive our plans, efforts and achievements. This is a ritual, repeated for a 19 years now, reminding us that we are entering the 20th year of the Indonesian invasion and military occupation of East Timor. Nineteen years have passed, and the most important difference to be noted is that the circumstances of 1975 are no longer compatible with conditions obtaining nowadays, and will never again repeat themselves.

1974 was full of factors which led to extensive analysis, and encouraged predictions and concerns, convictions and disappointments. As a natural result of the changed times, the two most important events of 1994 have been the end of the Apartheid regime, and the Middle East Peace Process. Politicians and government leaders are more and more disposed to acknowledge past mistakes, and have greater resolve to speed up the construction of the much longed for new world order. This will only be possible by defending the universal principles of freedom, justice and peace.

Despite a quick response to prevent a new attempted invasion of Kuwait, we still are regretting the inflexibility of the parties in dispute in the former Yugoslavia. Despite the return to power of a rightful government in Haiti, the internal conflicts in various parts of Africa are of concern. Besides efforts to create a new climate of peace and greater respect for universal principles, unfortunately there still persist reactionary forces which oppose humankind's efforts for peace, freedom and progress.

East Timor is a small example of this general struggle. The dictatorial and colonialist regime in Jakarta has tried everything to attempt diplomatic diversion maneuvers to deceive the world into thinking that there is no need to resolve the issue of East Timor. Jakarta tried to pretend that a Portuguese general, who fought in Angola to preserve the 'unity and integrity' of the Portuguese

empire, could, together with his business associate, represent Portugal and its people. However, Jakarta soon realised that the good old times, when more than half the world would applaud every new lie spread by its diplomacy, have gone not to return. Jakarta also again deceived itself when it commissioned its roving Ambassador, Lopes da Cruz, to carry out a new 'Balibo declaration' as part of an updated 'Operasi Komodo' together with Abilio Araujo. But 1994 is so far away from 1974 in every sense and for everybody, except for the mentality of the murderous Jakarta generals.

The East Timor issue has for the first time penetrated into the highly controlled neighbourhood, and the solidarity of the neighbouring peoples alarmed Jakarta, who quickly reacted as a regional bully, attempting to impose its will on neighbouring countries.

The third anniversary of the hideous Santa Cruz massacre was magnificently celebrated by the Maubere youth, proving once more to Jakarta that a people's nationalist conscience can not be bought, neither by rich nor by poor colonialists.

Sometimes I ask myself why, after 49 years of independence, the Indonesian rulers still find it necessary to praise the advances of the 'New Order' and stress to the people its difference with the colonial situation. Is it because of a lack of political topics, or is it due to a need to alienate the Indonesian people, as often done by the generals invoking a supposed communist threat? Is it the search of a common sacrificial lamb to marshal all the political and social forces into the shadow of the dictatorial regime? Is it that the generals still do not realise that the people are fed up and do no longer believe in the theory of an alleged communist threat? Is it that the generals have noted that the Indonesian people have realised that such topics are being utilised to 'unite' political sensibilities, with the intention of deviating public attention from the real ills of the regime? Have the Indonesian generals realised that the people are aware that the generals are keeping a death spectre, exaggerating its dangers, merely so as to justify ABRI's placement in the combat front line. With its 'dwi fungsi' ABRI is expected to be able to perpetuate their regime of corruption and repression over the Indonesian people.

The East Timor problem can be placed under these same questions, when we look at it from the perspective of the Indonesian generals.

We have always stated that if Jakarta tried to play with time, this would be the boomerang causing its defeat. All regimes oppressing and dominating peoples commit the same historical sins. They minimize that

value of peoples' consciousness, they pretend that people are mere objects of regimes, that they are simple instruments of manipulation by power holders.

Colonialist and dictatorial regimes ultimately fall under the pressures of the times. However, before this can happen they display an ideology to legitimize their own conceptions about themselves. They justify in this way their crimes, the denial of freedom, the exploitation of peasants, social injustices, repression of workers. The political and financial elite rises on the basis of such costs. They usually are in the proximity of the presidential family and of those favoured by the system, military officials, the true supporters of political power.

Dictatorial regimes are inflexible. The stronger they feel economically, the more arrogant they become in dictating to the world their repressive conceptions about principles and rights.

The Jakarta generals have waited for too long to appreciate a historical reality: the nationalist consciousness of the Maubere people is not killed by repression, nor is it suffocated by crimes.

Indonesia should realise that this is the appropriate moment for it to rehabilitate itself before universal principles of international law. Minister Ali Alatas defines the problem as a 'no-win situation,' thus underlining the fact that UN maintains the political status of East Timor as a non self-governing territory. This clearly shows that the so-called 'provisional' or 'definitive' assemblies, elections, DPRs, which have been inflicted on East Timor during these past 19 years are simply not recognised as valid, let alone as legitimate.

This was the perception which led Ali Alatas to state to the DPR/MPR that while it may be easy to deceive the Indonesian people into believing that East Timor is already Indonesian, it is a different matter to do this with the world.

The Minister avoided saying that East Timor has already integrated into Indonesia, as he knows that this has never taken place, and that it merely could use the expression 'East Timor is mine' as it has in reality been occupying it militarily for the last 19 years.

We know that the reference to the problem made by President Bill Clinton to Suharto caused serious repercussions among many Indonesian politicians, who wish that East Timor stops for good being the pebble in Indonesia's diplomatic shoe, and a blood stain on the image of the country which holds the Chair of the Non Aligned Movement.

Apodeti members try to convince Suharto to grant a statute of autonomy to the '27th Province,' but one gets the impression that Suharto no longer trusts anyone. The

Indonesian dictator seems to think that by meeting Abilio Araujo, he will have taken a most appropriate step, opening a way for a solution. For this purpose, Lopes da Cruz and his wife, assisted by Tututs and the like, are hoping to mobilise East Timorese students in Indonesia on 7 January. By throwing a big Christmas/ New Year party they are hoping that Indonesian Television will be able to show an assembly of East Timorese in Indonesia as a sign of support for the group of Abilio Araujo.

Suharto does not wish to grant autonomy, may be because this does not feature in the strategies of the 'reconciliation' group. This group, in the joint statements issued by rupiah-greedy Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz, has already placed totally out of question the denouncing of the cowardly and shameful invasion and the criminal military occupation of the territory.

In this way Jakarta is totally unprepared to present concrete ideas regarding a possible solution to the East Timorese problem. We are almost certain that Ali Alatas will only be able to repeat once again what has been said for 19 years, namely that the East Timorese people have freely chosen integration; and that Jakarta will not accept a referendum, not because it may be worried that it may lose it, but because many people have suffered already.

And Ali Alatas will smile victoriously for having once again passed off one of his intelligent observations onto countries like Australia, Netherlands, or Spain for example. This way the Indonesian generals will have the feeling that despite the little problem of East Timor, Indonesian credibility is increasingly being strengthened at the international level.

And Ali Alatas will try to escape once more facing the fact that it is time to seek a solution. Only because Jakarta is not offering solutions.

Therefore, considering from the extremely high costs of keeping the East Timor war to the heavy burden which -as the DPR would say- needs to be borne by the passive and accommodating Indonesian East Timor diplomacy, CNRM sees no other truly just way out than the previously presented peace plan leading to a referendum.

Only this way will Indonesia be able to save its face in the wake of a conflict in which it has been placed as a violator of universal principles and of international law.

There is no solution possible which skirts around the essence of the problem. In essence this was and will remain a problem involving the UN.

1995 is the most appropriate year for Ali Alatas to prove that Jakarta finally accepts resolving the East Timor issue, as is befit-

ting to the duties of a UN Security Council member.

1995 will be a year of changes. Changes in our own attitudes, both individually and collectively. Especially those of the East Timorese. Among ourselves, and between ourselves and yourselves. It will be a year of changes in attitudes by Jakarta, by politicians, by diplomats and by generals. 1995 demands these changes from all.

Finally, I wish to use this opportunity to express to all East Timor solidarity groups and to all our friends throughout the world our most sincere gratitude, our friendship and recognition for your constant dedication to the Maubere People's cause. The liberation of the East Timor people will be an event also based on your political generosity and moral grandeur.

We wish each of you a very happy New Year. To all of you we send the love of our people, the embrace of the Falintil fighters, and a 'Hai amigos' from all the East Timorese political prisoners.

HOMELAND OR DEATH! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES ON ALL FRONTS! TO RESIST IS TO WIN!

For CNRM,
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão,
CNRM Member, Commander of Falintil
Cipinang, Jakarta 31 December 1994

RIOTS ERUPT AS EAST TIMORESE TURN ON MIGRANT TRADERS

The Guardian, 3 January 1995. By Agencies in Dili

At least one person was killed and seven injured in ethnic riots that swept a town in the troubled territory of East Timor, residents and exile sources said yesterday.

They said hundreds of youths burned a market, shops and houses in the coastal town of Baucau, 120 miles east of the capital, Dili, after an Indonesian immigrant allegedly killed an East Timorese man, and possibly also his aunt, after a dispute on Sunday.

Police and soldiers clashed with a mob of about 200 East Timorese and finally managed to disperse it, a witness said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

The rampage on Sunday followed similar violence last November between local people and outsiders in Dili that later turned into anti-Indonesian demonstrations in the former Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

Dili was calm but tense yesterday. There were unconfirmed reports of disturbances in at least one other town.

The crowd in Baucau attacked shops and homes believed to belong to Indonesian traders from South Sulawesi. The alleged killer was believed to be a trader from South Sulawesi.

In an effort to defuse tensions, the army took the body of the victim, Arenando Ximenes, to Dili, an officer said.

There was no official comment on the incident.

A new year celebration for East Timorese, government employees and members of the armed forces was interrupted as guests rushed out to look at the fires in the marketplace a few miles away.

Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor, said: "I know one person was killed during the violence but I don't know the reason why it happened."

In November 1991, Indonesian troops massacred dozens of pro-independence demonstrators in Dili.

The jailed leader of pro-independence guerrillas fighting Indonesian rule called yesterday for a referendum and urged both sides to make political compromises.

In a year-end message written in his cell at Jakarta's Cipinang jail, where he is serving 20 years for armed rebellion, José Xanana Gusmão predicted "1995 will be the year of change" for Indonesians and Timorese.

FIVE KILLED IN EAST TIMORESE UNREST

The Canberra Times 4 Jan. 1995. AFP, AAP

JAKARTA, Tuesday, five people have been killed a town market torched in fresh unrest in East Timor, sources in the Indonesian ruled former Portuguese colony said today.

Hundreds of people, mostly youths, rioted in Baucau town about 115km east of the capital Dili, after an East Timorese identified only as Amandino, was killed on Sunday by a migrant from South Sulawesi, they said.

Part of Baucau's small market was burned in the unrest and a public mini bus was wrecked as the disturbances continued yesterday, according to Dili sources reached by telephone.

The sources who requested anonymity, said a group of East Timorese youths attacked a military officer, slightly injuring him in the temple of Kota Lama, the old part of Baucau.

Security troops shot four people dead after unsuccessfully trying to disperse the with warning shots fired in the air, they added. The East Timor military spokesman could not be reached for confirmation.

It was the second outbreak of violence since November in East Timor, which Indonesia annexed in 1976 amid international condemnation.

The death of an East Timorese trader during a fight with a migrant food stall owner, also from Sulawesi, at Dili's Becora market in November, led to three days of unrest there that cause damage to buildings and vehicles.

In Darwin today, an East Timorese resistance leader called on the Australian Government to monitor the treatment of East Timorese injured in latest ethnic violence.

José Gusmão, of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, said he feared injured people could suffer ill-treatment at the hands of Indonesian security forces.

"We has (such an) experience after the 1991 massacre, so we would ask Australia to try to do something positive and guarantee the safety and proper treatment of the injured," Mr. Gusmão said.

The Associated Press reported that in an effort to defuse tensions the army took the body of Arenando Ximenes to Dili according to a military officer.

The officer said the reason for the fight between Ximenes the South Sulawesi man was not clear.

Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, blamed the police and the military for not taking proper security precautions during the holidays, AP reported.

"I know one person was killed during the violence but I don't know the reason why it happened. It is the responsibility of the police and the military. They should be able to prevent this from happening," he told AP by phone.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed the territory the following year, in a move not recognised by the United Nations but recognised by Australia.

BISHOP REPORTS ON INDONESIAN REPRESSION

By Mario Dujisin

LISBON, Jan 5 (IPS) - Bishop of East Timor José Ximenes Belo Thursday reported that the Indonesian army is repressing independence-minded Timorese in Baucau, the second largest city on the former Portuguese colony.

Ximenes Belo told reporters on the island invaded by Indonesia in 1975 that two 17-year-old students - Armino Ximenes and Domingos Muhamad - had been gunned down by Indonesian soldiers Wednesday, and he feared that other killings had taken place in a bid to silence the independence movement.

"It is very difficult to determine the number of victims," Ximenes Belo said, having travelled Wednesday from Dili, capital of Timor, to Baucau. "Many houses have been burnt to the ground, the young people are in rebellion and everyday life is completely paralyzed."

The situation in Baucau "is very serious, much worse than in Dili," warned the catholic bishop.

Jakarta has come under a lot of criticism from human rights organisations for its repressive measures in East Timor and in particularly Dili, the capital of the island which Jakarta invaded shortly after East Timor declared independence from Portugal on Dec. 1, 1975.

East Timor, with a population of 750,000, is surrounded by the rest of the archipelago which makes up Indonesia, a country of 190 million people, the majority being Muslims.

In Baucau, the most recent clashes were triggered by events at the weekend when, according to eyewitnesses, Indonesian soldiers opened up with a burst of machine-gun fire at a picture of Jesus Christ at the end of Sunday's High Mass.

To protest the action, demonstrators gathered outside the Church of San Antonio de Baucau on Wednesday when the two students were killed by Indonesian soldiers who had been ordered to disperse the crowd.

Bishop Ximenes Belo also said that 16 of the demonstrators had been wounded and that five were in hospital in critical condition as a result of bullet wounds.

"The streets of the city were occupied by the students, and I myself had to use a megaphone to ask them to disperse in order to avoid further violence," said Ximenes Belo.

Sources in the inland resistance movement contacted by Lisbon radio stations also reported that a warship from the Indonesian Navy berthed Tuesday in the port of Dili. It was carrying "several hundred soldiers" to reinforce the local garrison, the sources reported.

These events take place ahead of scheduled U.N. mediated talks in Geneva next week between Portuguese Foreign Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso and Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas.

This week in Jakarta, Alatas accused Portugal of maintaining "an aggressive attitude" which was prejudicial to finding a solution to the conflict on Timor.

The Portuguese foreign ministry has denied the allegations, saying they are "entirely false" and has challenged Jakarta to cite concrete examples of this alleged aggressiveness.

So far, after four half-yearly summit meetings between the chiefs of their respective diplomatic corps, Jakarta and Lisbon are unable to reconcile their differences on how to resolve the issue.

The first indication of an opening came with the acceptance by Jakarta to discuss the case at the foreign minister level, which was followed by authorisation granted to United Nations missions to visit the disputed territory.

On basic issues, however, profound differences remain between Indonesia, Portugal and the locally organised resistance movement with respect to Timor.

Indonesia maintains that in invading the island on Dec. 7, 1975 it did so at the request of its inhabitants, thereby accomplishing "an act of liberation, freeing the territory from 450 years of Portuguese colonialism."

This military action, according to the independent humanitarian organisation Amnesty International, eventually ended up with "the genocide of 210,000 Timorese."

Portugal's position is based on a resolution passed by the United Nations Security Council Dec. 22, 1975 which designates it as "the administrating power of the territory until a referendum is held on its autonomy," and demands Indonesia's immediate withdrawal.

MORE BAUCAU DETAILS

From Australians for a Free East Timor. Darwin, Jan 7.

The Baucau markets were burned on Sunday 1 Jan 1995 but this information didn't come to light until our PR on 2 Jan 95.

Now it seems that many more deaths like the Dili Massacre were avoided only by the physical differences of the sites.

The markets were burned after the unprovoked killing of 2 East Timorese, so the next day, priests held a discussion with a large group of people assembled near the church to calm the situation.

The Indonesian military gathered at a spot physically below the crowd and without warning or discussion, opened fire with automatic weapons. Many people ran toward the church but 3 or 4 were shot. Others got shelter and youths attacked the military with rocks finally achieving a cessation of shooting. The face of the church and the Madonna were sprayed with automatic gun fire.

Latest news we have is that transmigration of Indonesian has been stepped up and the East Timorese face the prospect of becoming a minority in their own country. Already in some areas they are outnumbered by Indonesians. This is a deliberate

part of the cultural genocide which Australia and in particular, foreign minister Evans and prime-minister Keating, prefer to let happen.

Further more, an AFFET member in East Timor reports that new Indonesian military are being added every week. Two barges of Troops landed in Dili yesterday.

We call on the UN at the talks with Portugal and Indonesia in Geneva on Monday 9 Jan 95, for peace keeping troops to be placed in East Timor. We also call on the world to send weapons the armed resistance, if peace keepers won't be sent.

We also echo José Gusmão (CNRM) Darwin, in his call for President Clinton and the Japanese, Canadian and other world leaders to hold Suharto at his word to protect Timorese human rights.

EAST TIMOR ON EVE OF THE TALKS

AFP and Reuter, 8 January 1995. By Jim Della-Giacoma and Jeremy Wagstaff, Abridged

[In this report, the AFP focuses on the response to recent events by the Buginese community, saying little about the East Timorese response. There may be others.]

East Timor – Hundreds of Indonesians are waiting to escape the latest racial flash-point in East Timor on the eve of UN-organised talks.

The fatal stabbing of a Timorese by an ethnic Indonesian last week triggered new disturbances and further complicated the search for a solution.

Since the killing in Baucau on 1 January, the remnants (sic) of around 700 Indonesian Buginese traders and there families (does this mean several thousand people?) have gone into a military base. Most say they cannot stay in the town they have called home for more than a decade.

The Timorese and his Buginese attacker were killed. According to independent sources another three were killed by security forces after a mob torched two markets. Local youths were said to have set light to stalls run by Indonesians with the owners still in them. The official death toll however remains at three, with only one shot dead.

Indonesia has encouraged thousands of its citizens to move to East Timor.

"Before we were kind to each other but now, I don't know," said Syamsuddin, a trader from Sulawesi who was attacked in the disturbances and took shelter in the army base with ten of his family.

"If there is a way, I want to go now," he said. The local government has offered to repatriate all those ruined by the troubles.

Baucau military commander, Lt. Col. Sulisty said a new town market would be built where one of the two markets were burnt.

The situation remained tense Sunday with some local people, who requested anonymity, saying security forces continued house to house searches for the ring leaders of the disturbances. The military say four people have been arrested, with two released Wednesday to the International Red Cross.

According to Reuter:

For East Timorese battered by a new wave of unrest, the UN-brokered talks beginning Monday in Geneva seem a very long way off.

New Year's Day riots in at least three separate towns shattered Jakarta's efforts to promote an image of fostering reconciliation while senior East Timorese figures are scathing when they talk about the Geneva meeting.

"I do not expect any substantial progress out of the meeting but I still hope the big countries will not go on treading on small ethnic groups such as the East Timorese," said Florentino Sarmiento, head of a local aid agency, in an interview here.

The talks will be held in the shadow of renewed ethnic and civil clashes in Dili and at least two other towns, Ermera and Dili, in which at least five people have died, according to East Timorese and aid sources.

Baucau was quiet but tense Sunday morning with 700 Bugis immigrants (not families, according to Reuter) holed up in the military camp for safety.

Troops fired on unarmed youths in the Baucau incident on New Year's Day, causing some of the casualties, witnesses say.

Dili itself was quiet after what residents said was a clash in the early hours of the New Year between civilian intelligence agents and local villagers, apparently sparked by a stone-throwing incident. Several people were injured.

Military spokesman Major L. Simbolon said: "Generally the people of East Timor are okay; some don't like the Indonesians, but they are a few." He said more than 15 Indonesian soldiers had been disciplined and five discharged for breaches of discipline in the past few years.

Many East Timorese are more skeptical, questioning Indonesia's efforts to woo overseas Timorese and its focus on international forums to gain legitimacy for its 19-year old rule. They point to the absence of any East Timorese residents in its territory or in Indonesia, including those supporting Jakarta, at the Geneva talks.

RADIO AUSTRALIA ON MONDAY'S EVENTS IN DILI

Radio Australia newscasts, Jan 9.

Radio Australia quoted the Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor as saying that President Suharto had rejected the idea of autonomy or special status for East Timor last May, when the governor had proposed those options in a meeting with Suharto. The governor's remarks were said to be in response to a snap demonstration at East Timor University today, in which about 30 demonstrators unfurled pro-independence banners and shouted slogans to mark the beginning of the talks in Geneva between Portugal and Indonesia. The students were reported to have escaped before the Indonesian security forces arrived and sealed off the campus.

In a later newscast, it was reported that four Australian citizens who observed the demonstration at ETU had been hustled to the airport by security forces and put on a plane to Kupang. A spokesman for the Indonesian government said the four had been expelled from East Timor "for their own safety."

CNRM STATEMENT ON VIOLENCE AND TRANSMIGRATION

STATEMENT ON CONTINUING URBAN VIOLENCE IN EAST TIMOR AND INDONESIAN TRANSMIGRATION POLICIES CONDEMNATION; CALL FOR UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RAPORTEURS' VISIT

From José Ramos-Horta, Sydney, Jan. 9.

The Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia meet on 9 January for their fifth round of UN-sponsored talks on East Timor while widespread urban violence rocks the territory. Ongoing brutality by the Indonesian military authorities uses local protest actions against aggression of East Timorese by Indonesian transmigrants as a pretext to commit further massacres of the local population.

These actions take place while Foreign Minister Alatas again unabashedly professes Indonesia's commitment towards a confidence building process with Portugal. The cunning Foreign Minister even dares to criticise Lisbon, for its continuing exposure of the woeful situation in East Timor, as supposedly failing to reciprocate in the confidence-building process. This way Alatas tries to hedge against the likely failure of the 9 January Geneva talks, despite his earlier pretense to have been seeking a

genuine solution to the increasingly costly and damaging issue. If they fail, it will have been brought about solely by Jakarta's recalcitrant disregard for their international, Constitutional and moral obligations.

It is clear that Jakarta's understanding of 'confidence-building' is limited to recruiting governments into a conspiracy of silence about the true East Timor situation. The persistent Indonesian attempts include a variety of ruses such as the 'diplomatic' initiatives of General Suharto's daughter Tutut, backed by his protégé and Military foe, Technology Minister Habibie. It is heartening that Portugal has so far retained its integrity with regards to its obligations towards East Timor. Unfortunately, in contrast, Jakarta's perfidy seems to have succeeded with the craven Australian government.

GROWTH IN URBAN VIOLENCE

The National Council of Maubere Resistance expresses its profound alarm at the rapid growth of violence among the urban civilian population in East Timor in recent months. The serious incidents in Dili last November, witnessed by a large number of foreign observers, have been followed in recent days by equally violent clashes in the town of Baucau, as well as clashes in Ermera, Viqueque, Same, and Liquica. Using the excuse of protecting public order from inter-ethnic conflict, the occupying Indonesian military has again reacted with murderous intentions against the East Timorese population. Reports of latest casualties of military violence vary, in the absence of independent verification possibilities. While the military, as usual, attempt to minimize the figures, human rights organisations in Jakarta put death totals well above 20. Verification is made even more difficult by the carting off in military vehicles of the dead and wounded, who then 'disappear.'

NEW MASSACRE IN BAUCAU

CNRM particularly denounces the latest military violence against the East Timorese population of Baucau. CNRM has learned that on 2 January another major civilian massacre has been avoided, only because of a terrain feature. Local people, angry that Indonesian trans-migrants had killed two people the day before, assembled in front of the church for a meeting. The unjust response of the authorities was to order troops to deliberately fire into the crowd. Massive deaths were only avoided by the fact that most people were able to seek refuge behind a small hill. The number of deaths, estimated by some sources at above 20, make it yet another massacre.

Only some two weeks ago, the report of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial,

Summary and Arbitrary Executions of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye, confirmed that the massacre of unarmed civilians at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, on 12 November 1991, was a premeditated action ordered by the highest Indonesian authorities. It expressed concern that the conditions which allowed the Dili killings to take place still persist in East Timor. Last week's massacre in Baucau vindicates Mr. Bacre Ndiaye's concerns.

ILLEGAL POPULATION TRANSFER POLICIES

The recent urban violence points to a new dimension of the East Timor drama, which has been gathering salience in the last few years. This is the impact of the illegal population transfer policies of the Jakarta government, aimed at changing the demographic composition of the East Timorese population. This is pursued in gross violation of accepted international norms on population transfers in occupied territories. Jakarta's prime aim has been to serve its political objective of integrating the territory, despite the profound rejection, even after 19 years, among the local population.

The flood of official as well as private transmigrants taking place since the early 1990s has been consistently denounced, by the East Timorese, NGOs, Churches, and a variety of others, and also by the current Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor and his predecessor. The extremely negative impact on the East Timorese people has been repeatedly condemned. Results include the displacement of people from traditionally owned land by transmigrant farmers, the marginalization of East Timorese from urban economic life, their exclusion from public service jobs, and the difficulties they face in competition for places at higher education institutions. In addition, urban centres such as Dili and Baucau have experienced rapid population growth, with the new arrivals putting great pressure on existing infrastructural facilities, leading to a lowering of housing and sanitation standards.

Protection and favoritism by the authorities have encouraged many newcomers to treat the local population and its cultural and religious values with disdain. This has been repeatedly denounced in recent months by local leaders, such as Provincial Parliament representatives, former pro-integrationists and Church members. As a result, previously unknown ethnic tensions are now widespread in East Timor, adding yet another tragic dimension to the suffering of the East Timorese people under the brutal Indonesian military occupation. To compound the seriousness of the situation, le-

gitimate protests by the local population are used by the military as excuses to further repress and even massacre the local population.

The National Council of Maubere Resistance therefore expresses its profound alarm at the continuing violence against the East Timorese population caused by the 19 year-old illegal Indonesian occupation. On the specific issue of Indonesian population policies in East Timor, CNRM strongly condemns the population transfers fostered by the illegal Indonesian occupation authorities. These transfers, are the root cause of the escalating civilian violence currently in evidence in the territory. Rather than further repressive measures to control 'ethnic tensions' being taken by the authorities, it is the illegal population transfers which need urgently to be ceased.

NEED FOR HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RAPPORTEURS

The National Council of Maubere Resistance calls for the UN Commission on Human Rights to take a strong position on these and other ongoing human rights violations in East Timor at its next meeting beginning end of January in Geneva. The seriousness of the situation requires the urgent visit to East Timor of the Special Rapporteur on Torture and the Working Group on Disappearances, as recently recommended by the UN Human Rights Commission Special Rapporteur Mr. Bacre Ndiaye.

24 ARRESTED IN DILI

AP, 9 January 1995. Abridged

Comment: 1) The idea of restricting the influx of Indonesians floated by Abilio Soares may not find favour with his Indonesian masters. The governor has recently been taking what one might call a more nationalist stance to reduce tensions, but they have not been to the liking of Jakarta. The figure of 2,500 arriving each year is certainly a gross understatement of the problem. 2) Note how, once the APEC spotlight has gone, firearms are again being used. - TAPOL

East Timor - Police arrested 24 East Timorese on Monday following a melee at a university, police chief Col. Andreas Soegianto said. The demonstrators, waving anti-Indonesian and anti-integration banners broke into the university early in the day, urging students to join them. Other banners demanded freedom for rebel leader Xanana Gusmão.

A brawl (sic) erupted when the students refused to join the protest and police arrived to arrest the protesters. Shots were fired in the air to disperse the crowd.

"We will carry out a thorough investigation into the case to find out who master-minded the demonstration," the police chief said, Police patrolled the campus and others were posted at strategic points around Dili to prevent more disorders.

[Regarding the events in Baucau]

Human rights activists said security forces killed four East Timorese in quelling the riot. Troops opened fire after their commanding officer was beaten, said an activist close to the ruling Golkar party.

Governor Abilio Soares said that in an effort to minimize tensions, a regulation will soon be issued to restrict the flow of outsiders into East Timor. He said outsiders without jobs would be sent back to their provinces. About 2,500 come to the remote island each year

WIDESPREAD TENSION IN EAST TIMOR

The following report was received by fax at TAPOL early 10 January 1995 from someone identifying himself only as a young Timorese who has just returned to Jakarta from East Timor. The report was written in English and has been slightly edited, for clarity:

The residents of East Timor are very agitated, because of the activities of the Indonesian army and its intelligence. They are spying on all the activities of individuals and groups and are visible almost everywhere in Dili. They continuously patrol the streets in groups of between 10 and 12, armed with sticks 1 metre long; some wear black jackets with an eagle's wings logo, others wear red jackets with yellow stripes with the word keamanan (security) emblazoned on the front.

Since the incident at Becora market on 12 November last year, all the residents but especially the youth, are worried about further persecution. There is widespread fear of systematic arrests, torture and killings by army personnel.

Christmas could not be properly celebrated. Most people preferred to stay at home rather than visit relatives and friends. Only those connected with the military enjoyed privileges (to celebrate). On Christmas Day and New Year's Day, the military engaged in provocative activities. A fully-armed riot brigade with six to eight vehicles patrolled around the churches, the Vila Verde Cathedral and in Becora and Motael, provoking those who attended mass.

On 9 January, the day of the tripartite talks in Geneva, there was widespread anxiety of a terrible incident, recalling the bloody events of 20 years ago when Indonesia invaded East Timor. People feared that

this could bring economic stagnation or worse. In preparation for this day, residents hoarded food, anticipating the worst.

Because of the terror, educational activities have been suspended, as well as other governmental and private activities. Some people still go to work but there is fear on their faces. Some 2,000 Chinese families have decided to flee to Australia.

This atmosphere is the result of military operations. Whereas previously there were 15 battalions conducting military operations in East Timor, the number has been increased following the Becora incident. At the end of November, more troops landed. There are now seven battalions of red-beret (Kopassus). Some landed secretly in Lospalos while others arrived publicly on 3 January 1995 at 10 am in Dili. Along with them came heavy equipment, including heavy artillery and tanks, which reached Dili in convoy from Kupang. There was a military ceremony to welcome these new arrivals at 9 am on 4 January: Colonel Kiki Syahnakri (the military commander) was the inspector of the parade.

Following these new arrivals, an 'identity card operation' has been started. This has had the effect of preventing villagers from going to Dili because military personnel are blocking entry points and controlling all newcomers. This happened in Tibar, west of Dili, in Marbia on the south, and Herametinaro on the east. Anyone, men and women, wanting to enter is being forced to undress. The controls apply only to Timorese. Anyone found not in possession of an ID is arrested and tortured.

The worst conditions of all have been experienced by people who were arrested after the 12 November 1991 event, as well as by freedom fighters. These have been summoned and interrogated by Satuan Gabungan Inteligen/SGI. They include: Mahunu, Mahudu, Alexo Cobra, Dr. Mathias, Ze Manuel. Activists who were involved in the Cathedral demonstration in Dili on 18 November 1994 have also been arrested and tortured. They include Bobby Xavier, 21, who lives in Matadouru; he was picked up in the night of 27 December 1994 by intelligence agents and has been in custody ever since. It has been difficult for his family to visit him. Intelligence agents are meanwhile monitoring and torturing other activists. What usually happens is that before picking up the person, the SGI dispatch the local intelligence - MAUHU - [The Tetum word used for locally recruited intelligence agents. The word actually means 'to spit poison like a snake.'] to visit the homes of the victims.

There has been a heightened level of detaining and torturing members of the Clandestine. A man named Henrique Belmiro,

43, who lives in Bairo Pita, was detained. He has sustained injuries to his legs and arms and has seven 'knits' [stitches?] in his temple.

Conditions in other places such as Baucau, Same, Lospalos, Viqueque and Ermera are even worse. It is very risky for any Timorese to take the long journey to Dili. Some people have gone missing when making such journeys. The only people here who are monitoring the human rights situation are two officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

All this military terror means that the people of East Timor are losing their Loro Sae (their name for the motherland).

AI URGENT ACTION ON DILI ARRESTS

EXTERNAL (for general distribution) AI
Index: ASA 21/06/95

Distr.: UA/SC
11 January 1995

UA 05/95 Fear of torture/arbitrary detention
INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR José Antonio
Belo and 23 others

Twenty-four East Timorese youths have been detained during a pro-democracy demonstration at the University of East Timor in Dili. Two were reportedly badly beaten on arrest, heightening fears that the detainees may be ill-treated or tortured in custody. Amnesty International is also concerned that some of the 24 may have been detained solely for the peaceful expression of their beliefs.

On 9 January 1995, about 30 East Timorese youths began a pro-independence demonstration around the university. Details of the demonstration are still unclear, but eyewitnesses reported that a group of about 30 youths held banners and shouted slogans denouncing East Timor's integration into Indonesia. Shortly after the protest began, riot police and plainclothes security forces arrived and arranged for the departure of up to 100 students who were inside the campus at the time of the demonstration.

Eyewitnesses then saw at least two of the demonstrators being forced by plainclothes officers into security forces' vehicles. One of the youths has been identified as José Antonio Belo. The witnesses claim that the two were beaten inside the vehicles before being driven away.

After dispersing the demonstration, a regional military spokesman for East Timor acknowledged that 24 East Timorese were being held for questioning while an investigation is conducted into the demonstration.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Since November 1994, there have been increased, and sometimes violent, demonstrations against Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The authorities have responded to the demonstrations with arbitrary detention, including detention of peaceful protesters, and beatings and torture. Over 100 East Timorese were arrested following November demonstrations and some 25 to 30 are believed to be still detained and may face trial. Concern for those detained on 9 January is heightened by reports that some of those detained following the November demonstrations were beaten in military detention and several were allegedly subjected to electric shocks. They were also reportedly denied access to lawyers and their families.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and airmail letters either in Bahasa Indonesia or in your own language:

- expressing concern that 24 East Timorese, arrested during a demonstration at the University of East Timor in Dili on 9 January 1995, appear to have been detained for the peaceful expression of their beliefs;
- expressing concern at the reports of two of those detained being beaten on arrest, and seeking assurances that the 24 are now being treated humanely in accordance with international standards;
- urging the authorities to clarify the identity and whereabouts of the 24 under police detention;
- urging that the authorities allow access for those in detention to the International Committee of the Red Cross, lawyers and their families;
- urging that the authorities immediately and unconditionally release those who are being held for the peaceful expression of their beliefs.

APPEALS TO:

Chief of Police for East Timor:

Lt. Col. Sugianto Andreas
[Salutation: Dear Lieutenant-Colonel]
Kapolda Timor Timur, Dili. East Timor,
Indonesia

Telegrams: Kapolda Timor Timur, Dili,
East Timor

Military Commander for IX/Udayana:

(covers Bali, Lombok, Nusa Tenggara and
East Timor)

Brig. Gen. R. Adang Ruchiatna
[Salutation: Dear Brigadier-General]
Pangdam IX/Udayana

Markas Besar KODAM IX/Udayana
Denpasar. Bali, Indonesia

Telegrams: Pangdam IX/Udayana, Denpasar, Bali, 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: 01062 21 36 0517

Chair of the 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) 01062 21 314 1625

FOREIGN VISITORS TO BE SCREENED

UPI, 11 January 1995. By Sukino Harismarto, Abridged. [With news of a new build-up of troops in East Timor it is feared that the army of occupation is planning a new crackdown. TAPOL]

Jakarta – Alarmed by a string of anti-government protests, the government has announced plans to tightly screen foreign citizens seeking to visit East Timor, a military spokesman said Wednesday. Major L. Simbolon, the military spokesman in East Timor said, as quoted by East Java's Jawa Pos newspaper that the screening against foreign visitors was important because the presence of foreigners always causes trouble, "particularly the security order."

Indonesian authorities have recently accused foreign journalists of fueling the recent waves of protests in East Timor and already expelled 10 journalists from the troubled province (sic) during the past two months. He said a concrete example was the holding of pro-independence banners in front of a Catholic church in Dili last November, adding that at the time foreign journalists brought the posters and gave them to the East Timorese youths and then took pictures for publication.

He said every foreign citizen wishing to visit East Timor, either journalists or tourists, would be "watched out and screened carefully," before being allowed to enter and stay.

Simbolon's statement came just two days after a pro-independence demonstration took place in Dili, hours before the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal held talks in Geneva on the future of East Timor, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General.

On Monday, the military authorities in East Timor expelled four foreign tourists, three Australian men and one Dutch woman, who were present at that day's demonstration in and around the campus of the University of East Timor.

ALARM OVER EAST TIMOR CURBS

The Irish Times, 13 Jan. 1995

DUBLIN: East Timor resistance solidarity groups in the west have expressed alarm at the announcement this week that foreigners wishing to visit the disputed territory as tourists will be heavily screened, writes Clair Crawford.

A spokesperson for the Indonesian embassy in London said the restriction would not affect journalists who went through the official channels and applied for working visas.

SOURCE; RTE RADIO AND THE ASTRA SATELLITE TO EUROPE, JAN 13. PROGRAMME; MORNING IRELAND

ANCHORMAN; DAVID SHANLEY

We move now to East Timor, so far and so neglected, not to say ignored by the western media. Ten journalists have been expelled from East Timor in the past two months which may partly explain the seeming indifference of the west. Tom Hyland, co-ordinator of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign is here with us now.

First of all Tom on that question of the indifference, or seeming indifference, of the west is it just that, so far away?

Tom Hyland; Well, I think that there are a number of reasons. It is far away, and in Ireland we have never had that much contact with that region, we have no missionary or expatriate people there, but one of the other problems is that the difficulties of East Timor has been compounded by western intervention in its backing of Indonesia with military supplies and trade. I think that may explain some of the difficulties we encounter.

David Shanley; So its not indifference, there is an approach that supports the Indonesians.

Tom Hyland; People have asked me why the west intervene. In effect they have intervened, when they have supplied the weapons for the genocide that has taken place in East Timor.

David Shanley; There's been a massacre (Santa Cruz) and there is a rumour that there may be another massacre.

Tom Hyland; We are extremely worried by the latest developments. In effect we have heard that more Indonesian troops are arriv-

ing in East Timor. Added to this the Indonesian government have announced that they are going to place restrictions on foreign journalists and tourists. I also feel that we must remember that six western journalist have died in trying to bring out the story of what has happened to the people in East Timor. And this latest development is most worrying.

David Shanley; What's our own government's record in this respect?

Tom Hyland; I think that the Irish government have played a very good role in this matter. They have raised the issue with the Indonesian government and particularly at the European Union, where decision are made, they have been to the front in bringing up the issue of East Timor. But I have to say that the real power-brokers, Britain, Germany and France are the main suppliers of weapons and I think that Ireland is seen to play a minor role.

David Shanley; What can we do?

Tom Hyland; I feel that we have to put pressure and in effect plead with Dick Spring to go to the Council Of Ministers, sit down and say that that situation in East Timor is an indignity and atrocity that cannot be tolerated any longer, and if need be we have to break with European policy in this matter.

David Shanley; They won't do this will they?

Tom Hyland; Well they may do. We can only hope that, depending on how Dick Spring approaches this, if he does as I have suggested they may in fact listen.

David Shanley; Tom Hyland, co-ordinator of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign thank you for coming into studio.

SIX TIMORESE PRISONERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

TAPOL Report, 15 January 1995

According to a report in the Indonesian daily Suara Merdeka (which we have been informed about but have not seen), the six East Timorese political prisoners now being held at Kedungpane Prison, Semarang, started a hunger strike on 9 January, the day talks took place in Geneva between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers, under the aegis of the UN Secretary-General.

Information reached TAPOL earlier of the intention of the six prisoners to start a hunger strike, the primary purpose being to demand transfer back to Dili, to be near their families, ending their seven months-long isolation.

The six political prisoners are: Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha who is serving a life sentence, Francisco Miranda Branco, who is serving 15 years, Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves, who is serving 10 years, Filomeno da Silva Ferreira, serving 5 years and 8 months, Saturnino da Costa Belo, serving 10 years, and Juvencio de Jesus, serving six years and ten months. They were suddenly transferred from Dili to Kedungpane in May 1994, just a few weeks before the UN Special Rapporteur on Extra-judicial, Summary and Arbitrary Killings visited Dili to examine Indonesia's handling of the investigation of the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991, making it impossible for him to interview them. [The Special Rapporteur stated in his report that their removal made it impossible for him to speak to them directly, though he did send a member of his team to see them.]

According to information reaching TAPOL, the six prisoners have written three times to the Director for Prisons, Baharuddin Lopa (who is also secretary of the country's National Commission on Human Rights) requesting transfer back to a prison in Dili but they have not received any reply.

Before commencing the strike, the six made known their views on several important issues:

1. They welcomed the willingness of President Suharto, made public by Lopez da Cruz, to hold dialogue with the East Timor resistance, adding that this could only be taken seriously at home and by the international community if there was dialogue with the legitimate leader of the resistance, Xanana Gusmão, because he is the only leader recognised by the people of East Timor, and also by the national political forces, the UDT and Fretilin as well as by the pro-integrationist Apodeti.

2. They hoped that the Indonesian Foreign Minister would give substance to the 6 May 1994 statement of the two foreign ministers in Geneva, to show Indonesia's seriousness in resolving the question of East Timor.

3. They urged the Indonesian government to conduct a new investigation of the 12 November 1991 massacre, involving independent and international experts.

4. They asked the Indonesian government to return the bodies of the victims of the 12 November massacre to their families for proper burial in accordance with East Timorese tradition.

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This report is being made as the six men enter the second week of their hunger strike. Given that access to Kedungpane Prison is extremely difficult, it will prove very difficult to monitor the progress of their strike.

For action in support of the demand of the six prisoners to be moved back to Dili, please fax: Mr. Baharuddin Lopa, Director-General for Prisons, Ministry of Justice, Fax no: +62-21 310 4149.

MORE INDONESIAN LIES: MILITARY MURDERS 6 EAST TIMORESE CIVILIANS; 4 ABRI TROOPS KILLED

CNRM Media release, 17 Jan. 1995, Sydney

On 13 January the Indonesian news-agency ANTARA distributed a release quoting Indonesian military source (ABRI) claims that 6 East Timorese resistance fighters had been shot dead by Indonesian troops. It was alleged that "the rebels were trapped after a battle with government troops" (*The Guardian*, London, 14/1/95(AP)). The item was published world-wide.

The events that actually took place on 12 January once again confirm the total lack of credibility of Indonesian reports. It is again evident that only lies emanate from Jakarta on the dirty war its troops conduct in East Timor.

According to Church sources, whose name can not be revealed to protect their security, what actually happened was:

Indonesian troops, unsuccessful at looking for guerrilla fighters supposedly active in the region between Liquiça and Maubara, executed by shooting six young East Timorese civilian males they suspected of supporting the resistance. The victims are: José Nunes (35 years) Village Head (Kepala Kampung) of Gariana; Abel Nunes (20) Village Head of Bauboa (Bahuboa?) - Maubara; Victor (24) of Gariana-Maubara; Augusto Pinto Nunes (20) of Gariana; Americo Araujo (20) of Leotila-Liquiça; Osorio Soares (20) of Leotila-Liquiça.

These people were murdered by two soldiers of KODIM (local military command) of Liquiça Benny Kilo and Pavo Leotela, commanded by First Lieutenant Jeremias Kase, KASI I - (Intelligence First Assistant) of Liquiça.

The same day there was indeed an armed clash between the East Timorese Resistance Army Falintil and ABRI troops in Goana near Lois. As a result a young guerrilla fighter was injured in the hip and four Indonesian soldiers were killed.

Further news from Dili indicate that well known East Timorese former political prisoner David Ximenes of Dili is being harassed by the Indonesian military intelligence. They are looking for pretexts to arrest him after arresting and severely torturing his neighbour Enrique Belmiro on suspi-

cion of organising demonstrations last 12 November in Dili.

AI ALERT ON CELSO OLIVEIRA

AI UA011/95 INDONESIA Detention

AI Index: ASA 21/07/95
16 January 1995

INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR "Rui" Celso Oliveira, 23, human rights activist

East Timorese Celso Oliveira has been arrested in Jakarta after sending information overseas about the situation in East Timor. Celso was reportedly arrested without a warrant, and Amnesty International is concerned that he may be being held solely because of his peaceful activities in opposition to Indonesian rule of East Timor, and in particular, the dissemination of information concerning human rights. The organization urges that Celso be provided with immediate access to lawyers of his own choice.

Celso Oliveira was arrested around 11am on 13 January 1995 after a security guard in a bookshop handed him over to police. It is believed that Celso was then transferred from police custody to Jakarta's regional military intelligence headquarters, Bakorstanasda. At the time of his arrest Celso Oliveira was carrying a document describing the current atmosphere in East Timor which he had distributed to human rights organizations in Indonesia and overseas.

It is believed that lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum), LBH, are currently negotiating with the authorities to visit Celso Oliveira in military custody. Just prior to his arrest Celso Oliveira stated that he had been visited twice by the military at his home in Dili, East Timor, although the reason for their inquiries was not clear.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The arrest of Celso Oliveira is consistent with a pattern of short-term and arbitrary detention of real or alleged opponents to Indonesian rule of East Timor. Thousands of East Timorese have been held without charge or trial for periods ranging from a few days to several months, since late 1991. Many have been denied access to their relatives and lawyers and some are known to have been ill-treated and tortured. Others have been tried and sentenced for their peaceful activities. José Antonio Neves (see UA 198/94, 23 May 1994, and follow-ups ASA 21/15/94, 2 June; ASA 21/23/94, 20 June; ASA 21/26/94, 27 June) is currently being tried on charges of anti-government activities, in part because of attempts to send information about human rights viola-

tions in East Timor to foreign organizations. A verdict for Neves is expected this month.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/express and airmail letters either in English, Bahasa Indonesia or in your own language:

- expressing concern that Celso Oliveira was arrested on 13 January 1995 without an arrest warrant, and that he may have been detained solely for his peaceful activities in opposition to the Indonesian Government;
- urging that he be immediately and unconditionally released, unless he is to be charged with a recognisably criminal offence under existing laws;
- urging the authorities to ensure that Celso Oliveira has immediate access to lawyers of his own choice.

APPEALS TO:

Minister of Justice: Haji Utoyo Usman SH [Salutation: Dear Minister Utoyo Usman] Menteri Kehakiman Jl Rasuna Said Kav 6-7 Kuningan Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia Faxes: 01062 21 314 1625 Telegrams: Menteri Kehakiman, Jakarta, Indonesia

Military Commander for Region X/Jakarta Raya (covers Greater Jakarta): Maj. Gen. Wiranto [Salutation: Dear Maj. Gen. Wiranto] Pangdam X/Jakarta Raya Markas Besar KODAM X/Jaya Jl. Mayjen Sutoyo Jakarta, Indonesia Telegrams: Pangdam X/Jakarta Raya, Jakarta 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: 01062 21 36 0517

Chair of the 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 01062 21 314 1625

FROM SYDNEY JONES, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

Celso Ximenes de Oliveira, aged 22, the East Timorese arrested in the Gunung Agung bookstore in Senen, Jakarta, last week, was carrying documents with him from Konis Santana, as well as an infight publication and the White Book on the June press bannings. Customers are apparently supposed to check their bags at Gunung Agung, and when he walked into the store without doing so, the Satpam got him. Celso's father, Dominggos Ximenes, was an Apodeti member; his mother works at the East Timorese house in Taman Mini. It is not yet clear where he was being detained; there was some fear he had been taken to Kramat V, the military intelligence interroga-

tion center, but there is no confirmation of that.

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

VOA: RIGHTS SITUATION WORSENS – YLBHI

Voice of America, 12/9/94

By Yenni Djahidin (not voiced), Jakarta

Intro: the leading human rights organization in Indonesia says conditions in that country got worse in 1994, and it has called on the government to ease some restrictions. Yenni Djahidin filed this report from Jakarta.

Text: in its annual review of human rights conditions in Indonesia, the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Foundation says its assessment was based on four indicators.

They are restrictions on freedom of assembly and opinion, government attitudes toward mass and political organizations, the use of criminal legal procedures to limit political activities, and the use of violence.

The executive director of the Legal Aid Foundation, Mulyana Kusumah, spoke to reporters in Jakarta to release the report in advance of World Human Rights Day.

In my opinion, the condition of human rights in Indonesia during 1994 was a setback compared to 1993 based on the four indicators.

He says that since Indonesia is now playing a greater international and economic role – as underscored by its recent hosting of Asia-Pacific meetings – it should change its approaches toward civil liberties.

He urged the government to ratify international conventions on civil and political rights. Indonesia has ratified just four of 25 international conventions dealing with human rights.

Indonesia continues to face criticism from human rights groups and foreign governments over worker's rights and a crackdown on the media.

In November, the government announced a new program aimed at improving worker's rights. Minimum wage increases are being implemented gradually in various regions.

However, the leader of the largest independent labor union, Mughtar Pakpahan, is serving a jail sentence after being convicted on charges he led worker unrest in the city of Medan.

The government also continues to be criticized for its banning of three popular publications (*DeTik*, *Editor*, and *Tempo*) earlier, which journalists say ended a period of openness.

On the eve of world human rights day, the Jakarta-based Center for the Study of Human Rights also released a statement critical of government policies.

The Center's chairman, Todung Mulya Lubis, said an award would be presented (Saturday) to a lawyer who defended Yudi Susanto – a factory owner who was sentenced last year to 17 years for the murder of a labor activist (Marsinah).

A higher court later overturned the sentence. Eight other people on trial in connection with the case retracted confessions saying they were obtained under torture.

Legal activists say the labor activist was killed in a military installation and say the police should open a new case.

VOA: CHECHNYA AND EAST TIMOR

Voice of America, 12/20/94. By Yenni Djahidin, Jakarta

Intro: in continuing reaction to the situation in Chechnya, Indonesian students demonstrated in Jakarta Tuesday to protest Russia's military attack. Yenni Djahidin filed this report on the protest in the Indonesian capital:

Text: About 100 students came from universities in Jakarta and elsewhere in Java. They carried banners condemning Russian attacks in Chechnya and demanding a withdrawal of Russian troops.

Among the slogans on the banners were: Russia give Chechnya rights and freedom – and Russia get out of Chechnya.

The students also called on the Indonesian government, the Islamic conference organization and the 111-member non-aligned movement to help Chechnya gain independence.

During a visit to Indonesia earlier this month, the Russian parliament's deputy speaker compared the action taken by Moscow in Chechnya with Indonesia's actions in East Timor in 1976. Jakarta took control of the former Portuguese colony, by force.

The demonstrators rejected that statement. One of the banners in Tuesday's protest read – East Timor is integration, Chechnya is invasion.

The protesters also condemned Russian policy in Bosnia, accusing Moscow of, in their words: helping the Serbs in the assassination of Muslims in Bosnia.

The demonstration outside the Russian embassy dispersed peacefully after about one hour.

Earlier this month, students in Jakarta and Bandung staged demonstrations against Serb attacks on Bosnian Muslims and demanded an immediate lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia.

Indonesia – the world’s most-populous Muslim country – is one of seven members of a contact group of the Islamic conference organization dealing with Bosnia.

ABILIO ARAUJO TO THANK SUHARTO

Forum Keadilan, 22 Dec. 1994. Abridged

The following extracts are taken from an interview of Abilio Araujo, shortly after he arrived in Jakarta:

Q: How are your connections with Ramos Horta?

A: I don’t have any problems with Horta, but maybe he has problems with me. In 1989, he left Fretilin because he wanted to have an election for chairman and he rejected my leadership. I was elected chair of Fretilin in 1984 by a Fretilin Congress. At the time, Xanana Gusmão was a member of the congress. When Xanana left Fretilin, he appointed Horta as his deputy. So, I am the one who was lawfully elected by the congress.

He (Horta) was never elected. I don’t want to speak to anyone who has no base. If there are new elections, I’m fully prepared to run against Horta.

Q: Is it true that you are regarded as a traitor by the Horta group?

A: I spent my whole youth fighting for East Timor. A grandparent of mine died in the Portuguese colonial war. My father was murdered in that war. In 1978, a brother disappeared after surrendering to the Indonesian army. Two other grandparents-in-law were murdered during that war. It’s now time to say: “We’ve had enough war!”

Q: When are you going to meet President Suharto?

A: Most probably after the New Year.

Q: What do you want to convey to him?

A: I will show my appreciation for the support President Suharto gave, from the very start, to the initiative I launched for reconciliation talks. I have confidence in the Indonesian government and I am grateful for the positive things that have been done during the past twenty years in East Timor. The reconciliation process is an opportunity for East Timorese abroad to make a contribution to the development of East Timor

TIMORESE ARRESTED IN JAKARTA, WEST PAPUA

TAPOL Report, 13 January 1995

A reliable human rights contact in Jakarta today told TAPOL that an East Timorese named Celso Oliveira, 23, was arrested at

the Gunung Agung Bookshop, Kwitang, Jakarta this morning.

It is not clear whether he is currently a resident in Jakarta or in Dili.

He was arrested by a member of the store’s security, SATPAM, handed on to the Jakarta regional military command and taken to the interrogation centre in Kramat Lima. It is more than likely that he will have immediately been subjected to torture.

Our contact said the security authorities had found a document in his possession which details recent events in East Timor and which had been faxed to a number of human rights organisations overseas, including TAPOL.

This may have been the document that was posted on reg.easttimor several days ago, entitled ‘Widespread tension in East Timor.’

There are fears that this will develop into a case like that of José Antonio Neves who is now on trial in Malang, East Java, on charges of rebellion.

Meanwhile, we have just learnt that the daily, Kompas, reported on 5 January the arrest in West Papua of three East Timorese on 28 December, as they were trying to flee Indonesia and go to Australia.

According to Major-Gen. Ketut Wirdhana, commander of the Trikora military command covering Maluku and Irian Jaya, the three had come to Sorong for a match with a local team but remained there after the team left for home and “obtained identity cards, certificates of good conduct, birth certificates and passports to escape to Australia.” They were arrested before being able to leave Sorong. He alleged that one of the three had taken part in an anti-integration demonstration in Dili.

They were being handed over to the Udayana military command based in Bali which covers East Timor

RAP R.I.P.

The Guardian, 14 January 1995. By: Tom Bussmann (Zeitgeist column)

Indonesia might not be top of your list for a peaceful holiday, but wait. According to Bisnis Indonesia, the research and technology minister, Jusuf Habibie, has condemned rap music, saying it was decadent. What’s more, it ‘must not be allowed to enter Indonesia’s culture.’ Declaring the country a rap-free zone will do much to assert the quality of Indonesian civilization, and go far to outweigh the occasional decadent, uncultured slaughter of the odd half a million East Timorese.

ADITJONDRO HARASSMENT CONTINUES

INDONESIAN SUPPORTER OF EAST TIMORESE INDEPENDENCE

By Max Lane, Green Left #169, Nov. 30

Indonesian dissident academic George Aditjondro addressed a meeting of more than 60 East Timorese at Cabramatta Community Centre on November 22. The meeting was chaired by the president of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), João Carrascalão. Representatives of Fretilin also attended the meeting.

Aditjondro, on a visit to Australia, earlier spoke at the Northern Territory University, a Rainbow Alliance meeting in Melbourne and other functions.

Aditjondro assure the East Timorese of his continuing support for the East Timorese cause. He reiterated his argument that current Indonesian policy is not in accord with the Indonesian constitution and not in the interests of either the East Timorese or Indonesian people.

He explained that only a small handful of Indonesians, mostly related to top officials, benefit from the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, through the operations of the Bhatara Indra Company, which controls most of East Timorese trade and commerce.

Aditjondro has called for direct talks between the Indonesian government and Xanana Gusmão, as the central leader of the East Timorese resistance. He has opposed the current talks between the government and pro-“integration” East Timorese Abilio Araujo. On November 19, he told Sinar magazine in Jakarta that only Xanana Gusmão can talk on behalf of the East Timorese movement.

He also told Sinar that these talks should include a discussion of how sovereignty can be transferred to East Timor. “A referendum is the way,” Aditjondro stated.

When Aditjondro repeated this call for a referendum in Australia, the suggestion was immediately rejected by Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans. According to Evans, Indonesia has to change its policies so as to better facilitate “reconciliation” in East Timor. The ALP government would do nothing which would “help raise unrealistic expectations” of independence.

In the meantime, Indonesians raising their voice in support of the East Timorese resistance movement do so at considerable cost. Aditjondro has already suffered considerable

harassment. On October 22 the authorities formally charged Aditjondro, a lecturer at the Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, Central Java, with "insulting the Indonesian government." If convicted, he could face a one-month jail term.

The "insult" is supposed to have occurred during a seminar last August at the Indonesia Islamic University titled "The Urgency of Political Development in the Process of Democracy in Indonesia." Aditjondro is alleged to have made the remarks while he analyzed papers by retired General Sumitro, who was the head of the much feared intelligence agency Kopkamtib (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) and former minister of home affairs Rudini.

Aditjondro, who will be defended by the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH), said he planned to summon both Sumitro and Rudini as well as outspoken legislator Sri Bintang Pamungkas, who was present at the seminar.

UPDATE ON ADITJONDRO CASE

TAPOL Report, 11 December 1994

In an interview by phone with George Aditjondro on 10 December, he told TAPOL that it appears likely that charges will be laid against him, possibly some time in the new year. His lawyers have informed him that the Yogyakarta police have been busy interrogating several people at the Universitas Islam Indonesia where he delivered the lectures that will be the subject of the charges. Several deputy deans of the university have been questioned by the police, including the one responsible for student affairs.

Once the police investigations are completed, the next step will be for them to hand the case over to the regional prosecutor (jaksa tinggi) who will be responsible for deciding whether to press charges. According to George, the regional office is likely to want to press charges, possibly aiming to limit the damage by seeking a sentence lower than the 18 months allowed under Article 207 of the Criminal Code. However, their superiors in Jakarta may have other ideas and instruct them to drop the case, not wanting to face the international campaign that could unfold around his trial.

George's defence team has been formed. It consists of five lawyers. Two are from the Yogyakarta LBH - Nur Ismanto and Artijo Alkostar, one is a private lawyer in Yogyakarta. The other two are from Jakarta: Luhut Pangaribuan of the Jakarta LBH and another well-known human rights lawyer, Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara.

Meanwhile, George will go to Malang, East Java, on 14 December, to testify for the defence in the trial of the East Timorese activist, José Antonio Neves, on trial for rebellion because he maintained contact with the outside world. He hopes that, besides helping the defendant, his appearance on the witness stand will help to draw greater attention to the trial which has hardly been mentioned in the domestic or international press.

ADITJONDRO TESTIFIES AT NEVES TRIAL

TAPOL Report, 19 December 1994

George Aditjondro, senior lecturer at the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga and Indonesia's leading activist for East Timor self-determination, testified for three hours at the trial of José Antonio Neves in Malang, East Java on 14 December.

José Antonio Neves, an East Timorese theology graduate, is on trial in Malang, accused of rebellion ('makar'), after being discovered faxing information abroad about the situation in East Timor, from a post office fax service in Malang last May. The charge carries a maximum sentence of life or twenty years.

Aditjondro was called to testify by the defence as an expert witness. He told TAPOL that he elaborated on the history of East Timor, the international status of the question of East Timor, as well as the current economic and social conditions of the people of East Timor. During his testimony, he drew comparisons between the righteous struggle of the people of East Timor and the struggles of the Palestinian people, the Saharawi people and the struggle of the people of Bosnia. He also drew comparisons with the anti-apartheid struggle of the people of South Africa.

With regard to reaching a solution for East Timor, he told the court that the talks taking place under the aegis of the UN should involve Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese resistance, who is currently serving a 20-year sentence in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta. He told the court that Xanana Gusmão is in touch with the resistance movement in East Timor, the East Timorese activists who are currently in Indonesia and the East Timorese diplomatic front overseas. When talking about Xanana Gusmão, he drew a comparison with Nelson Mandela, whose release from prison paved the way for negotiations to end the apartheid system.

He dwelt at some length on the two forces that have influenced East Timorese studying in Indonesia - the nationalist struggle of their own people and the nationalist

struggle of the Indonesian people leading to their independence declaration in August 1945. He likened East Timorese studying in Indonesia to Indonesian nationalists who studied in the Netherlands before the Pacific War and came under similar influences, their own struggle and that of the Dutch people themselves.

He also told the court that the position of the Catholic Church in East Timor changed dramatically after the invasion in 1975 because of the many attacks on the Church itself, on its buildings and the seminary in Dare. This had persuaded the Church not to support integration and to take a position supporting a referendum as a way out of the problem.

For two-and-a-half hours, Aditjondro was questioned by the defence lawyers. The presiding judge made little attempt to interfere with the presentation of his testimony. The defendant, Neves, when asked, told the court he fully agreed with Aditjondro's testimony.

For the remaining half-hour, Aditjondro was questioned by the prosecutors' team and members of the judges' panel. The prosecutors sought to discredit his information about the history of East Timor and to accuse him of not being a good patriot or nationalist. The defence lawyers intervened whenever the questioning was directed at making an attack on his integrity as an expert witness.

The hearing was well attended, with dozens of East Timorese students from several towns occupying many of the seats in the public gallery. They arrived before 'intel' officers were able to occupy most of the seats, which is what normally happens in political trials. Some Indonesian students were also present. There was a lot of cheering for Aditjondro and jeering for the prosecutors when they tried to impugn his character.

His remarks about Portugal being the Administering Power evoked a lot of cheering from the public gallery.

The only Indonesian paper to report the session was Java Pos. No international journalists were present. The only diplomat present was an official from the US consulate in Surabaya.

Two other expert witnesses had been called by the defence but neither was able to appear: Bishop Belo, and Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, a legal expert and Indonesia's former foreign minister. Mochtar had been called with reference to a standard textbook on law by him which deals at some length with the 1949 Geneva Convention on the laws of war. Mochtar stresses that the Geneva Convention is applicable to a war situation, even if one of the protagonists in

that war does not consider that a war situation exists.

Aditjondro told TAPOL that the forthcoming trial hearings are scheduled as follows:

- Wednesday, 21 December: Questioning of the defendant.
- Wednesday, 28 December: Summing up by the Prosecutor who will present his demand for a sentence ('tuntutan').
- Wednesday, 4 January: Statement by the Defence
- Wednesday, 11 January: Verdict by the court.

He told TAPOL that he thought the hearings had been postponed for the period of the APEC summit because it was feared that foreign journalists in Indonesia for that event might try to attend a court hearing.

In our experience, there could be further exchanges between the prosecution and the defence following the Statement by the Defence which could mean the Verdict being delayed.

Aditjondro also told TAPOL that he fully realizes that his decision to testify on behalf of Neves could lead the police and prosecution authorities in Central Java to pursuing his own case even more vigorously. In reply to a recent request for information from his lawyers, the Yogyakarta police said that they are continuing to prepare the case for presentation to the Prosecutor's Office who will decide whether to lay charges. He feels that the only thing likely to lessen the chances of his being formally charged is pressure on Singgih, the Attorney General.

NEW POLICE SUMMONS FOR ADITJONDRO

TAPOL Report, 23 December 1994

George Junus Aditjondro, senior lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, has just received another summons from the Yogyakarta Police to appear for interrogation at 9 am on Wednesday, 28 December 1994.

As in the previous interrogations, he is being summoned as a 'suspect' (tersangka), under Article 207, for 'offending a state authority' that carries a maximum sentence of 18 months.

When previously interrogated, Aditjondro underwent questioning that lasted for 15 hours, over two days.

On 8 December, according to a report in Jakarta Post [9 December], the police chief of Yogyakarta, Colonel Zairin Bustami, notified Aditjondro's lawyers that they were continuing to process the case and would submit the file to the prosecutor's

office. He said that the police have no intention of dropping the case because "it is so special."

Although formally speaking, the police would only be able to place Aditjondro under arrest if he were to fail to cooperate with the police in their investigation (he has cooperated throughout, in the sense of appearing when summoned), we should not disregard the possibility that the police may decide this time to keep him in custody.

The new factor that may further aggravate the case for Aditjondro is that he testified last week on behalf of José Antonio Neves who is on trial in Malang on charges of rebellion.

ADITJONDRO WANTS SUMMONS POSTPONED

TAPOL Report, 25 December 1994

George Junus Aditjondro has instructed his lawyers in Yogyakarta to notify the Yogyakarta chief of police that he is not prepared to answer the summons to appear for interrogation on 28 December.

The period from Christmas Day up to the Twelfth Day of Christmas on 6 January is sacred for Catholics and, as a practising Catholic, he cannot agree to have any interference from the authorities during those days. He will only be willing to appear after 7 January 1995.

Aditjondro will shortly be making an approach to the National Commission for Human Rights about his case. He has noted that a member of the Commission from the Diponegoro University in Semarang has initiated a series of Free Forums at the University. It is quite anomalous for him to be under investigation for speaking at a free forum at Universitas Islam Indonesia while at another university, free forums are being organised by a member of the National Commission.

AI ALERT ON POSSIBLE ADITJONDRO ARREST

FI369/94 INDONESIA POC arrest

EXTERNAL (for general distribution) AI
Index: ASA 21/05/95

Distr.: UA/SC
5 January 1995

Further information on UA 369/94 (ASA 21/45/94, 6 October 1994) and follow-up (ASA 21/46/94 12 October) - Imminent arrest as prisoner of conscience

INDONESIA Dr. George Aditjondro, academic

Dr. George Aditjondro, a prominent Indonesian academic at Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, Central Java, remains at risk of arrest for his peaceful academic and political activities. If detained he would be a prisoner of conscience.

Dr. Aditjondro is wanted for questioning 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. The pretext for the questioning appears to arise from comments Dr. Aditjondro made regarding possible scenarios for the Presidential succession in Indonesia during a penal discussion at the Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII) in Yogyakarta in August last year. 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 problems in Indonesia and East Timor and to prevent him from taking part in further peaceful activities.

Dr. Aditjondro received his first summons on 5 October 1994, requiring him to report to Yogyakarta Police on 8 October, while he was outside Indonesia. He was again summoned on 15 October and questioned over two days on 22 and 24 October. On 21 December, Dr. Aditjondro received another summons to appear for questioning on 28 December. Through his lawyers, Dr. Aditjondro argued that as a practising Christian, he should not have to be questioned over the Christmas religious holiday. On 1 January 1995, the police delivered a summons requiring Dr. Aditjondro to report to Yogyakarta police at 9 am on 7 January. However, as he may be outside Java on 7 January, it is not clear whether Dr. Aditjondro will be able to comply with the summons.

Under Indonesia's Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHP), a person suspected of having committed an offence cannot be arrested unless they have failed to comply

with legal summons on two consecutive occasions without presenting valid reasons. Dr. Aditjondro has so far complied with the legal summons with which he has been presented. Amnesty International is concerned however that, as in the case of labour leader Dr. Muchtar Pakpahan (see Amnesty International Indonesia: "Operation Cleansing," November 1994, ASA 21/50/94), the authorities may argue that Dr. Aditjondro failed to comply with the two summons dated 28 December 1994 and 7 January 1995, placing him at greater risk of arrest.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The questioning of Dr. Aditjondro is symptomatic of official harassment and intimidation of alleged government critics which escalated in the second half of last year. These measures 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.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and airmail letters:

- expressing concern that Dr. George Aditjondro remains in imminent danger of arrest for the peaceful expression of his views;

- urging that the case against Dr. Aditjondro be immediately and unconditionally dropped.

APPEALS TO:

Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Ali Alatas SH [Salutation: Dear Minister]
Menteri Luar Negeri Jl Medan Taman Pejambon No 6 Jakarta, Indonesia Faxes: 01062 21 36 0517 or 7781 or 7782 Telegrams: Foreign Minister, Jakarta, Indonesia
Attorney General:

Agung Singgih SH [Salutation: Dear Attorney General]

Jaksa Agung, Jl Sultan Hasanuddin No 1, Kebayoran Baru

Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia

Telegrams: Attorney General, Jakarta, Indonesia

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE FOLLOWING:

Chair of the 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) 01062 21 314 1625

Chief of Police Yogyakarta, Colonel (Pol) Drs. H Anwari SH

Kapolda Yogyakarta, Markas Besar Kepolisian DIY, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

COMPREHENSIVE ARTICLES & EDITORIALS

COMING YEAR 'CRUCIAL' FOR EAST TIMOR

By Arun Pradhan. *Green Left*, Dec. 4, 1994

For Helio Tavares of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), political life started young. Today a member of UDT's regional directorate, since the age of 16 he has seen his country through a civil war and an invasion by Indonesia. He has been imprisoned by Fretilin and captured by the Indonesian army. "I have seen many people killed. I was just lucky to get through unharmed," he told *Green Left Weekly*.

Many people have heard of Fretilin, but Tavares points out that the first political party formed in East Timor was UDT. "Once Fretilin changed its name from ASDT (Timorese Social Democratic Association), they became more like a radical movement than a party. UDT was a more centrist party." However, the key difference between the two lay in their attitude towards Portugal's role in independence.

"East Timor had been neglected by the Portuguese administration for so long. Even in terms of education, we had less than 10% literacy and out of them, 90% would reach primary school. Because they were a colonial power it was in their interest to keep everyone in the dark.

"UDT demanded that Portugal take up its responsibility. In a period of eight to nine years, and possibly even up to 15, we demanded that Portugal actually put in the resources to develop East Timor before we go for self-determination and independence."

Civil war

Despite their differences in January 1975, UDT and Fretilin signed a coalition agreement to strive for independence. Tavares emphasised the destabilization role Indonesia played. "They tried to divide UDT and Fretilin. There's no doubt that if we continued to work together, independence would have been more realistic."

However, the destabilization was successful. UDT withdrew from the coalition in late May and staging a coup in August. Fretilin was able to mobilise supporters in the general population and the army to defeat the coup. Many people on both sides were killed in the fighting. Tavares was one of many UDT members captured and later released in 1976, following the Indonesian invasion.

"We still believed in our nationalism, so many of the UDT members who were liberated immediately joined the armed forces to

fight the Indonesians. We had been at war with Fretilin, but there was no way we were going to accept the Indonesians."

Leaving his prison with just a pair of shorts and a shirt, Tavares travelled east with the army and ended up staying with a family he knew in the countryside. "We were under attack all the time. We were targeted by the planes, there were bombardments from warships and mortar attacks ... they couldn't tell the difference between UDT and Fretilin. As long as you were Timorese that was it!"

The community of 300 people who Tavares stayed with were soon captured by the Indonesian army. "We were on the top of a hill, and I saw the army coming. We said goodbye and then the people amongst us who were armed, left; the rest of us allowed ourselves to be captured. We were mostly women and children with no guns, so they didn't see us as a threat. We were taken to a village. We didn't get brutal treatment, but in some instances where there was a fight, the Indonesians would wipe out everyone, including civilians."

Unity in resistance

Throughout the early '80s the resistance broadened. Links between UDT and Fretilin were formalized by the signing of a Declaration of National Convergence in 1986.

"The convergence brought the parties together. Falantil [the armed forces] became non-partisan, and Xanana stepped down as leader of Fretilin. He no doubt had the same ideas as Fretilin, but he had to do it to become a leader and a symbol of the whole resistance. It got to the stage where every fighter is identified with him and he is the one that inspires everyone to continue the fight."

This unity has continued inside and outside of East Timor. On a grassroots level, activists such as Tavares work tirelessly with Fretilin activists organising protests, rallies and other events. On an international level a diplomatic delegation, which met Indonesian foreign minister Alatas a few months ago, is composed of the external leaders of the two parties and the special representative of the National Council for Maubere Resistance.

As for UDT's politics today, Tavares says, "If we look back, the only party that hasn't changed the core of their ideology is UDT. We realised early on that East Timor lacked infrastructure and had underdeveloped resources, which is why we aimed for a longer process. We were labelled, people who didn't agree with us used to say that 'UDT would eat Portuguese shit,' but we just wanted a transition period."

UDT's immediate demands include the freedom of Xanana Gusmão and that he be

involved in negotiations with Indonesia. Tavares stressed that the aim of any talks must be "total self-determination and independence. There's no way we will consider some form of autonomy as a solution."

Solidarity

Tavares emphasised the importance of solidarity in achieving independence. "Support from the Indonesian democracy movement is essential, and since the occupation of the embassy there is now greater consciousness about East Timor. I even hope that East Timor will be a major contribution to the downfall of the Suharto regime, and that the movement there uses it to bring down the government."

"Successive Australian governments have played a public relations role for Indonesia. In 1974 the capitalist world were scared that East Timor would be another Cuba, and so Australia and the United States became accomplices in the invasion. Even with APEC you can see that Australia has a lot to gain economically from the invasion. Now Evans calls for autonomy, but that is only because Indonesia is already talking about it."

"In Australia we need to continue what we've been doing in the last few years. We're working with groups such as Resistance, Aksi, the Australian East Timor Association and the Democratic Socialist Party to organise actions. This year we had the biggest demonstrations across Australia, which shows what impact we can have. The politicians in Canberra will only act when they have to, which means we have to build these things even bigger."

Still optimistic, Tavares points out the key time is yet to come. "I believe next year is crucial for the future of East Timor. In East Timor we are not just relying on the armed resistance. Resistance has become much more widespread, more generalized, and today the masses are prepared to go out and protest. At the same time, international solidarity is constantly growing."

"We are still prepared to struggle, and we won't settle for second best. It's independence or nothing!"

ASIAWEEK EDITORIAL: "TIMOR'S PAIN"

The Showy Antics of Activists Only Make It Worse

*Editorial in Asiaweek of December 7, 1994,
p 21.*

As a showstopper during the recent APEC summit in Indonesia, it was certainly effective. When 29 young East Timorese activists stormed the US embassy compound in Jakarta, a global audience bored with smiles and handshakes suddenly had something to talk about. The protestors demanded the help of US President Bill Clinton in securing the release of one of their leaders. They went on hunger strike to oblige his secretary of state, Mr. Warren Christopher, to meet with them. "America is the only superpower left in the world," said one dissident. "We think the Americans can use their influence to save the situation in East Timor."

Once again, the spotlight fell on the United States to play the earnest champion of human rights. Asserted Mr. Christopher: "The relationship between the US and Indonesia can never reach its highest level unless Americans have the confidence that there is effort here to respect human rights." He added a call for greater autonomy in East Timor. Mr. Clinton delivered the same messages to President Suharto when the two met after the APEC summit. The Indonesian leader politely but firmly rebuffed his guest. It was normal for sovereign states to differ on issues, a spokesman for Mr. Suharto afterwards quoted his boss as saying. Few Indonesians were surprised that the American intervention got nowhere.

The crux of the matter is that Washington hasn't been putting its money where its mouth is - and, increasingly, both Asians and Americans know it. Instead, the money is going into deals like a \$35-billion venture between an affiliate of US petroleum giant Exxon and Indonesia's state oil company, Pertamina. Signed the same day Mr. Clinton was dispensing his advice to Mr. Suharto, the contract is said to be one of the biggest of its kind ever, worth the equivalent of Portugal's annual budget. It was just one of seventeen major agreements signed between Indonesia and American companies on the sidelines of the summit.

By ignoring both Mr. Clinton's urgings and the protestors' demands, Indonesia essentially called America's bluff - as China had done earlier this year over the issue of most-favored-nation trading status. Both Jakarta and Beijing demonstrated that Washington's ideological posture was out of sync with its economic imperatives. Despite its complaints, the US continues to engage both

countries - and their vast markets - in trade. The latest episode in Indonesia ought to dispel lingering illusions that any foreign force, even the US, can effectively pressure Jakarta on East Timor. Mr. Clinton's assertion during a speech that human rights would be developed through increased trade and investment doubtless seemed to activists like a statement of surrender. To many others, it was a welcome acknowledgment of reality - and of the folly of curbing prosperity in pursuit of human rights. After twelve exhausting days, the Jakarta protestors earned themselves asylum in Portugal - but gained precious little for East Timor.

Their tactics proved not just ineffectual but counterproductive. The inevitable crackdowns began even before the APEC summit ended. In the next two weeks, Indonesian authorities arrested many of their compatriots and fellow dissidents. The publicity surrounding the embassy protest may have reminded the world about a festering sore. But it also embarrassed and angered Indonesia, the party East Timor can least afford to antagonize. Unlike the Portuguese, who simply abandoned their colony in 1975, Indonesia has poured huge resources into its development. It has built schools, roads, electric lines and hospitals. Indeed, Jakarta has given more attention than other province.

Of course, throwing money at a deep-rooted problem won't make it go away. The killing of demonstrators in a Dili cemetery three years ago remains a symbol of the military's contempt for the lives of ordinary East Timorese. The arrival of settlers from other parts of the nation has also alarmed local inhabitants, who have begun to feel disenfranchised not just politically but also economically. Jakarta could display more sensitivity to such concerns. Although Mr. Suharto told Mr. Clinton that East Timor shouldn't be treated differently from the rest of the country, the province's unique history and culture do require some special consideration. At the same time, the East Timorese would do themselves a big favor by accepting the fact that Jakarta is there to stay. Cooperative rather than confrontational behavior is likely to lead to improvements in the relationship. And if Indonesia is able to feel less besieged and more secure about the issue, it is more likely to ease up on military repression and, in time, agree to greater autonomy. Then all involved - the people of East Timor, the government of Indonesia and concerned parties everywhere - can finally let the curtain fall on a tiresome melodrama that is long past its natural end.

COMMENT FROM PETER WESLEY-SMITH:

I confess I find the tone of this editorial quite nauseating and I fear that my response below is inadequate. I hope others will also respond (to The Editor, *Asiaweek* Head Office, 34/F Citicorp Center, 18 Whitfield Road, Causeway Bay, Hong Kong; fax (852) 571 0916, 887 3662). My draft letter is as follows:

When a powerful neighbour, on the most specious grounds, brutally invades your homeland, murders scores of thousands of your fellow citizens, causes the deaths of scores of thousands more through famine and repression, destroys your culture, suppresses your language, overwhelms the population through migration, seizes control of the local economy, and forcibly sterilizes many of the women, the advice of *Asiaweek* editorialists is to cooperate. To protest is merely to perpetuate "a tiresome melodrama that is long past its natural end." Such is the *Asiaweek* view of East Timor, repeated most recently in the issue of December 7 (the anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975).

At the same time, former Indonesian foreign minister Mochtar is quoted as saying that outsiders ought to adopt a "hands-off policy" in East Timor, as in Cambodia whose problems "can only be solved by Cambodians."

Precisely. Let East Timor's problems be solved by East Timorese. Outsiders such as Indonesians - who have no historical, legal, moral, or other claim to East Timor - should merely "provide the conditions that will help them do that." And *Asiaweek* should stop sounding off like a branch of the Indonesian Ministry of Information.

EAST TIMOR — IT'S HOT BUT NOT BOILING

Time Magazine, Dec. 12

[The following is the full article that appeared in December 12, 1994 edition of Time Magazine in Canada and Asia. Presumably it appeared in other international editions as well, but not in the US edition.]

On a rare visit, a *TIME* reporter finds the guerrillas weak and the Indonesian army resented but in firm control. A desire to resolve the standoff, however, is hard to find.

Since Indonesian troops landed in East Timor in 1975, the former Portuguese colony has been depicted as a place with a fervent independence movement and widespread human-rights abuses. Yet the outside world has only a hazy idea of what is really happening in the troubled province, largely

because Indonesia as a rule does not release information on East Timor and prevents foreigners from entering. Michael Shari was recently allowed to travel freely through East Timor, one of the first journalists to do so in years. His report:

The mass graves around the town of Aileu are in four locations, all well known to residents. More than 300 bodies are buried in Manfoni, 200 in Montane, 100 in Saboria and about 60 in Aisirimou. The executions took place in December 1975; today each of the killing fields has its own concrete whitewashed slab marked with a black cross.

The people buried there were not victims of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, which took place that same month with heavy loss of life. The mass killings were the work of Fretilin, the pro-independence guerrilla group that serves the U.N. in real-politik terms as the representative voice of the 750,000 people of East Timor. The victims in the mass graves all made the same mistake: they belonged to the wrong political party. "There were five different ID cards, one issued by each party," recalls Francisco Pereira. "If your ID card wasn't issued by Fretilin, you died." Pereira, who was later appointed the chief of Aileu's police force, was marked for execution but escaped during the fighting that followed the invasion.

From afar, East Timor may look a bit like the West Bank or Kashmir, with a strong, homegrown freedom movement, in this case Fretilin, and an oppressor from without, Indonesia. Up close, the view is thoroughly different. Fretilin is enfeebled, its grip on local hearts and minds loosened by a history of brutality. Though most of the people of East Timor remain bitterly opposed to Indonesian rule, there are many who talk about accommodation - provided the province is offered autonomy. "There is division in the Timorese community," says Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, one of the most influential voices in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory.

The headlines abroad portray a cauldron in need of cooling. Twenty-nine East Timorese, protesting against the Indonesian occupation, scampered over a fence at the U.S. embassy in Jakarta last month on the eve of the APEC summit and last week were flown to asylum in Portugal. Also last week, U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali dispatched special envoys to Jakarta and Lisbon to discuss a solution with the two governments.

On the ground, though, the situation remains a standoff - and, oddly, some of the players look as if they actually like it that way. The Indonesian government is not eager to offer autonomy to any province in

its ethnically and culturally diverse, 13,677-island archipelago. The military is profitably dug in to the local economy, controlling coffee and sandalwood concessions that account for virtually all of the province's exports and that fetched \$7.7 million in 1992, according to João Mariano de Sousa Saldanha, a senior research fellow at Australia's Northern Territory University. There are doubts about Fretilin and its strength: some East Timorese believe the military allows the guerrillas to survive to justify its continuing presence in the province.

According to a senior army officer, the insurgency is down to 189 guerrillas and 103 antiquated rifles; in the same breath, he predicts a "long, slow battle" against them. Fretilin claims to have 700 fighters.

In the nearly 19 years since Indonesia took East Timor as its 27th province, a seizure the U.N. does not recognize, there has been frightful bloodshed. Fretilin admits that its cadres executed hundreds of political opponents. The toll for which the Indonesians are blamed is much higher. During the first five years of the occupation, an estimated 100,000 East Timorese died of violence, disease or starvation. While Jakarta poured in money for roads and schools - the Portuguese had left behind few in either category - along with the money came tens of thousands of non-Timorese immigrants, merchants and soldiers. Violence flared on and off, most notably in 1991 when soldiers fired on a crowd of pro-independence marchers in Dili, the capital, killing more than 100.

Occupation is an ugly business. The military says it has 5,300 troops in the province, runs a network of informers whom it pays \$12 a month or, in the case of freelancers, \$1 to \$1.50 per tip. There are few places where one does not run into members of "Intel," the local shorthand for military intelligence. Agents sit at the next table in restaurants or lounge on the sidewalks, easily recognizable in their new sneakers and black sunglasses. In villages outside Dili, informers routinely listen outside the windows of houses and burst in if they hear the Voice of America, the BBC, Radio Australia or any other source of news that might not be totally sympathetic to the cause of integration. "They won't go away until you change the station or turn off the radio," says a resident. Magazines are scanned before delivery for offending articles. Letters are frequently perused by censors. One woman wrote the BBC for its program guide; in return, she got a visit from the local police chief. Recently police in that village started administering tribal-style oaths of allegiance to Indonesia, in which residents were forced to drink the blood of a freshly killed chicken. "I've seen people crying in

the church because of this," says a priest. "People do whatever they have to do to survive. But there will come a time when they won't."

When that day will come and how is no less a mystery now than it was in 1975. The outside world sees East Timor as a place where a solution is urgently required, but there are few signs of pressure in the struggle between Indonesian troops and Fretilin guerrillas. Though the military lost 10,000 men between 1976 and 1980, casualties these days are few. When the East Timorese plan a protest, the security forces react with fevered aggressiveness. Last Nov. 24, after students started to beat up a suspected informer near the University of East Timor in Dili, riot police instantly surrounded the campus, carrying long bamboo sticks and lengths of garden hose, which they tapped threateningly against their khaki-clad legs. The students melted away, leaving the policemen and soldiers holding the town under a state of siege for the rest of the day. To counter an independence rally scheduled two days later in Dili, the security forces rounded up 30 young men in Aileu, paid them \$23 each, armed some of them with pistols and trucked them to the capital for a demonstration in favor of "integration." Young men from other towns were said to have arrived in Dili under the same type of package tour. A bloody confrontation between the two rallies was narrowly averted. Violence is frequent between East Timorese and the immigrants and merchants who have poured into the province from other parts of Indonesia since 1976. "The common person doesn't care if they're from Java or Sumatra or Sulawesi," says Armino Maia, vice rector of the University of East Timor. "They're all outsiders."

Virtually all East Timorese are reluctant to be seen talking to foreigners, and it does not take long before their nervous smiles betray someone who knows the consequences: about 20 people are serving prison terms ranging from a few years to life on the loosely defined charge of "subversion." The few who do have the courage to open their mouths say that a police state thrives in the province and that the men in uniform routinely incite confrontations as an excuse to continue their presence. The Indonesian government denies such charges, and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas reiterates its willingness to negotiate a solution. Yet President Suharto sometimes sends a different signal. Last week he said he would be happy if pro-independence East Timorese emigrated en masse to Portugal: "The more the better."

The most widely heeded voice in the province is that of Bishop Belo, who quelled rioting in Dili last Nov. 15 simply by appealing for calm. According to Belo,

some in his flock talk about integration with Indonesia, others about independence. Would East Timor be happier one way or the other? "I don't know," he says at his whitewashed colonial-style mansion in Dili. "I'm not a prophet." His bottom line is that "the problem is a political one. It's about integration and self-determination." A solution is not visible on the horizon of the Timor Sea.

COMMENT FROM JEAN INGLIS, FREE EAST JAPAN COALITION

Regarding "Fretilin Massacres," Indonesia put efforts over the years into publicizing massacres and other cruelties against UDT, Apodeti, etc. by Fretilin. Three "massacre" publications "found their way" into my hands after our Kure solidarity group became known to the Indonesian Embassy.

Because their purpose is propaganda, these publications do not attempt to put the disparate "information" (lists of names of victims, place names, dates) on the massacre together. I am not saying that this indicates they are groundless (Jim Dunn's book, *Timor: A People Betrayed*, estimates the number of UDT and Apodeti executed by Fretilin at the end of Dec. 1975 at 150), only that it seems that Indonesian propaganda needs are evidently better served by a certain disjointedness in presentation that frustrates checking.

The point with the *Time* article is:

Has Indonesia has gotten its act together to the extent that it can convince *Time* magazine that these Fretilin massacre stories are the most relevant news in the "East Timor" file and should be reported as hard fact, even though the news text itself stands as naked hearsay? Or has the journalism that many people in the world depend on stooped to the level that it can feed directly on official propaganda (which may of course have some relationship to truth) with nary a burp from an editor worried about substantiation on the one hand, and historical perspective on the other?

The article in *Time* cites one source by name, the Aileu police chief, and reports the four graves and the numbers buried there as hard fact and "all well known to residents." Did the author go to the graves? And speaking of graves, did the *Time* reporter also look for the graves of the Santa Cruz "incident" victims? Did he or she not find it strange that although the Indonesian authorities admit that 50 (or 19 or 4, depending on which "official" source is speaking) died, nobody knows where they are buried?

I personally find it strange that reporters who go to East Timor never try to track down these graves and never ask the ABRI

or other Indonesian officials about them, or the Indonesian Red Cross for that matter. (The "Indonesian Red Cross team" figures prominently in the "Fretilin massacres" propaganda publications and is shown excavating the graves in Aileu, evidently circa Feb. 15, 1976, less than two months after the massacre!). If the Indonesian Red Cross could so speedily excavate the 1976 graves why can't it get around to excavating the 1991 "incident" victims graves?

FROM JOHN MACDOUGALL

'Catalog the errors' on this article? I'd not jump the gun. Michael Shari has been filing from Indonesia for a long time and is nobody's hack. He usually gets his facts right. On the contrary, I see potential good use for this article in campaign work. It 'reads' even-handed but is basically critical of the occupation. I'd fault it mainly for leaving out discussion of the international diplomacy going on openly and behind the scenes and not inquiring further in Jakarta into military scenarios and studies.

FROM ADAM BOGACKI

The DGSE agents sent to blow up the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland must also have thought that New Zealand was a quiet backwater. One even managed to have a brief affair with the local police chief's wife. Little did they know ...

Political passions can be easily missed by outsiders in the outward calm of an island state.

FROM MATTHEW JARDINE

I'm not in position to critique Michael Shari's reporting from Indonesia. I'll take John's word for it that Shari "usually gets his facts right." In terms of his recent report on East Timor, however, Shari's reporting is rather shoddy. While not having any obvious major errors, there are some statements of questionable validity. The bigger problem, however, is one of tone. By opening the article (which is intended to "hook" the reader) with an account of a supposed FRETILIN atrocity, Shari sets a tone that subtly suggests that FRETILIN is the moral equivalent of the Indonesian forces of occupation. Furthermore, the historical and current role of Western governments (specifically, the U.S.) in facilitating and assisting Indonesia's brutal occupation is totally absent. Such an analysis is fundamental to understanding why (assuming Shari is correct) that "[a] solution [to the East Timor problem] is not visible on the horizon of the Timor Sea."

In terms of minor errors, Shari equates FRETILIN with the formal resistance, stating that FRETILIN "serves the U.N. . . . as the representative voice of the 750,000

people of East Timor." Of course, it is the CNRM that represents East Timor in a diplomatic capacity at the U.N. Also, FRETILIN is not the same as FALINTIL. Since Xanana Gusmão's departure from FRETILIN in 1989, FALINTIL has served as the armed wing of the entire resistance as embodied by the CNRM.

Regarding some of the numbers, the figure of 5,300 Indonesian troops is ridiculously low. As Shari admits, the figure comes from ABRI. Had he checked with Bishop Belo whom he mentions a number of times in the article Shari would have discovered that informed people within East Timor put the figure at closer to 20,000 troops.

As for the number of people killed at the Santa Cruz Massacre, the most systematic study (completed within East Timor and distributed by "Paz E Possivel" in Lisbon) states that 273 were killed at the cemetery. And Max Stahl, based on interviews during his clandestine visit to the territory in late 1993, believes that another 50-200 East Timorese were killed at the hospital in Dili by Indonesian soldiers. (See Max Stahl, "Dili, the Bloody Aftermath," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 February 1994. Also see Max Stahl, "Indonesians Fed 'Death Pills' to the Wounded," *The Sunday Times* (London), 13 February 1994.)

Such issues are relatively minor, however, in comparison to the overall thrust of the article. Given the rarity of reporting on East Timor by *Time*, such an article can only serve to confuse the average reader who is not familiar with East Timor. As Jean Inglis pointed out, the report of mass graves in Aileu filled with victims from a FRETILIN killing spree in December 1975 (prior to the Indonesian invasion) is quite questionable—especially given the apparent source of the information, Francisco Pereira "who was later [after Jakarta's invasion] appointed the chief of Aileu's police force." Someone working for the Indonesian occupation authorities is hardly a credible source for reports on human rights violations.

According to James Dunn (again, as pointed out by Jean Inglis), the total number of political opponents killed extrajudicially by FRETILIN numbers around 150. According to Shari's account, there are 660 in Aileu alone! If such a massacre did indeed occur, why have we not heard of it before? (When I was in Aileu in July 1992, no one mentioned such events to me.) I am not trying to suggest that it is impossible that such a massacre could have taken place, but simply that such an accusation demands serious investigation and corroboration before being published in *Time's* once in a blue moon report on East Timor.

If Shari were truly interested in atrocities in Aileu, he might have consulted John Taylor's *Indonesia's Forgotten War* (pp. 80-81):

"Faced with military stalemates [in 1976] . . . , Indonesian troops took out their frustration on the local population in their controlled areas. Amongst such incidents was the following reported in July:

"In the second week of June a woman escaped from an Indonesian concentration camp in Aileu. She said that the attempt to take Lequica [sic] on 7 June had resulted in heavy Indonesian casualties, including two Indonesian officers. She said that the enemy forced the captured population from Atsabe, Quelicai, Ermera and Aileu to take part in the attack. Most of them died. The Indonesian officers were angry. They had been told Fretilin would not offer resistance to the attack. They punished the captured female population by forcing them to do heavy work in the ricefields, completely naked, in the role of buffaloes."

"Such violent forms of retribution persuaded those and more of the population to flee Indonesian areas. When the Indonesian troops entered Aileu in February 1976, it contained 5000 people; when a group of Indonesian relief workers visited it in September 1976, only 1000 people remained—they were told that the remainder had moved to the mountains."

Perhaps this account explains the source of the supposed mass graves. At least such an account deserves as much credence as the one received by Shari from Aileu's police chief. . . . There are a number of other points I would contest, but this is all I have time to say. I don't agree that this article could potentially prove useful for campaign work. In terms of the mainstream media, there's much better.

Matthew Jardine, ETAN/Los Angeles

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Published in *TIME*, January 16 1995

EAST TIMOR'S TROUBLE

As one who has visited East Timor and remains in contact with the territory's Roman Catholic bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, I am dismayed by your article (Dec. 12). At the beginning you highlight internecine killings at the time of the Indonesian invasion 19 years ago.

I certainly condemn any such outrages, but the deaths of perhaps 200,000 people

from the combined effects of that invasion and continuing atrocities have created widespread resistance to Indonesian rule. There is a strong desire for a fair referendum to determine the future of East Timor, and only Indonesia stands in the way. Your article says little about the East Timorese who, according to the church, were savagely beaten and tortured by Indonesian forces in recent weeks. Some of them are still being abused as I write.

(The Right Rev.) Paul Moore Jr.,
Episcopal Bishop of New York (1972-1989), New York City

I was astonished and indignant upon reading your article about East Timor. In particular I found the use of selective quotes from Bishop Belo unforgivable. Belo has accused Western governments of deliberately obscuring the truth about the genocide of the Timorese people. Ireland's President, Mary Robinson, took a keen interest in this issue when she was a member of our Parliament, and our Foreign Affairs Committee, recently unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the Indonesian genocide and calling for East Timor's right to self-determination. Can such a call not be reciprocated in the home of the brave and the land of the free.

Senator David Norris
Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, Dublin

The solution for the drama of the Maubere people can be found in the vision of a conflict-free world evoked by John Lennon in his song IMAGINE. East Timorese may have been massacred, may have been frightened and humiliated, but one thing is for sure; they can always imagine a better future. The obligation of all of us who live in free and democratic countries is to help the East Timorese dream come true. I sincerely believe Lennon would have supported that effort.

Filipe Carreira da Silva,
Aqualva-Cacem, Portugal

EAST TIMORESE WOMEN TODAY

From *Peace News*, December 1994

Elizabeth Exposto, an East Timorese woman living in Australia and working with the Timorese association of Victoria, visited Sweden, England and Ireland this month, speaking about Timorese women and the Indonesian occupation, writes Maggie Helwig.

"Timorese women have gone through some of the most traumatic and distressing experiences. Being women, they are easy targets for the Indonesian soldiers. As in all wars they are the victims of rape, tortures, bashings, abuse, of degradation and humiliation of every kind. But we are not just impotent spectators and victims of the atrocities that are perpetrated by the Indonesian military against us; we are also active participants in our own liberation.

"In the towns and villages, women assume vital political responsibilities and undertake secret but very dangerous assignments. There are Timorese students in Bali, whom the Indonesians had viewed as being 'just women' and therefore of no importance or threat to them at all. Little did they know that these women were the ones responsible for collecting and transmitting messages from the resistance to the outside world and vice versa."

Elizabeth reflected that, paradoxically, the Indonesian invasion may have served to improve the status of Timorese women in their communities, because of the important roles which women – catholic nuns as well as laywomen – have taken in the resistance.

EXPATRIATE TELLS OF CONTINUING HORRORS FACING EAST TIMOR

The Irish Times, 12 December 1994, Reporter: Catherine Clery

Elizabeth Exposto talks to Catherine Clery about the situation in East Timor where, she says, one in three have been "killed, disappeared or died of war-induced famine" and the genocide is intended to wipe out future generations.

When Elizabeth Exposto gets a letter from East Timor she has to read between the lines. "The weather is too hot here," usually means that tensions in the country are more severe than usual here"

Ms Exposto was visiting Dublin and Belfast at the weekend, on a trip organised by the Dublin based East Timor Solidarity Group. She is one of the thousands of expatriate Timorese living in Melbourne, Australia. A 19 year-old politics student, she talks authoritatively about the horrors of the Indonesian regime which annexed her country 18 years ago.

She was just 8 months old when she and her parents left the country on a Norwegian cargo ship bound for Australia.

Ms. Exposto talks about the experiences of friends and family who remained in the country, as well as her parents accounts. When she was 14 she took what she describes as a "pilgrimage" to the country that she will always regard as her homeland.

"I had sensed the tension and fear in the air but the most memorable moment was when I went into an ice-cream shop in Dili, the capital, and an Indonesian soldier walked in with an M16 casually slung over his shoulder. That's when I knew that this is how my cousins feel....that feeling of waking up and thinking "Am I going to die to-day."

According to Ms. Exposto, one in three Timorese have been "killed, disappeared or died of war-induced famine." She says that the genocide is intended to wipe out future generations. Timorese nurses have said they saw women and school girls being injected with the contraceptive drug Depo Provera without their consent. In 1987, the drug accounted for almost 60 per cent of the contraceptive methods used in East Timor, compared to 19 per cent in Indonesia.

While Ms. Exposto considers herself lucky to have escaped East Timor in 1975, the life of a Timorese immigrant in Australia was not easy. Her parents did not speak English and her mother, who had been a primary school teacher in East Timor, had to work in a factory. Her mother's parents, who stayed in East Timor, were moved from their rural village into a resettlement camp, where they were "transformed into living skeletons."

Now an Australian citizen, Ms. Exposto is critical of the Australian governments support for the Indonesian annexation of East Timor. "If the Australian people thought the way the government did, then it would make my life hell. But they don't. The public and the media are very sympathetic." The expatriate community in Melbourne is closely connected to the resistance movement in East Timor, which Ms. Exposto says, "is made up of almost all the people in East Timor. The Indonesians are amazed. They've done all these things in Timor and the resistance still goes on.

Ms. Exposto believes in battling against the compassion fatigue which can accompany such a remote conflict. She is cautiously optimistic that the situation may improve, with the recent shift in US policy. At a news conference following the signing of an agreement at the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) last month, President Clinton told reporters that the people of East Timor should have "more say over their own local affairs." Meanwhile the Timorese population in Australia will continue to press for a change. "We have to always put the pressure on so that East Timor won't be forgotten," she says.

RAMOS HORTA OPTIMISTIC ABOUT TIMOR'S FUTURE

Journal de Noticias, 12 December 1994. Translated from Portuguese

The special representative of the CNRM (Maubere Resistance National Council), José Ramos Horta, is convinced that Timor will achieve its independence "earlier than most people think."

During an interview for Banobero, published weekly in Guinea, Ramos Horta said he had no doubt at all that the fight for East Timor's self-determination "is now in the final stretch" and that "the aspirations of the Timorese will soon become reality."

"It has been 19 years of cruel struggle, without any let up, in which 200,000 people have died, and during which our people have suffered massacres, abuses of all kinds, the plunder of our riches, but in spite of everything, they have never lost their faith, hope and determination," he said.

Ramos Horta was interviewed by the director of Banobero, Fernando Jorge Pereira, during the II International Congress of Portuguese Language Journalism, which took place in Rio de Janeiro from 1 to 4 December.

The Timorese leader reaffirmed the proposal made to the Congress that a special post be created for an East Timor representative at the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries, to lobby on behalf of the Timorese.

Ramos Horta said East Timor should be a full member of the Lusophone community, and urged journalists to contribute towards "creating greater public awareness of the Maubere people's fight for freedom."

VOA: EAST TIMOR'S FUTURE

"Focus" program, Voice of America, 16 Dec. 1994. By Dan Robinson, Dili, East Timor.

Annexation in January, Indonesia, Portugal and the United Nations are scheduled to hold another round of talks on the future of East Timor. Two special UN envoys visited East Timor recently in preparation for the discussions, which observers do not give much hope of achieving a breakthrough in the long-running controversy over the former Portuguese colony. During a visit to East Timor, VOA southeast Asia correspondent Dan Robinson spoke with local leaders, Indonesian officials and others about the situation and hopes for restoring peace in the troubled territory:

Truth seems elusive in East Timor. Military authorities, government officials, religious leaders, and pro-independence forces –

all seem sincere in telling their side of the story.

Unfortunately, there appear to be few answers to problems in East Timor 20 years after Portugal pulled out of one of its last colonial outposts. Tensions are just beneath the surface and emotions are running high – not only about Indonesian rule but about the economy, social problems, and religion.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 after an invasion, following Portugal's departure and a brief war between Timorese factions. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian control, although a number of nations – including the United States – do not contest it.

Despite having brought a significant degree of development to East Timor, Indonesia continues to face allegations by human rights groups that integration has led to the deaths of thousands of Timorese. Even as Jakarta moved to show a more flexible approach on East Timor in 1994, Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas was often pressed to respond to such allegations with defenses of Indonesian policy:

Alatas: "What has happened in East Timor 17 years ago was essentially a bungled de-colonization process by the erstwhile colonial power, Portugal, which resulted in a tragedy for the Timorese people of East Timor, which have been subjected to 400 years of colonial rule by Portugal."

East Timor remains poor, economically the weakest of the regions making up the vast Indonesian archipelago. With a population of about 800,000, the territory's per capita income is low – about 120 dollars.

Indonesia's military commander in East Timor, colonel Kiki Syahnakri, acknowledges that East Timor lags behind, but says pro-independence forces are taking advantage of economic, social and ethnic difficulties to stir up political protests.

This may be the case, but Timorese leaders say Indonesian rule – and what many describe as a lack of social sensitivity on the part of Indonesian authorities – is at the root of tensions. Carlos Belo is Roman Catholic bishop in Dili:

Belo: "They don't like to understand the political, social and religious aspects. For them [Indonesia] integration is already finished. This is Indonesia, [there must be an] Indonesian way of thinking or doing, nothing else. But from the people, there is another perception of the problem. We are Timorese. We have a different background, social, cultural and religious background. So we are different."

One of the most outspoken critics of Indonesian rule, bishop Belo acknowledges

what he calls some physical and material development in East Timor since Indonesia's takeover in 1976. But he says Timorese are still not happy. He says part of the reason is the pervasive security measures taken by authorities against dissent:

Belo: "Well, because of the pressure. We are human beings. We like to express ourselves, even with different opinions, and we are forbidden to do that. This is not a democratic country as yours, in America, where you can tell everything you like."

It's also clear that cultural and religious differences between East Timorese and Indonesians continue to cause problems. Indonesia is predominantly Muslim, while East Timor is mostly catholic. Indonesia's development model emphasizes harmonious coexistence among people of different religious and ethnic groups.

The Indonesian government maintains, in the words of foreign minister Alatas, that there is complete freedom of religion and culture expression in East Timor, and that awareness of East Timorese culture is being fostered among all other Indonesians.

Kaman Khairudin, vice inspector general of Indonesia's ministry of religion, says people from any part of Indonesia should be able to live and work together without friction:

Khairudin: "Here in Indonesia, [there is] no problem between one religion and another religion. We can work together, we can live together in society, no problem, I think. I think we can live here in Dili, I as a Muslim, and also catholic, if they want to live in Java, it is no problem."

However, the reality seems to be much different, as demonstrated by at least two incidents this year involving Catholics and Muslim Indonesian soldiers.

Dili residents say an influx since 1989 of people from other areas of Indonesia has created rising resentment. Bishop Carlos Belo says that despite a 20-year presence, Indonesian authorities do not seem to understand the significance of catholic belief and says immigration is making matters worse:

Belo: "They only transport the religions from Java to East Timor. They don't learn what is happening here; yes, from the background, from the grassroots here."

East Timorese are also angry over what they perceive as the loss of jobs and other opportunities to outsiders. Immigrants have come to dominate the cash sector of the economy, by one estimate accounting for 40 percent of private sector activity.

A university official says that of the last graduating class at the university of East Timor, 23 were Timorese, while 70 were non-Timorese. Bishop Carlos Belo says young Timorese are frustrated and see their horizons limited:

Belo: "Since we have no kind of industries or factories, just traditional agriculture, it is impossible to have jobs. Even the few jobs in the government offices, there are many, many people from outside come to try and get these jobs. We have, how do you call it in Indonesian – people coming from the university [graduates] and Timorese – they are still waiting to get these jobs in the government offices."

Timorese interviewed in Dili offer different opinions as to how much Indonesian authorities have learned since East Timor was annexed in 1976 and what benefits can be attributed to Indonesian rule. One resident says poverty – and to some extent the human rights situation – were worse under the Portuguese. Another says that while Indonesia can point to dramatic developments in statistical terms, the battle has not been won in a critical area – respect. Indonesia thinks it owns us, he complains, but has not won our hearts and minds.

Amy Goodman is a radio journalist who witnessed the 1991 massacre of civilians at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. She says the explanation that Indonesia has improved the lives of East Timorese does not excuse past excesses or what she calls continuing abuses:

Goodman: "That is a standard line used since 1975. As someone once said, 'if Timor had been improving the way everyone said, every year – like the United States says every year it is improving, it is improving – Timor would be paradise on earth.' The fact is, yes, the Indonesian government has put in money into development efforts, into roads and hospitals and schools and they often pull this [explanation] out to say we are improving the situation, but as one Timorese pointed out, it doesn't matter how many schools you build if you kill all the students inside."

Helder da Costa is head of development and external relations at the university of East Timor, a flashpoint for demonstrations against Indonesian rule. He says Indonesia's military learned a hard lesson from the 1991 killings in Dili:

Da Costa: "It is fair enough to say that the military authorities learned a big lesson since the 1991 incident here in Dili. As a matter of fact, they are now using a sort of prosperity approach and if any sort of demonstration happens here, or takes place here

in Dili, they try to deploy riot police to crack down on demonstrators, or use teargas or batons, to disperse the crowd. But they don't carry any guns at all, unlike 1991."

Symeon Antoulas, international red cross representative in Dili, agrees authorities have changed their approach to controlling civil unrest. He says the ICRC – by visiting prisoners and interacting with authorities – plays a key role in times of trouble:

Antoulas: "Basically spreading the word. Approaching military personnel, police, but also civilian authorities. Telling them what the red cross is all about and depending on who we are addressing adapting the message. Telling them very simple messages, giving them very simple messages about international humanitarian law, the law of war, and respect of human dignity."

In an interview in his residence in Dili, Bishop Carlos Belo recalls a homily he delivered in a Sunday mass for about 1,000 worshippers. The mass followed riots sparked when a Timorese was stabbed to death by an immigrant from outside East Timor, and pro-independence demonstrations leading to at least 30 arrests.

Bishop Belo, who says his power to influence events is often limited, says his religious messages emphasize non-violence. But he complains of difficulty in making Indonesian authorities understand how to deal with the people:

Belo: "The first problem is, we can't solve the problems with physical violations [violence]. Yes? This is my message. There is a way to dialogue and mainly for the East Timor people, if there are injustices – for example, distributing places in the markets – OK, you talk to the authorities. But as I told them also, in my homily on Sunday, that unfortunately our authorities here are, are so, sometimes so stupid. They don't hear the complaints of the people. Every time we complain and they say, 'OK, yes, we will solve it, we will see,' but didn't get any solution."

Predictably, independence activists operating outside of East Timor take an even harsher view of problems in the territory. Speaking to reporters in Bangkok earlier this year, José Ramos-Horta, a key spokesman for pro-independence forces, said Indonesia is responsible for many of the social and religious tensions in East Timor today:

Ramos-Horta: "The Muslim community in East Timor, for over 400 years, there were always a very small minority, 500 to one-thousand. We had a Buddhist community, from the ethnic Chinese, the hakka. And we had

a very, very small Protestant minority, 500 people or one-thousand. There was never at any time in our history any religious or ethnic incident. There was never any incident between Timorese and Chinese, Chinese and Portuguese or anything. These incidents that happened in East Timor were of Indonesia's own making. When Mr. Alatas says we should not talk about religious conflict in East Timor, he should say so to the military, to the intelligence people in East Timor, in Jakarta, who have created, who have provoked this religious conflict deliberately in order to change the nature of the conflict in East Timor, which is eminently political, into a religious one."

José Ramos-Horta says Indonesia can no longer dismiss the East Timor problem as a creation of over-zealous human rights, religious and non-government groups.

In comments that rankle in Jakarta, the activist maintains that the lack of progress in East Timor has helped draw attention to a range of other problems in Indonesia – from labor rights to press freedom.

Although they met in New York in October, foreign minister Ali Alatas calls Mr. Ramos-Horta part of an unrepresentative minority pursuing what will probably never come about – namely, an Indonesian military withdrawal and referendum on independence.

Pro-independence Timorese say they are pleased that world attention was re-focused on East Timor, however briefly, during meetings of Asia-Pacific leaders in Indonesia in November. Twenty-nine Timorese students staged a dramatic sit-in on the grounds of the US embassy in Jakarta, eventually receiving political asylum in Portugal. Pro-independence forces took advantage of the Jakarta events to stage more demonstrations in Dili.

At the same time Timorese express disappointment that during his visit to Jakarta, president Clinton seemed unable to achieve anything concrete in his brief discussion with president Suharto about East Timor.

Mr. Clinton told president Suharto the United States believes the people of East Timor should have more say in their own affairs. Mr. Suharto said the Indonesian government feels it is dealing with East Timor, and human rights issues, fairly. In comments to VOA in Dili, Timorese expressed the view that Mr. Clinton and other US officials seemed more concerned with economic interests than human rights.

Foreign minister Ali Alatas was asked about Indonesia's attitude in a news conference in Jakarta:

Alatas: "We have tried to explain what really is the essence of the so-called East Timor question and I think I shall not go tonight into a longish definition or explanation again on this. We believe these questions can be explained rationally and if people are prepared to listen to these rational explanations with an open mind and not with a prejudicial disposition, then I think everything can be put in the right proportion."

As for proposals that Indonesia grant East Timor autonomy, or declare some sort of special status for the territory, Timorese say they can only hope that negotiations lead to a reduction of tensions.

Diplomats and analysts in Jakarta say president Suharto's position may have hardened further as a result of the protests in November which proved embarrassing for him during Asia-Pacific leaders' meetings.

Observers say there is little chance Indonesia would agree to key demands made by pro-independence groups – such as the release from prison of East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, and his active participation in negotiations with Jakarta. José Ramos Horta is spokesman for the East Timor Resistance Council:

Ramos Horta: "We are prepared – this is our position – to negotiate as flexibly as possible without preconditions, but within the framework of the mandate of the secretary general of the United Nations, to resolve the issue, without preconditions. The Indonesian government must negotiate with Xanana Gusmão, with bishop Belo and other resistance leaders to resolve the problem."

Freelance journalist Allan Nairn is another witness to the 1991 killings of Timorese in Dili. Still on a blacklist of journalists banned from East Timor, he nevertheless recently completed a brief secret visit to Dili. Mr. Nairn says the core problem remains the desire of the Timorese people to determine their own future:

Nairn: "When you are in East Timor and you talk to people, there is this overwhelming sentiment for independence and self-determination. In fact, everyone you talk to, including the Indonesian military people who have been there awhile and know the situation, they acknowledge that. And I think that is why Indonesia does not want to allow a referendum, because I think they realize it would go against them and the Timorese would opt for independence."

sound of Sunday mass in Dili, (fade under text

In a high-ceiling room in his residence on Dili's waterfront – with a portrait of pope John Paul the second hanging on one wall – bishop Carlos Belo responds to questions with a look of frustration and worry. When talk turns to the question of East Timor's future and possible autonomy, he is not optimistic:

Belo: "I don't know, I don't have hope about that. There is [could be] not any kind of talk or dialogue. The talk respected by the government is that you confess that integration is already finished. This annexation, this kind of colonization, has let [forced] the people of East Timor down, down, down, sank down, without giving the opportunity to, at least, how do you say in Portuguese – respirar – to be at home? Respiration – to feel at home."

Indonesia says it is committed to the search for a solution to the East Timor dispute, saying such a solution can only be achieved through dialogue, negotiations and confidence-building measures.

On January 9th, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart (José Manuel Durão Barroso) are scheduled to hold a fourth round of talks sponsored by the UN secretary general, Boutros-Boutros Ghali. Looking ahead to the Geneva talks, Mr. Alatas told a parliamentary hearing in Jakarta that while Indonesia considers the East Timor issue to be over, it cannot ignore questions about its role as long as the United Nations does not recognize the territory's integration. In East Timor, Mr. Alatas, said Indonesia faces a "no-win situation.

INDONESIA- OUTLOOK: TEMPERED CELEBRATIONS IN 1995

By Yuli Ismartono

JAKARTA, Dec. 19 (IPS) - Fresh discoveries of gold, copper and natural gas deposits along with a two-year stint as a non-permanent member of the U.N. Security Council have ensured that Indonesia will have something to celebrate when it marks its half-century of independence next year.

But the issue of East Timor is predicted to douse any strong party mood in Jakarta, along with queries regarding the government's stance on such matters as labour and press freedom.

Indeed, Indonesia is entering the new year still licking its wounds from a violent labour uprising that rocked the north Sumatran provincial capital of Medan in mid-year.

The press, which had enjoyed relative openness in the past two years, also suffered a major setback in June when the government closed down three outspoken publications.

In addition, demonstrations in East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and formally annexed a year later, marred Jakarta's attempt to put its best on display during the meetings of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum last month.

Several Timorese students also staged a sit-in at the U.S. embassy compound, demanding freedom for jailed East Timorese resistance leader José Alexandre Gusmão.

Still, political analysts and economists predict 1995 may turn out to be one of Indonesia's better years yet since becoming independent in 1945 after three centuries of Dutch rule.

They point out, for instance, that there is progress in talks between Indonesia and Portugal, East Timor's former colonial master, that have been bolstered by increasing contacts between Indonesian officials and expatriate Timorese leaders.

This year, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas held his first officially-acknowledged meeting with resistance leaders in exile José Ramos-Horta and Abilio Araujo in New York.

And while Jakarta failed to have its 'perfect party' during the November APEC meetings, Indonesia can still claim to have been the site where the Bogor Declaration, which had 17 of the world's economies pledging to a goal of trade and investment liberalization in the Asia-Pacific by 2020, was signed.

Indonesia is already looking forward to several high-profile diplomatic activities next year, including a short stint at the U.N. Security Council as a non-permanent member.

The country believes its participation in the prestigious Council will further enhance its status as chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). As NAM leader, Jakarta has been campaigning hard for the reduction or review of Third World debts to industrialized countries.

Within Asia, Indonesia will be busy mediating talks between bickering parties such as the Muslim minority demanding autonomy in southern Philippines and the government in Manila.

Jakarta will also be hosting discussions among the six claimant nations of the resource-rich Spratly Islands in the South China Sea: China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Brunei, the Philippines and Malaysia.

Recently, Jakarta even said it was keen to host new talks on the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Analysts have said Indonesia's renewed self-confidence in international fora stems largely from the success of its high-growth economic policies.

Well into its sixth National Five-Year Development Plan, experts are upbeat about Indonesia's economic performance next year, bolstered by recent discoveries of new natural gas reserves of Natuna Island and new copper as well as gold deposits in mineral-rich Irian Jaya Island.

Manufacturing and construction are also expected to continue being major contributors to the growth of Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product. Experts add that the predicted recovery of the agricultural sector, which experienced a serious setback as a result of a prolonged drought, will be another plus next year.

"If that happens, the recovery will be able to prop up the GDP growth rate to 7.2 percent, even though other sectors may be stagnating," says economist Syahrir, noting that this year's growth rate was a little more than six percent.

But analysts say Indonesia should be on the look-out for a widening of the current account deficit, resulting from increasing imports of capital goods needed for new investments, both local and foreign.

The government estimates that the current account deficit will reach 3.2 billion dollars in the 1994-95 fiscal year, as compared to 2.9 billion dollars in the previous period.

Yet another problem that needs to be addressed is that of increasing bad loans, particularly in real estate, where about 40 percent of private bank loans are concentrated.

The Central Bank recently warned banks to slow down their lending growth to prevent economic overheating. It has pointed out that in the last eight months of 1994, lending growth has exceeded the government's 'safe level.'

KOMPAS REVIEWS THE YEAR FOR EAST TIMOR

*Kompas, 24 December 1994, Editorial.
Translated from Indonesian. Abridged*

An unsigned editorial piece accompanying an article reflecting on Indonesia's foreign policy throughout 1994 quotes Ali Alatas' frustrated response mid-February 1994 to an aggressive Parliamentary Commission pressing him to be more 'offensive' on East Timor. Alatas says 'certain agencies' [read the Armed Forces] interfere in the Foreign Affairs Department's work on the issue. Unlike these others, the work of Foreign Affairs begins and ends with the reality that the UN does not recognize East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia. The

result has been that the issue has only regressed rather than progressed throughout 1994. Indonesian reactions to the Philippine seminar on ET were widely regarded as excessive. The 29 youths who scaled the US Embassy fence during the APEC meeting dominated foreign reporting on Indonesia and overshadowed Indonesia's achievements in becoming NAM chairman, APEC chairman, and a non-permanent UN Security Council member. The lesson is to review once again what has been done for the East Timorese in the past.

APEC, THE UNITED STATES & EAST TIMOR

Soft-peddling the U.S. involvement in one of the worst genocides since World War II

By Matthew Jardine, *Z Magazine* "International Report," January 1995

Bill Clinton breathed a sigh of relief on Thanksgiving Day when 29 East Timorese ended their 12 day occupation of the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta, Indonesia and left for exile in Portugal. The Embassy occupation was only one in a series of events in and around East Timor during the APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) meeting that stole the spotlight from Clinton's and Indonesian President Suharto's free trade showcase in Jakarta. CNN and many national networks showed scenes from the Embassy compound and violent clashes in Dili, the East Timorese capital. Most major newspapers in the U.S. (and throughout the West) reported these incidents and many, including the USA Today, the New York Times, and the Wall St. Journal, ran editorials criticizing Jakarta's heavy-handedness in the former Portuguese colony, often calling for East Timorese self-determination.

Most mainstream analyses, however, soft peddled the issue of U.S. involvement in what is - proportionately-speaking - one of the worst genocides since World War II. They also failed to appreciate the reasons for U.S. cooperation in Jakarta's colonial project in East Timor. Such analyses often presented the problem as one of an errant child (Indonesia) that a strong parent (the U.S.) needs to convince of the error of its ways, rather than seeing Indonesia and the U.S. as partners in crime in East Timor.

Indonesia is today the world's fourth most populous country and the world's largest Muslim country. It is a moderate member of OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, and generally supportive of U.S. and Western foreign policy objectives. Indonesia's staunch anti-communism, strategic location, and wealth

of natural resources have made it very attractive to Western interests. Its liberal investment laws and repressive labor conditions have helped it develop into a major center for multinational corporate activity with extensive mining, logging, and oil extraction operations. With a legal minimum wage of less than \$2 a day, Indonesia is a leading manufacturing site for products ranging from Nike footwear to Levi Strauss jeans.

U.S. support in 1975 for Indonesia's designs on East Timor was principally a reward for Suharto's cooperation with Western geopolitical and political-economic objectives; to a lesser extent it also grew out of concerns that an independent East Timor might lead to regional instability. Similar interests motivated other Western countries, the majority of which followed the U.S. lead.

But East Timor in and of itself was of relatively marginal concern to U.S. policy-makers; Indonesia was and is what matters. Suharto's Indonesia has been traditionally among the region's more regulated economies and resistant to APEC's free trade goal. In the last couple of years, however, Jakarta has greatly reduced its opposition to trade liberalization and has become convinced that Indonesia will have to open up in order to improve the country's competitiveness in the world economy. At the same time, Jakarta hoped to use its hosting of the APEC forum as an opportunity to spruce up its image as a country of slightly-suspect political stability due to its authoritarian nature. In this regard, Jakarta proved to be its own worst enemy. A series of heavy-handed actions by the Indonesian state in the months preceding the APEC meeting only served to highlight the repressive nature of the Suharto government.

In June, the government closed down two of Indonesia's biggest magazines, Tempo and Editor, as well as the weekly tabloid newspaper DeTik, for their reporting on a recent banking scandal, government corruption in military purchases, and ongoing problems in and around East Timor. Indonesia has also harassed and intimidated a number of high-profile pro-democracy and human rights activists, most notably Professor George Aditjondro whose publication in Australia of two papers (previously distributed in Indonesia), detailing the environmental and socio-economic impact of Jakarta's invasion and occupation of East Timor outraged the authorities.

The launching of "Operation-Clean-Up" (Operasi Bersih or Opsih), an anti-crime campaign meant to clean up Jakarta before the APEC meeting, proved to be a further embarrassment for Jakarta as Indonesian and international human rights groups heavily

criticized the repressive operation which often served as a smoke screen to snuff out political dissent. (In June, for example, Indonesian troops wearing black T-shirts emblazoned with Opsih, violently suppressed a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta protesting the closing of the three news media.)

Finally, Jakarta committed a major mistake in late May when it pressured the Philippines to disallow the holding of the International Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) in Manila. While the Ramos government did not prohibit the conference from going forward, it blacklisted and barred a number of foreigners from attending, including the "first ladies" of France and Portugal, Indonesian pro-democracy advocates, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate from Northern Ireland, East Timorese resistance leaders in exile, and four Christian bishops.

The Clinton administration was pleased that Jakarta served as the venue for the most recent meeting. Indonesia's hosting helped reduce the impression and fear of many member-states that APEC is merely a tool for the U.S. (and Australia to a lesser extent) to extend their economic influence throughout the proposed free trade region. Despite an apparent receptivity to the Pacific Rim's version of NAFTA, however, Indonesia and many other APEC countries still fear that increased trade liberalization will lead to a flood of U.S. goods that will overwhelm domestic producers, especially in agriculture. Many also worry about potential negative repercussions that the free trade ideology will have on their national economies as they will be forced to dismantle the state-corporate relationships so vital in nurturing and protecting domestic capital.

Such concerns are, of course, well-placed. From the U.S. perspective APEC represents an opportunity to regain its economic pre-eminence through the establishment of a U.S.-dominated free trade region to counter the European trading bloc. In this sense, we should not view APEC in isolation, but rather as one component of an overall U.S. effort to open up the markets of the Asia-Pacific region (and the world in general) and to provide U.S.-based multinationals access to the human and natural resources of the area.

U.S. interest in APEC is an outgrowth of a shift in the world economy from the industrial economies of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific Rim. Over the last ten years the Asia-Pacific region has replaced Western Europe as the U.S.'s largest regional trading partner in terms of both imports and exports. U.S. trade in the Asia-Pacific region in 1993 was more than \$374 billion, 63 percent more than transatlantic trade. U.S. direct investment in the region reached \$92

billion in 1993, 17 percent of total U.S. overseas investment.

Begun in Canberra, Australia in 1989, APEC has quickly grown to 18 members-states: the six members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations-ASEAN (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand), Australia, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Japan, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, South Korea, Taiwan, and the U.S. In the first four years of its existence, APEC was simply an annual meeting among foreign ministers that focused on dialogue about customs procedures. While APEC was originally seen as an Australian project, the U.S. has come to play the dominant role.

In the short term, U.S. objectives for APEC are to accelerate the integration of APEC member-states into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In the long term, the U.S. would like to see the APEC countries move beyond GATT in terms of lowering tariffs outside of the purview of the recently-concluded Uruguay Round of GATT, this would include telecommunications and further agreements on intellectual property.

It is against a backdrop of ongoing U.S. efforts to maintain and to strengthen the economic position of U.S.-based capital in the region that we can understand United States policy toward Indonesia and East Timor since the 1975 invasion. APEC is only the latest manifestation of U.S. empire-building and helps explain the Clinton administration's response to the recent wave of unrest in and around the former Portuguese colony.

The U.S. Sacrifice at the Indonesian Altar

Clinton's APEC visit was the first trip to Jakarta by a U.S. president since 1975. Whether by coincidence or design, President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were visiting Indonesian President Suharto during the two days preceding the December 7, 1975 Indonesian invasion of the newly-independent East Timor. There is little doubt that the U.S. gave Suharto the green light to invade. In Jakarta the day before the invasion with President Ford, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger told reporters that "the United States understands Indonesia's position on the question" of East Timor.

According to columnist Jack Anderson, Ford admitted that, given a choice between East Timor and Indonesia, the U.S. "had to be on the side of Indonesia." Suharto was eager to obtain U.S. support for the invasion because of ABRI's (the Indonesian Armed Forces) heavy reliance on U.S. weaponry which, by U.S. law, could only be used for defensive purposes. Since Ford and Kiss-

inger's departure from Jakarta, well over 200,000 East Timorese - about one-third of the 1975 population - have lost their lives as a result of the invasion and ongoing occupation of the former Portuguese colony.

According to the State Department, U.S. companies supplied some 90 percent of the weapons used by ABRI during the invasion. When it looked as if Jakarta were actually running out of military equipment in late 1977 due to its activities in East Timor, the Carter "human rights" administration responded by authorizing U.S.\$112 million in commercial arms sales for fiscal 1978 to Jakarta, up from U.S.\$5.8 million the previous year (an almost 2,000 percent increase). U.S. arms sales to Indonesia peaked during the presidency of Ronald Reagan, exceeding U.S.\$1 billion from 1982-84.

As in the case of arms sales, military assistance also increased. In the year following the invasion, the Ford administration more than doubled its military assistance (to U.S.\$146 million) to Jakarta. Similarly, U.S. military aid increased during the Carter and Reagan administrations, during which the bulk of the killings were taking place in East Timor. Since the invasion, over 2,600 Indonesian military officers have received military training in the U.S. under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. There is even strong evidence to suggest that U.S. military advisers were present in Indonesian-occupied East Timor in the late 1970s.

The U.S. policy of complicity with Indonesia's occupation of East Timor remained essentially the same through the Bush administration. As for Clinton, East Timor supporters around the world saw some hopeful signs in the candidate who promised to put human rights in the center of U.S. foreign policy. Thus far, these signs have proven to be of little substance.

The Clinton Administration: End of Complicity?

During the presidential campaign, candidate Clinton called U.S. policy on East Timor "unconscionable," but his record since taking office is mixed at best. At the March 1993 meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission, the U.S. delegation reversed its historical intransigence and cosponsored a resolution condemning Indonesian human rights violations in East Timor. (The fact that a number of Western countries - including Australia, who would have otherwise voted against the resolution - supported it is indicative not only of the pre-eminent position of the U.S. in international politics, but also the key role of the U.S. in East Timor's future.)

Later that year, Clinton's State Department also blocked a proposed sale by the

Jordanian government of four U.S.-made F-5E fighter jets to Jakarta. And in early 1994, the State Department announced a ban on the sale of small arms to Indonesia.

But Jakarta's continuing economic and strategic importance has exposed the limits of Clinton's concern for human rights and international law. As reported by columnist Mark Baker in an August 1993 edition of the *Melbourne Age*, "[a] U.S. official said the extent to which the administration was prepared to press Indonesia on human rights was tempered by the continuing economic and strategic importance of Jakarta." Demonstrating such logic, the Clinton administration has provided \$180 million in economic assistance to Indonesia's rulers over the last two years through the World Bank-chaired Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), a consortium of donor countries and organizations.

The U.S. also sold more than \$30 million in weaponry in 1993 to Indonesia in government-to-government transactions alone. U.S. corporate arms sales - which require State Department approval - are estimated at \$57 million for 1994. The Clinton administration has even side-stepped a September 1992 Congressional ban on IMET funds to Jakarta by allowing Indonesia to purchase the training. And joint U.S.-Indonesia military exercises continue.

Thus far the Administration has tried to put the most positive spin on the APEC meeting, emphasizing Clinton's stem lecture on human rights to Indonesian President Suharto and the signing of 15 separate business deals totaling \$40 billion over the next decade (including a \$30 billion deal for exploitation of natural gas reserves by Exxon). The Embassy occupation and a series of events in and around East Timor, however, have helped to divert the international media spotlight away from APEC toward East Timor.

On November 12, the day before President Clinton's arrival in Jakarta, Indonesian soldiers arrested U.S. journalists Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn as they tried to return to East Timor on the anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre. (Indonesian authorities released Nairn and Goodman after 20 hours, but blocked a subsequent attempt by the pair to fly to Dili from Jakarta. Nevertheless, the two were able to later sneak into East Timor where they spent several days undetected.) On that date in 1991 the Indonesian military opened fire on a defenseless crowd gathered at a cemetery in Dili, the East Timorese capital, killing hundreds.

Goodman, news director of WBAI Pacifica Radio in New York City, and Nairn, a freelance journalist who has written for *The Nation*, *The New Yorker*, and *Vanity*

Fair, were eyewitnesses to the massacre. Both journalists were badly beaten. Nairn, who was struck repeatedly by soldiers wielding the butts of U.S.-made M-16 rifles, suffered a fractured skull. Nairn's and Goodman's award-winning reporting brought the massacre and the issue of East Timor to world attention.

On the same day as the arrests, 29 East Timorese students and workers scaled the spiked fence of the U.S. Embassy, unfurling banners and shouting pro-independence slogans. Camped out in the embassy parking lot, the demonstrators called for East Timorese self-determination and the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from their country. In a written petition to Bill Clinton, the protesters demanded that he call upon Indonesia to release East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão and all other East Timorese political prisoners and to enter into direct negotiations with the different elements of the resistance, including the East Timorese Catholic Church and to allow for "an independent and impartial mission with the aim of conducting a serious investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre."

The students vowed not to leave the Embassy compound until the U.S. met their demands, including a meeting with Secretary of State Christopher or President Clinton. (They turned down an offer of a meeting with the U.S. Ambassador to Jakarta, Robert Barry.) While both Clinton and Christopher promised that the 29 were welcome to stay in the compound for as long as they desired and that they would not be pressured to leave the Embassy grounds, the behavior of the Embassy staff suggests otherwise.

The East Timorese were given no water for two days. After that they were only provided with water and two servings of white rice a day. The Embassy also denied them shelter and access to sanitary facilities. Such conditions, combined with the Clinton administration's lack of compliance with the demands and repeated exposure to taunts and death threats from the hundreds of Indonesian military personnel ringing the fence around the compound, convinced the protesters to finally accept Portugal's offer of political asylum. (Under international law, Portugal remains the "administering authority" of East Timor as the territory has never been properly decolonized.)

Shortly after the original 29 scaled the Embassy fence, Indonesian authorities arrested about 50 other East Timorese who were on their way to the U.S. Embassy to join in the sit-in. While Indonesia has released some of the group, a number of them have been re-arrested. As of this writing, the whereabouts of many of the arrestees is unknown; it is feared that many of them are

being tortured and that some have been "disappeared."

On the day following the beginning of the Embassy sit-in, a small pro-independence rally took place after a Sunday morning Catholic mass in Dili to commemorate the 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre. With dozens of foreign journalists present in Dili for the APEC conference in Jakarta, several dozen young people marched with FRETILIN flags and banners calling for independence and President Clinton's support. Following the peaceful march, over a thousand East Timorese youths rioted in Dili, attacking Indonesian-owned homes, stores and hotels, burning cars and clashing with riot police who responded with tear gas. Frequent and violent protests continued for at least two weeks. Several were reported dead and hundreds arrested.

Reminiscent of the U.S. Reaganesque policy toward South Africa of "constructive engagement," the Clinton administration has clearly made the unsurprising decision of privileging economic interests over basic human rights. Recent events have largely served to highlight the tragedy of Indonesia's imperial project in East Timor and of U.S. policy, leading to a sobering assessment of the possibilities for progressive change in U.S. practice toward Indonesia and East Timor -especially in light of the recent House and Senate elections. At the same time, however, there are a number of reasons for hope for East Timor's future.

While Clinton's response to the recent wave of unrest has been totally inadequate, his public censure of Indonesia marks the first time the U.S. government has made any sort of critical statement regarding the political administration of East Timor. Furthermore, although the Administration has maintained the essence of U.S. policy toward Indonesia and East Timor, noteworthy changes (outlined above) have taken place.

Prior to 1992, the U.S. had never taken any action limiting assistance to Indonesia on the basis of the latter's presence in East Timor. Significantly, due to grassroots pressure and mobilization, U.S. policy in East Timor is now a public and Congressional subject of debate. The fact that important voices in the U.S. corporate-owned media are calling for East Timorese self-determination and implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, for an end to U.S. complicity is certainly cause for concern in Jakarta.

In terms of East Timor, while Jakarta has defeated the East Timorese militarily, a small guerrilla force (FALINTIL) continues to challenge ABRI and to serve as an important symbol of resistance to Indonesian domination. Of greater significance, however, is the East Timorese clandestine front (with formal links to FALINTIL) and the

growing civilian resistance which often operates outside of traditional resistance structures. The recent wave of unrest demonstrates not only the failure of Indonesia to win the hearts and minds of the vast majority of the population, but also the growing organizational and political strength of the East Timorese resistance, adept both in limiting Indonesia's ability to subjugate the territory and its people and in helping to raise and maintain consciousness in Indonesia and abroad regarding Jakarta's criminal occupation of East Timor.

Within Indonesia, a growing number of national elites understand the high cost that Indonesia is paying both in a material sense and in terms of international opinion, by maintaining its occupation of East Timor. In terms of the pro-democracy and human rights movements, significant components champion East Timorese self-determination, a position unthinkable prior to the Santa Cruz Massacre. Increasingly, elements of the East Timorese resistance are forming links with progressive Indonesians. George Aditjondro, for example, has recently formed the Indonesian Campaign for a Referendum for Self-Determination for East Timor.

Internationally, principally as a result of Santa Cruz and the recent APEC debacle, East Timor is almost universally synonymous with Indonesian repression. In a number of countries throughout the world, East Timor solidarity and human rights groups have emerged and developed. In terms of both public and elite opinion, Indonesia's isolation is growing.

Regarding the United Nations, the publicity that grew out of the Santa Cruz Massacre combined with the new UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, have reinvigorated activity on East Timor in the international body. UN-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal resumed in 1992, this time, however, accompanied by consultations with East Timorese independent of Jakarta. And recently, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas ended Jakarta's refusal to meet with pro-independence East Timorese and sat down with José Ramos-Horta, co-leader of the umbrella group of the resistance, the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM).

That said, while such hopeful signs have emerged in the three years since Santa Cruz, not much has changed in East Timor. As Bishop Belo-the head of the East Timorese Catholic Church and a nominee for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize-recently stated, "the situation is as bad as ever.... We live in a scorched land." Jakarta maintains a heavy military presence in the territory and, despite the UN-sponsored talks, refuses to discuss East Timorese self-determination.

And there are definite limits to the ability of the East Timorese to force Jakarta's hand given the vastly superior resources at the Indonesian state's disposal.

In terms of U.S. policy, the types of "pressure" brought to bear upon Jakarta are clearly inadequate. Entrenched economic interests will certainly resist any sort of policy toward Indonesia perceived as punitive. U.S.-based weapons contractors and multinationals such as mining conglomerate Freeport McMoRan and AT&T have championed Jakarta's cause. While support for East Timor within the U.S. Congress has grown, Indonesia's supporters, including some prominent Senate Democrats, such as Bennett Johnson (Louisiana), Daniel Inouye (Hawaii), and Dianne Feinstein (California), have helped to undermine East Timor's cause.

Apart from radical changes within Indonesia, it is doubtful that East Timorese self-determination will become a reality in the foreseeable future. Barring such change, it is only through Western - principally U.S. - pressure in the form of a cut off of military and non-humanitarian economic assistance that Jakarta will perceive a withdrawal from East Timor to be in its best interest. Anxious to maintain good relations with the United States, Indonesia would be under intense pressure to withdraw from East Timor in the face of such clear U.S. resolve. But without a strong signal from the Clinton administration, Indonesia's occupation of East Timor will continue, as will U.S. complicity with one of history's ugliest chapters.

The South African and Central American solidarity movements demonstrated the power of ordinary citizens to limit Washington's imperial destructiveness and to facilitate progressive change abroad. Thus far, human rights activists and East Timor solidarity groups have played a key role in making East Timor an issue of public discussion and in bringing about the small but significant changes in U.S. policy. Such efforts must continue and intensify as the road ahead is a long one.

UN RAPPOREURS REPORT, VISIT AGAIN

RAPPOREUR ON EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS VISITS INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

The following Press Release was issued by the U.N. in Geneva on 14 December 1994.

From 3 to 13 July 1994, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Mr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye, undertook a visit to Indonesia and East Timor within the framework of his mandate. His report on the visit was made public yesterday. The purpose of Mr. Ndiaye's visit was to gather reliable information on the situation of the right to life in East Timor and, in particular, assess the Government's compliance with its obligation under international law to conduct investigations into the violent events at Dili in November 1991, bring to justice those responsible, provide adequate compensation to the families of the victims and prevent the recurrence of violations of the right to life. During his mission, the Special Rapporteur met with civilian and military authorities of the Indonesian Government in Jakarta, Denpasar and East Timor. He also met with representatives of non-governmental human rights organisations in Jakarta, members of the clergy in East Timor, witnesses of violations of the right to life in East Timor as well as a number of prisoners.

On 12 November 1991, security forces had opened fire at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili against unarmed civilians who had participated in a march demanding independence for East Timor. According to the authorities, 19 persons were killed. Most sources however, estimate the total number of persons killed between 150 and 270.

The Special Rapporteur concluded that the security forces proceeded in a planned military operation against unarmed civilians manifesting political dissent, in clear breach of the international standards limiting the use of force and firearms by law enforcement officials. The security forces employed their arms in a way that was neither necessary nor proportionate. The steps taken by the authorities of Indonesia in the aftermath of the killings revealed a number of shortcomings. Investigations carried out by police, which is part of the armed forces, lacked independence, impartiality and professionalism. A National Commission of Inquiry (NCI), set up to investigate into the killings, was not totally independent either.

Furthermore, interviews with eyewitnesses were not conducted confidentially. Investigations carried out to clarify the whereabouts of numerous persons who had disappeared during the violent events at Santa Cruz cemetery or in their aftermath were not thorough nor systematic. The NCI published a preliminary report. Its final report was never made public, nor were reports of any other inquiries. Forensic examinations as well as criminal investigations were also inadequate. Only very few military personnel were brought to trial before a Court Martial, none of them charged with homicide.

Procedures for the investigation of human rights violations in East Timor are clearly inadequate. Civilians have no access to any effective legal remedy, the only possibility for them being to file complaints with the police, which is part of the armed forces. The civilian District Attorney for East Timor has no power to initiate investigations. Members of the armed forces are tried by the military judiciary, even if accused of human rights violations against civilians. Victims or their families have no possibility of participating in the proceedings.

The Special Rapporteur noted with concern that the same conditions that allowed the killings in Dili to happen still persist in East Timor. With a view to preventing violence in the context of public manifestations, he recommended that the new law on demonstrations currently being drafted explicitly recognises the right to peaceful assembly and manifestations and clearly reflects the obligation of the security forces to respect the restrictions and limitations on the use of force and firearms, as contained in the pertinent international instruments. With a view to prevention of similar acts, he particularly called on the authorities of Indonesia to ensure full respect for these constraints and limitations on the part of law enforcement officials. In this context, the Special Rapporteur emphasised the need for the establishment of a civilian police, whose members should receive adequate training in crowd control methods and the appropriate non-lethal equipment to carry out such operations.

The Special Rapporteur also called on the authorities to comply with their obligation under international law to conduct thorough, independent and impartial investigations into all alleged violations of the right to life.

To this effect, he made the following recommendations: the civilian prosecuting authorities should be endowed with powers to initiate judicial proceedings against members of the security forces; civilian courts should be given jurisdiction over cases involving human rights violations against civilians; provisions should be made for the participa-

tion of victims of human rights violations or their families in judicial proceedings; an independent Human Rights Commission in East Timor should be set up with participation of non-governmental organisations and representatives of different sectors of the society. More specifically, with regard to the Dili killings, Mr. Ndiaye recommended that a new commission of inquiry, composed of independent experts and endowed with sufficient resources, be established.

Mr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye was appointed Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions in 1992. He has since examined issues related with the protection of the right to life in more than 80 countries. In the framework of his mandate, Mr. Ndiaye has also carried out visits to the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Peru and Colombia.

The Special Rapporteur wishes to thank the Government of Indonesia for the invitation for and its cooperation during the visit and hopes to continue a dialogue with all interested parties for a better protection of the right to life in East Timor

COMMENT FROM CHARLIE SCHEINER, ETAN/US:

Although the report was released in mid-December, it is dated November 1. Unfortunately, the U.N. Secretariat chose to keep it under wraps during the focus of international attention on East Timor during APEC. It could have given the many reporters who visited a lot of leads to explore.

THE NDIAYE REPORT : INDONESIA MUST NOW FACE FIRM INTERNATIONAL ACTION

Editorial, Matebian News, Issue No. 8. December 1994

The report of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary and Arbitrary Executions, of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (CHR), recently released, raises troubling questions for Indonesia as well as for the international community.

The report by Mr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye, a respected Senegalese jurist, who visited East Timor in July 1994 at the invitation of the government of Indonesia, following the great success by the East Timorese in March 1993 meeting of the CHR in Geneva, confirmed the CNRM's long-standing charge (corroborated by independent eyewitnesses) that the massacre of unarmed civilians on 12 November 1991 at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili was a premeditated action ordered by the highest Indonesian authorities.

Following the massacre, the CHR met in Geneva in February/March 1992 and adopted a mild consensus statement read by

the Chairman. The mild statement, instead of a strongly worded resolution, was imposed by Australia, the US, Japan and the UK who argued the line that the Dili massacre was a local, isolated "incident," resulting from actions taken on the ground by junior army personnel without orders from the above. Indonesia was praised for its "prompt" action in "investigating" the massacre.

Australia's Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, repeatedly rejected tough action against Jakarta because, in his view, the Dili "incident" was an "aberration," not evidence of a systematic practice. The then Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, assured a visiting East Timorese delegation in Canberra, in December 1991, that if there were any evidence that the Santa Cruz massacre was a premeditated action ordered by higher authorities, Australia would review its entire East Timor policy.

The report challenges the credibility and integrity of the Indonesian Foreign Minister himself. After all, wasn't Mr. Ali Alatas who assured the world that the massacre was a "regrettable incident" (not a massacre) resulting from the action of "local" authorities? Wasn't Mr. Alatas who rejected the parallel between the Santa Cruz massacre and the Tiananmen massacre because, according to him, the latter was an action ordered by the Beijing authorities, while the Santa Cruz massacre was an action undertaken by local commanders?

The report by Mr. Bacre Ndiaye, in exposing Indonesia's official lies over the Santa Cruz massacre and the persistent and widespread pattern of abuse of human rights in East Timor, calls into question the conciliatory approach by Australia, the US, Japan and the UK in their bi-lateral dealings with Indonesia and compromising spineless posture at the CHR.

It is unlikely that Foreign Minister Gareth Evans did not have access to classified intelligence and Embassy reports about the true dimension of the Santa Cruz massacre. Yet, for three years, the Australian government (and for that matter the US and UK governments) covered up and lied to their own people and the international community about the facts surrounding the Santa Cruz massacre. Foreign Minister Evans must have known (as did the CNRM) that the massacre was a premeditated action ordered by the highest military authorities.

In light of this authoritative UN report, Australia, the US, Japan and the EU must review its entire East Timor policy. It must forcefully support firm action in the CHR in February 1995 when the report is considered under item 12 of the CHR's agenda. A strongly worded resolution condemning the continuing human rights abuses, enforced

disappearances and the persistent practice of torture, must be co-sponsored by Australia, the US and the EU. They must also impress upon Indonesia to invite at least two more thematic bodies of the UN to visit East Timor in the course of 1995, namely the Special Rapporteur on Torture and the Working Group on Disappearances.

Solidarity groups, friends of East Timor and NGOs should call upon governments around the world to support specific action at the CHR and at bi-lateral level with Jakarta.

"SANTA CRUZ SHOULD NOT BE A THING OF THE PAST"

Publico, 15 Dec. 1994. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The official Indonesian version of the Santa Cruz massacre - the term now also used by the UN - is taken apart, piece by piece. Justice has not been done, says the UN Special Rapporteur. But it is not too late to find out the truth.

"The Special Rapporteur will refer to the events of 12 November as *deaths*, a word which, in his opinion, is more appropriate than the term *incident* used by many, including the Indonesian authorities. In fact, given the number of victims, the Special Rapporteur considers it appropriate to refer to the *massacre*.

This is the short note attached to the report of Bacre Waly Ndiaye, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, that sets the tone for the content of the document which, from beginning to end, contests the official Indonesian version of the Santa Cruz massacre.

Ndiaye was in East Timor and Indonesia from 3 to 13 July this year. The Jakarta authorities were forced into inviting him in order to meet one of the conditions enumerated in the consensual statement on Timor which they agreed to sign at the UN Human Rights Commission to avoid an unfavorable vote.

After four and a half days in Jakarta, and another few in East Timor (Dili, Viqueque and Ossu), passing through Bali (Denpasar), the Special Rapporteur compiled a 30-page report. In its Conclusions, the report states that "no confidence measure can be effective, and no solution for the problems of East Timor can be found before justice is done."

Bacre Ndiaye is convinced that justice is far from having been done. That is the conclusion the report establishes by dismantling, one by one, the arguments which Jakarta presents to keep Santa Cruz a closed case.

Ndiaye concludes that, far from the Indonesian military's action being a spontane-

ous and uncontrolled reaction against an enraged crowd, their action was in fact "a military operation planned to deal with the public expression of political dissent, carried out in a way which did not comply with international human rights standards." The demonstrators were not armed. The murderers were men of the regular security forces, and the information about the digging of mass burial sites before the massacre even occurred speaks for itself.

Investigations that lack credibility The official investigations carried out or sponsored by Jakarta are not worthy of credibility, in the view of the UN Special Rapporteur. Ndiaye states that even the figures given by the Indonesians themselves are contradictory. In Jakarta they put the deaths at Santa Cruz at a total of 19, while the National Commission of Inquiry, appointed by Suharto, mentioned "about 50" fatalities.

The Special Rapporteur also found that the people do not trust the National Commission of Inquiry - they do not report violations to the Commission for fear of reprisals - and that it lacks "the necessary technical capacity" to challenge the investigations conducted by the police themselves.

Ndiaye describes Jakarta's latest inspiration, the creation of a National Human Rights Commission, instituted by a June 1993 Presidential decree, as a "positive step," but goes on to note that this new organism has simply "not dealt, to date, with any human rights violations in East Timor, especially the Santa Cruz murders."

Jakarta comes in for particularly harsh criticism the question of the punishment of Indonesian military involved in the massacre. Bacre Ndiaye points out the "unreasonable discrepancies" between the sentences received by the Timorese - terms ranging from 9 years to life imprisonment - and the disciplinary action taken against the military - the most any soldier received was one and a half year's detention, absolute impunity for the commanding officers.

On the question of the "disappearances" - 56 cases according to Jakarta, 224 cases documented by international organisations - the UN Rapporteur states that "no investigation of any kind is underway." Ndiaye tells of his amazement at hearing Timor's Police Chief say that he was unaware of the cases submitted by the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to the Indonesian Government.

The report ends with a series of recommendations. After stating he had "clearly sensed the terror among the many Timorese" with whom he had spoken, Bacre Ndiaye recommends that what happened at Santa Cruz should not be considered "a thing of the past," stating that "it is not too

late" to find out the truth. The recommendations include setting up a civil police force in Timor, allowing international organisations access to the territory, creation of a new and credible commission of inquiry, establishment of mechanisms through which lawsuits could be brought against the military by Timorese civilians and through which they could be tried by ordinary courts. They are predictable suggestions. What was not expected, however, was the recommendation that Jakarta accelerate and broaden the demilitarisation of East Timor, so that "families feel safe enough to denounce the murder or disappearance of their relatives."

FULL TEXT OF THE REPORT BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR

UN ECOSOC: E/CN.4/1995/61/Add.1 dated 1 November 1994 but not released until mid-December, in Geneva.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Fifty-first session
Item 12 of the provisional agenda

**QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN
RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN
ANY PART OF THE WORLD, WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND
OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND
TERRITORIES**

Extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions

Addendum

**Report by the Special Rapporteur, Mr.
Bacre Waly Ndiaye, on his mission to
Indonesia and East Timor
from 3 to 13 July 1994**

I. BACKGROUND

A. Framework of the invitation by the Government of Indonesia

1. In a letter dated 19 November 1993, the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions expressed to the Government of Indonesia his interest in carrying out a visit to East Timor. In this context, he referred to Commission on Human Rights resolution 1993/71, "Extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions" and resolution 1993/47; "Human rights and thematic procedures," in which the Commission encouraged Governments to invite special rapporteurs to visit their countries, and 1993/97, "Situation in East Timor," in which the Commission urged the Government of Indonesia to invite the Special Rapporteur to visit East Timor and to facilitate the discharge of his mandate.

2. In its reply, the Government of Indonesia drew the Special Rapporteur's attention to the fact that the Commission members had adopted resolution 1993/97 by a vote; Indonesia and many other member countries had rejected the resolution. Therefore, Indonesia did not feel compelled to abide by its provisions. It was further stated that the Government of Indonesia would give due consideration to a request for a visit to Indonesia, including East Timor, of any special rapporteur, as long as it was based on United Nations consensus resolutions.

3. In a letter dated 24 January 1994, the Government of Indonesia extended to the Special Rapporteur an invitation to visit Indonesia (Jakarta and East Timor) in accordance with resolutions 1993/71 and 1993/47.

4. During a meeting with the Indonesian delegation at the fiftieth session of the Commission on Human Rights, the Special Rapporteur expressed the wish not to limit his mission to East Timor, but also to visit some regions of Indonesia, such as Aceh and Irian Jaya, where, according to the reports brought to his attention, grave violations of the right to life, continued to occur. This request was not accepted by the representatives of the Indonesian Government.

B. Purpose of the mission

5. The purpose of the Special Rapporteur's visit should be seen in the framework of the mandate entrusted to him by the Commission on Human Rights (see E/CN.4/1994/7, paras. 5-12) and in the light of the Chairman's statement on the situation of human rights in East Timor, agreed upon by consensus by the Commission on Human Rights at its fiftieth session (E/1994/24-E/CN.4/1994/132, para. 482). In this statement, the Chairman declared that the Commission noted with concern continuing allegations of human rights violations in East Timor and that a matter of preoccupation to the Commission was the *incomplete information* (emphasis added) concerning the number of people killed and the persons still unaccounted for as a result of the Dili violent incident of 12 November 1991. While acknowledging the efforts made to account for those persons, the Commission called upon the Government of Indonesia to continue its investigation on those still missing in the circumstances surrounding the matter.

6. The objectives of the Special Rapporteur were therefore the following:

- (a) To collect more information about the tragic events that occurred at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili on 12 November 1991 (see below, paras. 16-23 and E/CN.4/1992/30, paras. 279-286), and

in particular to assess the Government's fulfillment of the standards under international law concerning the use of force by law-enforcement officials and its obligation to investigate all allegations of summary executions, to bring to justice their perpetrators, to provide compensation to the families of the victims and to prevent their occurrence. The Special Rapporteur based his analysis on several international instruments falling within his mandate (see E/CN.4/1994/7, paras. 9-10), and in particular the Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 44/162, adopted by consensus on 15 December 1989. Given the particularities of the situation of the right to life in East Timor, the Special Rapporteur also took into account the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 47/133 of 18 December 1992;

- (b) To gather reliable information about the situation of the right to life in East Timor since the Dili killings.

During his visit, the Special Rapporteur clearly indicated to all the Indonesian authorities and the members of the security forces he met with, that, as mentioned in the Chairman's statement, the information so far provided to the Commission on Human Rights was insufficient, and that since the Indonesian Government had extended an invitation to him, he expected to receive new elements of information during his visit.

8. The Special Rapporteur wishes to emphasize here that his mission in no way aimed at an analysis of the political status of the territory of East Timor or at its level of economic development. The Special Rapporteur stresses that his only purpose is always to examine the respect for the right to life, irrespective of any other considerations including those mentioned above. Furthermore, such elements can in no way be invoked as grounds for any weakening of or derogation from the absolute character of the right to life.

C. Programme of the visit

9. The Special Rapporteur spent 4 1/2 days in Jakarta, 1 in Denpasar and 4 1/2 in East Timor (including a visit to Viqueque and Ossu, southern East Timor).

10. During his visit, the Special Rapporteur met with the following officials of the Indonesian Government (in chronological order): Minister for Foreign Affairs a.i. and high level officials of the Foreign Ministry,

Jakarta Raya Military Commander, Minister for Home Affairs, Chief of National Police, Secretary-General of the Department of Defence and Security, Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces, Military Commander of Zone IX (which includes East Timor), Governor of East Timor, East Timor District Attorney, Chief of the Court of East Timor Province. Members of the East Timor Local House of Representatives, Chief of East Timor Police, East Timor traditional leaders, Military Resort Commander of East Timor, members of the National Commission of Human Rights, members of the Human Rights Commission of the People's Consultative Assembly, Minister of Justice, Attorney-General.

11. In addition, the Special Rapporteur interviewed Xanana Gusmão (former leader of the Timorese clandestine resistance) at Cipinang Prison (Jakarta), one prisoner at Becora Prison and four at Balide Prison (both in Dili, East Timor). He had also expressed the wish to meet with six persons convicted by an Indonesian court of having organized the Dili demonstration of 12 November 1991. However, since those prisoners had been abruptly transferred from Becora Prison (Dili) to Semarang Prison (Central Java) on 12 June 1994, and taking into account his already full schedule, the Special Rapporteur decided, with the consent of the Indonesian authorities, to send his assistant to Semarang to interview the six prisoners on his behalf.

12. The Special Rapporteur also met representatives of non-governmental human rights organizations in Jakarta, members of the clergy in East Timor (including Bishop Belo) and witnesses of violations of the right to life in East Timor - including a number of eye-witnesses of the Dili killings. The Special Rapporteur also met with the Ambassador of the United States of America and the Ambassador of the Netherlands. On 12 July he held a press conference in Jakarta.

13. The Indonesian authorities cooperated fully with the Special Rapporteur during his visit. He was granted freedom of movement in East Timor, and he was able to talk to all the individuals he wished to meet.

14. The Special Rapporteur takes this opportunity to express his gratitude for the warm hospitality of the Indonesian authorities as well as for the full access to places and persons granted to him and his delegation.

D. East Timor and the thematic mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights

15. In recent years, several of the thematic mechanisms of the Commission on

Human Rights have received, and acted upon, allegations of human rights violations by members of the Indonesian security forces in East Timor and, in connection with events in East Timor, in Indonesia. The Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions repeatedly expressed concern at reports of shortcomings in the investigations into the Santa Cruz killings. The Special Rapporteur on the question of torture transmitted to the Government of Indonesia information concerning several persons who were allegedly subjected to torture while in detention. Some of them were said to have been detained in connection with the events of 12 November 1991. The Working Group on Arbitrary Detention investigated the case of one person accused and convicted of masterminding a demonstration in Jakarta to protest against the Santa Cruz killings. The Working Group decided that his arrest and continued detention upon conviction were arbitrary. In the case of another person serving a prison sentence of nine years for his involvement in the demonstration on 12 November 1991 in Dili, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention transmitted to the Government of Indonesia an urgent appeal after receiving reports that he had been subjected to ill-treatment putting his life at risk. The Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances also examined the situation of disappearances in Indonesia and East Timor. At the time of its most recent report, there were still 375 outstanding cases (see also below, para. 22). More detailed information on the activities of the thematic mechanisms may be found in their respective reports to the Commission on Human Rights.

E. Violations of the right to life in East Timor: background and context

16. East Timor was a colony of Portugal for more than 455 years. On 7 December 1975, a full-scale invasion of East Timor by the Indonesian armed forces put an end to a decolonization process which had started with the April 1974 *coup d'état* in Portugal. On 17 July 1976 East Timor was declared Indonesia's twenty-seventh province. The United Nations has never recognized Indonesia's sovereignty over the territory. Armed and peaceful underground opposition to the integration with Indonesia has continued since the invasion, in spite of the heavy Indonesian military presence in East Timor and the tight control of the population.

17. There have been repeated allegations according to which between 1975 and 1980, an estimated 100,000 Timorese out of a population of 700,000 were killed by the Indonesian armed forces. Between 1980 and 1984, it has been further alleged that another

100,000 were killed or died of starvation or disease.

18. The most serious and notorious case of extrajudicial killings since then took place on 12 November 1991 at the Santa Cruz Cemetery, in Dili. On that date, unarmed civilians participated in a peaceful pro-independence march to the grave of Sebastião Gomes, a young man killed on 28 October during an attack by Indonesian security forces on the Motael church, where he and a number of other Timorese political activists had taken refuge.

19. The procession, in which an estimated 3,000 to 4,000 people (mainly students and other young people) participated, started after the early memorial mass for Sebastião Gomes. Banners and slogans hostile to the integration of East Timor with Indonesia were displayed during the march. Along the route (approximately 1 km from the cemetery), a major and a private in civilian dress were reportedly injured by demonstrators. The killings started in front of the entrance to the cemetery when soldiers opened fire on the crowd, minutes after it had arrived. The walls of the cemetery and the large number of people made it difficult to escape. The shooting continued for between 5 and 15 minutes /2/ and was followed by further shooting, beating and stabbing inside the perimeter of the cemetery. Moreover, according to eye-witness testimonies gathered by the special Rapporteur, a number of wounded demonstrators transported in trucks to the military hospital were ill-treated or deliberately killed during the journey or at the hospital's morgue.

20. It was reported that on that same day, and on the following days, road-blocks were set up and operations carried out in Dili and in neighbouring villages to round up survivors of the killings who had managed to escape, and allegedly to kill some of them.

21. During his visit, the Special Rapporteur was told by the Indonesian authorities that 19 persons had been killed on 12 November 1991, although the National Commission of Inquiry (see para. 28 and annex, para. 7) had affirmed that "there were sufficiently strong grounds to conclude that the death casualties totaled about 50." According to the testimonies gathered in East Timor by the Special Rapporteur, the total number of persons killed was estimated to be between 150 and 270, although some estimated it to be around 400. It was alleged that the bodies of the victims had been buried in unmarked mass graves or dumped in the sea.

22. There exist large discrepancies between the assessments of the number of cases of disappearances subsequent to the

Santa Cruz killings. This is true for the figures reported by non-governmental entities, as well as for those given by the Indonesian authorities, which acknowledged only 66 cases of disappearances but whose lists of names contained anomalies. /3/ The Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances transmitted to the Government of Indonesia a total of 224 cases of disappearances alleged to have occurred in connection with the Santa Cruz killings.

23. The Indonesian Government and military authorities expressed regret for the Santa Cruz killings, which they consider as a tragic accident that arose out of a provocative action by anti-integration elements.

F. The Indonesian Government's actions regarding cases of extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions in the light of international standards: the example of the Santa Cruz killings

24. During his mission to Jakarta and East Timor, the Special Rapporteur examined, in the light of international standards, the way in which the Indonesian authorities had acted regarding the killings of unarmed civilians by members of the security forces on 12 November 1991 at the Santa Cruz Cemetery, as well as regarding allegations of alleged subsequent killings. /4/ In so doing, the Special Rapporteur focused on the following main aspects:

- (a) The investigations carried out to establish the facts, to identify the perpetrators, to assess the responsibilities for the killings, to determine the number and identity of the victims and missing persons and to locate them;
- (b) The actions taken to bring to justice the perpetrators of the killings and disappearances;
- (c) The measures aimed at compensating the victims or their families;
- (d) The endeavours to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies.

25. A brief description of those actions follows. An analysis can be found in the section containing the Special Rapporteur's conclusions.

G. The investigations

26. The investigative steps taken subsequent to the killings included an internal military investigation immediately after the killings, appointing by presidential decree a National Commission of Inquiry, and actions by the police aimed at identifying the corpses of the victims and determining the whereabouts of the missing persons. Those steps are described below. The Special

Rapporteur will comment on them in his conclusions.

27. An internal military investigation, headed by the Deputy Chief of Strategic Intelligence, began in November 1991, before the arrival of the National Commission of Inquiry in Dili. During his visit, the Special Rapporteur requested, both orally and by a letter dated 11 July 1994, that the report of this investigation be made available to him. At the time of the completion of the present report, this request had not been satisfied.

28. A National Commission of Inquiry (NCI), established by Presidential Decree No. 53, commenced its work on 21 November 1991. Its activities covered the preparatory gathering of information in Jakarta from 21 to 27 November, followed by an investigation in East Timor from 28 November to 14 December 1991. The NCI met with a variety of representatives of the local authorities, members of the Church, members of the armed forces, private individuals and eye-witnesses; visited hospitals and police detention centres; inspected Santa Cruz Cemetery; exhumed one grave at Hera Cemetery and carried out unsuccessful inspections and excavations at locations at Pasir Putih, Tasi Tolu and Tibar in response to information received from the local people alleging that those were places of mass burial of victims. During his visit, the Special Rapporteur requested, both orally and in his letter of 11 July 1994, that the full report of this investigation be made available to him. At the time of the completion of the present report, this request had not been satisfied. The Special Rapporteur therefore had to rely on the preliminary report of the NCI, dated 26 December 1991, the conclusions of which are reproduced in the annex.

29. The Chief of the East Timor Police explained to the Special Rapporteur the steps taken by the local security forces to identify the bodies of the 19 acknowledged victims: one of them, a foreigner, could be identified because he was carrying identification documents. The remaining 18 corpses were buried the day after the killings (13 November 1991), as the morgue of the hospital could accommodate only three to four bodies. This was done after appeals had been made unsuccessfully over the radio, on television and in newspapers for the families to come and identify the bodies. The fingerprints of the victims had been taken but, due to the fact that the police were very busy interrogating the 308 suspects arrested at the cemetery, photographs of the bodies had not been taken. Identification had been impossible because of the lack of dental records and other technology. The Chief of Police also told the Special Rapporteur that

medical certificates had been issued by the hospital concerning the 19 bodies.

30. As regards the investigations carried out concerning the fate and whereabouts of the missing persons, the Chief of Police informed the Special Rapporteur that a public appeal had been made on 7 December 1991 to encourage the relatives of missing persons to report the cases. Many people had lodged complaints with the police regarding missing relatives (the last of those reports was made in early 1992); records had been established and communicated to the Commander. The police had tried to locate the missing persons according to the relevant police guidelines. Orders were issued to police sub-offices in East Timor and to provincial police chiefs throughout Indonesia to collect data on newcomers to their area. However, there was no special investigative team dealing with disappearance cases.

31. The Special Rapporteur was informed that the number of persons still missing had been reduced from 66 to 56 as a result of the investigations carried out by the Government of Indonesia: one person had been found in his house, two others had come forward, one had fled the country, two were in Jakarta; four bodies were found outside Dili, but it could not be ascertained if these were the remains of persons considered missing (see para. 57 below).

32. During his visit, the Special Rapporteur requested, both orally and in his letter of 11 July 1994, that the medical files of the 18 unidentified bodies, copies of the above-mentioned appeals to the public, the files of the persons whose disappearance had been reported by their family, and the police guidelines for the investigations of disappearances be made available to him. At the time of the completion of the present report, none of those requests had been satisfied.

H. Prosecution of the perpetrators

33. The Honorary Military Council, which was established after the NCI submitted its preliminary report to the President, began its work in January 1992. By a letter dated 27 February 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations Office at Geneva addressed to the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights (E/CN.4/1992/79), the salient parts of the announcement made by the Indonesian Chief of Staff of the Army on the results of the investigation conducted by the Honorary Military Council were communicated as follows:

“After thoroughly studying the report of the Council, the Chief of Staff of the army came to the conclusion

that there were three categories of offences/misconduct committed by the Local Commander of the army and his subordinates in the handling of the 12 November incident. It is deemed necessary, therefore, to take the following actions:

1. Six officers who were found guilty of misconduct will be punished: three officers will be dismissed from military service, two officers will not be given any post within the organizational structure of the Army although [they remain] still on active duty, and one officer temporarily will not be given any post within the organizational structure of the Army.

“2. The field commander and members of the military who acted without command and beyond acceptable norms will be brought before the Military Court in accordance with the laws and regulations. The number of persons to be brought to the Military Courts is: four officers, three sub-officers and one private.

“3. Further investigations will be pursued concerning five officers who failed to take appropriate actions during the incident.”

34. The court martial set up by the Indonesian military as a response to the matters arising out of the 12 November killings took place at Denpasar, Bali, from 26 May to 6 June 1992. Ten low-ranking members of the security forces were convicted under article 103, paragraph 1, of the Military Criminal Code for disobeying orders. Only one of them was found guilty of assault, in violation of article 351 of the Criminal Code, for cutting off the ears of a demonstrator. The others received disciplinary sentences. That is to say that none of the military personnel was charged with murder or manslaughter.

The Commander of the Armed Forces explained to the Special Rapporteur that the reason for this was that “there was no evidence on who killed who. The sentences ranged from 8 to 18 months.

35. The Special Rapporteur was told that the six senior officers mentioned above were responsible for intelligence and security in East Timor and it was therefore their responsibility to take action to forestall the demonstration; they were punished because they were commanding the troops that participated in the incident, but had given no order to open fire on the demonstrators. The Special Rapporteur was given no further information on the grounds for punishing those officers.

36. Four Timorese were convicted of subversion and nine were tried on felony, incitement to hatred or sedition charges in

trials in Dili and Jakarta. They were charged in connection with either the Dili demonstration or the demonstration in Jakarta to protest the killings. The sentences were extremely harsh (many were condemned to 9, 10 and 15 years' imprisonment), and one Timorese accused of having organized the demonstration was sentenced to life imprisonment.

I. Compensation of the relatives

37. The Special Rapporteur was told that the practice in the event of a death caused by soldiers is to give a bag of rice and a piece of cloth to the family of the victim. According to the military commander of East Timor, it is rather 3 million rupiahs and 50 kg of rice. However, the Indonesian officials met by the Special Rapporteur declared that no compensation had been granted to the families of the persons killed or disappeared.

J. Prevention

38. The Minister of Defence and Security declared that the rules concerning riot control, as well as the equipment, had been improved. Furthermore, a bill on demonstrations was being drafted. However, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces informed the Special Rapporteur that no changes had been made in the teaching programme of the soldiers, because the present one was in accordance with the needs. The essence of the problem had been the insubordination of irresponsible officers in the field. The Chief of the National Police informed the Special Rapporteur that the use of firearms by the police was very selective. Arms were not issued to policemen below the rank of sergeant and were used only in field operations. Warning shots should be fired, and the last resort should be non-lethal shots.

K. Violations of the right to life since 12 November 1991

39. The Secretary-General of the Department of Defence and Security told the Special Rapporteur that there had been no further deaths since the Dili incident and no combat against the armed resistance. The Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces declared that no one had been killed in demonstrations, but that it was possible that deaths had occurred during armed clashes in the countryside.

40. While the number of cases of human rights violations seems to have substantially decreased in East Timor since 1991, the testimonies and reports gathered by the Special Rapporteur clearly show that violations of the right to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly, arbitrary arrests, disappearances, torture and extrajudicial

dicial executions continue to occur. Information on the cases received will be processed and transmitted to the Government of Indonesia, in accordance with the Special Rapporteur's methods of work. A summary will be included in the annual report to the Commission. Information of relevance to other mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights will be passed on to those mechanisms.

II. CONCLUSIONS

41. The Special Rapporteur based the following conclusions on the information given to him during the meetings he held in Jakarta and in East Timor, on documentary evidence brought to his attention before and during his mission, and on the various reliable testimonies he gathered. It should be noted once again that during his visit the Special Rapporteur requested, both orally and by a letter dated 11 July 1994, that some important official documents referred to by the Indonesian authorities, mostly reports regarding the Santa Cruz killings, be made available to him. At the time of the completion of the present report, this request had not been satisfied.

42. The Special Rapporteur believes that, in examining the situation of the right to life in East Timor, other grave human rights violations attributed to the Indonesian armed forces in Indonesia itself (for instance in Aceh and Irian Jaya), as described in his previous reports to the Commission, should be borne in mind. In particular, the patterns of dealing violently with political dissent and the virtual impunity enjoyed by members of the security forces responsible for human rights violations should be recalled.

A. The Government's responsibility in the killings

43. The Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement officials adopted by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held at Havana, Cuba, from 27 August to 7 September 1990, provide that law enforcement officials, in carrying out their duties, shall as far as possible apply non-violent means and shall only use force in exceptional cases including self-defence or defence of others against the imminent threat of death or serious injury. Such force must be proportional to these objectives and the seriousness of the crime, and must minimize damage and injury. Force may only be used when less extreme means are insufficient. Of particular relevance in the context of the Santa Cruz killings are principles 12 to 14, which prohibit the use of force against participants in lawful and peaceful assemblies. Force may

only be used to the minimum extent necessary in the dispersal of unlawful assemblies.

44. The Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 34/169 of 17 December 1979, provides in article 3, that "law enforcement officials may use force only when strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty."

45. The Special Rapporteur received reports indicating that the security forces were fully aware days in advance of the preparations for the demonstration. For example, it was reported that on 11 November members of the security forces had tried to dissuade people to take part in the

demonstration. It was also reported by some sources that trenches had been dug with road-building machines during the days preceding the demonstration, allegedly to be used subsequently as mass graves. Furthermore, taking into account the number of security personnel and informers present in Dili, the Special Rapporteur is of the opinion that the authorities could not possibly have been unaware of the preparations for the 12 November demonstration.

46. The report of the NCI makes references to "an uncontrollable group of security personnel, who were not in proper formation nor in proper uniform and obviously in a highly-charged emotional state (...) a group of unorganized security personnel, acting outside any control or command, also fired shots and committed beatings, causing more casualties. The Chief of General Staff of the Army told the Special Rapporteur that those men were not irregular forces but troops out of uniform who had their weapons but who had no time to go back to their barracks for their uniforms.

47. It becomes clear from all the testimonies gathered by the Special Rapporteur - apart from those of some Indonesian officials, who claimed that the demonstrators were armed with knives and grenades and had tried to seize firearms from the soldiers - that the demonstrators carried no firearms. The Special Rapporteur is unaware of any evidence, in the trial documents or elsewhere, to the contrary. According to witnesses met by the Special Rapporteur, the sticks produced in court at the Dili trials were in fact used to hold up the banners, not as weapons. The only acts of violence reported, namely the stabbing of a major in plain clothes and the beating of a private, took place almost one hour before, and more than one kilometre away from Santa Cruz Cemetery. The Special Rapporteur asked all the officials he met whether members of the security forces had been killed on 12

November 1991. The answers were invariably negative. Furthermore, the film footage taken by foreign journalists within the cemetery viewed by the Special Rapporteur shows soldiers moving around the cemetery, apparently without any fear or constraint, while others are beating people on the ground. But even if the claims that the demonstrators were threatening the lives of members of the security forces had been supported by the available evidence, it would not explain why the demonstrators who were trying to flee the scene of the killings were shot in the back; why, after the shooting had stopped, soldiers went on stabbing, kicking and beating the survivors (including the wounded) inside the cemetery, on the way to the hospital, and allegedly also at the hospital itself; or why sporadic shooting was heard throughout the city and in neighbouring villages during the rest of the day, and possibly during several days. The violence of the security forces towards the demonstrators was illustrated by the information concerning the 91 wounded obtained by NCI at the "Wire Husada" Military Hospital and reflected in its report: 42 persons suffered gunshot wounds, 14 stab wounds and 35 wounds caused by blunt instruments.

48. The Special Rapporteur, after careful consideration of the available evidence, including the numerous eye-witness testimonies he gathered, reached the following conclusions:

- (a) A proper crowd control operation could have been set up beforehand to deal with the demonstration, thus avoiding the killings;
- (b) The forces that perpetrated the killings on 12 November 1991 were regular members of the armed forces;
- (c) The procession that took place in Dili on 12 November 1991 was a peaceful demonstration of political dissent by unarmed civilians; the claims of some officials that the security forces had fired in self-defence and had respected the principles of the necessity and the proportionality of the use of lethal force are unsubstantiated;
- (d) There are, therefore, reasons to believe that the actions of the security forces were not a spontaneous reaction to a riotous mob, but rather a planned military operation designed to deal with a public expression of political dissent in a way not in accordance with international human rights standards.

B. Analysis of the investigations

49. The following paragraphs contain the Special Rapporteur's analysis, in the light of the pertinent international standards, of the measures taken by the Government of Indonesia.

50. The Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 44/162 of 15 December 1989 spell out, *inter alia*, the following principles regarding investigations on allegations of extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions.

51. Principle 9 states: "There shall be thorough, prompt and impartial investigation of all suspected cases of extra-legal, arbitrary and summary execution... The purpose of the investigation shall be to determine the cause, manner and time of death, the person responsible, and any pattern or practice which may have brought that death. It shall include an adequate autopsy, collection and analysis of all physical and documentary evidence and statements from witnesses..." Principle 10 states, *inter alia*, that "those persons conducting the investigation shall have at their disposal all the necessary budgetary and technical resources for effective investigation."

52. From the information he gathered during meetings with the representative of the East Timor judiciary and law enforcement authorities, the Special Rapporteur concluded the following:

- (a) The investigation carried out by the police forces was not thorough, as will be shown below;
- (b) Given that the police is itself a part of the armed forces and the grave allegations concerning the adverse role of the police in the Santa Cruz killings and subsequent incidents, the conditions for an independent and impartial investigation were not present;
- (c) The forensic examination was inadequate. Although a medical examination was carried out by the hospital on the 19 acknowledged corpses, no adequate autopsies were performed. The Chief of Police told the Special Rapporteur that the necessary technological means were not available in East Timor, and that no forensic expert was sent from Jakarta. Likewise, no ballistic examination was conducted to connect the bullets fired with the weapons of the members of the security forces present at the cemetery, even though such an analysis could have been conducted later in the capital;

(d) The criminal investigation was inadequate, failing to clarify either the identity of the perpetrators or the victims, nor even the number of the latter. It did not determine the fate and whereabouts of the missing persons. In fact, it appears that the witnesses interrogated by the police were questioned on their involvement in the organization of the demonstrations rather than on possible unlawful acts carried out by members of the security forces, or the identity of the killed and disappeared.

53. Principle 11 states that "in cases in which the established procedures are inadequate because of lack of expertise or impartiality, because of the importance of the matter or because of the apparent existence of a pattern of abuse... Governments shall pursue investigations through an independent commission of inquiry or similar procedure. Members of such a commission shall be chosen for their recognized impartiality, competence and independence as individuals. In particular, they shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry. The Commission shall have the authority to obtain all information necessary to the inquiry and shall conduct the inquiry as provided for under these Principles.

54. The Special Rapporteur feels that the creation of the National Commission of Inquiry was an encouraging initiative. As regards the work of the NCI, he reached the following conclusions:

- (a) The NCI was created by presidential decree and its composition was widely criticized, for it did not include any member totally independent of the Government. Most of the East Timorese met by the Special Rapporteur declared that the NCI had not been trusted by the population;
- (b) None of the members of the NCI had the necessary technical expertise to correct the shortcomings found in the investigations carried out by the police. For instance, the Commission should have conducted a thorough search for alleged mass burial sites, carried out full exhumations of known graves, performed proper autopsies and examined ballistic evidence. As regards the last point, the only finding NCI reported was that there were 70 bullet marks in Santa Cruz Cemetery. Another example of a lack of competence is shown by the unprofessional manner in which the only exhumation was carried out, and by the irrelevance

of the conclusions drawn therefrom (see below, para. 57 (d)).

- (c) The Special Rapporteur welcomes the creation of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), established by presidential decree in June 1993, as a very positive step towards improved respect for human rights. However, it has so far not dealt with human rights violations in East Timor, and in particular the Santa Cruz killings. Moreover, most observers met by the Special Rapporteur were of the opinion that the NHRC had neither the mandate /5/ nor the means to deal efficiently with this case. /6/

55. Principle 12 states: "The body of the deceased person shall not be disposed of until an adequate autopsy is conducted by a physician, who shall, if possible, be an expert in forensic pathology... If the body has been buried and it later appears that an investigation is required, the body shall be promptly and competently exhumed for an autopsy. If skeletal remains are discovered, they should be carefully exhumed and studied according to systematic anthropological techniques." Principle 13 states that "[t]he autopsy shall, at a minimum, attempt to establish the identity of the deceased and the cause and manner of death... Detailed colour photographs of the deceased shall be included in the autopsy report..."

56. As regards the way in which the investigations dealt with the bodies of the victims, the Special Rapporteur concluded the following: According to the Chief of the East Timor Police, the bodies of the acknowledged 19 victims were buried at Hera on 13 November, one day after the killings. No adequate autopsy had been performed, no pictures of the corpses had been taken and, to date, 18 of the bodies remain unidentified. It is not known what measures were taken as regards the bodies of victims allegedly buried in mass graves. The Special Rapporteur therefore reached the same conclusion as the NCI, which reported that "there was careless handling of those who died, because although the *visum et repertum*s were performed the deceased were not properly identified. Little opportunity was given to the families/friends of the victims to identify the bodies."

57. As regards the information provided by the Government according to which 10 of the 66 missing persons had been found, the Special Rapporteur notes the following:

- (a) The four bodies found in July 1992 outside Dili could not be identified nor could their remains be linked to persons reported missing after the Santa Cruz killings. However, the Govern-

ment considered that they could constitute a clarification of the fate of four individuals included in its list of 66 missing persons;

- (b) Only two persons out of the 10 whom the Government had reported as having been found were in fact included in the list of 66 names;
- (c) According to all the witnesses met by the Special Rapporteur and contrary to the declarations made by the Chef of the East Timor Police, no appeal was made on 12 or 13 November 1991 for relatives of missing persons to come to the hospital to identify the bodies of the 19 victims:
- (d) The Chief of Police told the Special Rapporteur that a tractor had been used by the NCI to excavate graves. The Special Rapporteur cannot help being surprised that such an indiscriminate means of digging, contrary to the basic methodology of any expert exhumation and likely to be detrimental to the outcome of any subsequent forensic analysis, was used. The conclusions drawn from this exhumation were irrelevant: the victim was buried in a coffin, completely dressed, and there was only one corpse in the grave. No autopsy was conducted on the body, and therefore no pertinent information, such as the identity of the corpse or the cause of death, was given. However, the Military Commander of East Timor told the Special Rapporteur that the normal procedure to deal with a case of a civilian killed was to conduct a forensic analysis, and that a ballistics expert was usually brought from Jakarta. The Special Rapporteur was also informed that four graves were found in July 1992, but that forensic tests could not conclusively tie the remains to the Santa Cruz killings, and that the identity of the deceased could not be determined.

58. Principle 15 states: "Complainants, witnesses, those conducting the investigation and their families shall be protected from violence, threats of violence or any other form of intimidation. Those potentially implicated in extra-legal arbitrary or summary executions shall be removed from any position of control or power, whether direct or indirect, over complainants, witnesses and their families, as well as over those conducting investigations."

59. As regards the atmosphere in which the investigations were carried out, the Special Rapporteur concluded the following: Most of the eye-witnesses interviewed by the NCI were held in prison or military

hospital and the meetings are therefore believed to have been monitored by the security forces, i.e. not conducted confidentially. In fact, NCI itself concluded that it had "...faced obstacles because a number of prospective witnesses had not been willing to give their account of the event because of doubt and concern that they would be directly incriminated in the 12 November 1991 incident in Dili, or out of fear that they would be regarded as belonging to the anti-integration group."

60. Principle 17 states: "A written report shall be made within a reasonable period of time on the methods and findings of such investigations. The report shall be made public immediately and shall include the scope of the inquiry, procedures and methods used to evaluate evidence as well as conclusions and recommendations based on findings of facts and on applicable law. The report shall also describe in detail specific events that were found to have occurred and the evidence upon which such findings were based, and list the names of witnesses who testified, with the exception of those whose identities have been withheld for their own protection. The Government shall, within a reasonable period of time, either reply to the report of the investigation, or indicate the steps to be taken in response to it." To the knowledge of the Special Rapporteur, the only public report of the investigations carried out concerning the Santa Cruz killings is the preliminary report of the NCI. Neither the report of the internal military investigations nor that of the Honorary Military Council has been made public.

61. As regards the fate of the so far undetermined number of persons missing as a consequence of the Santa Cruz killings, the Special Rapporteur wishes to recall here article 13 of the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 47/133 of 18 December 1992, which provides that:

"1. Each State shall ensure that any person having knowledge or a legitimate interest who alleges that a person has been subjected to enforced disappearance has the right to complain to a competent and independent State authority and to have that complaint promptly, thoroughly and impartially investigated by that authority. Whenever there are reasonable grounds to believe that an enforced disappearance has been committed, the State shall promptly refer the matter to that authority for such an investigation, even if there has been no formal complaint. No measure shall be taken to curtail or impede the investigation.

"2. Each State shall ensure that the competent authority shall have the necessary powers and resources to conduct the investigation effectively, including powers to compel attendance of witnesses and production of relevant documents and to make immediate on-site visits.

"3. Steps shall be taken to ensure that all involved in the investigation, including the complainant, counsel, witnesses and those conducting the investigation, are protected against ill-treatment, intimidation or reprisal.

"4. The findings of such an investigation shall be made available upon request to all persons concerned, unless doing so would jeopardize an ongoing criminal investigation.

"5. Steps shall be taken to ensure that any ill-treatment, intimidation or reprisal or any other form of interference on the occasion of the lodging of a complaint or during the investigation procedure is appropriately punished.

"6. An investigation, in accordance with the procedures described above, should be able to be conducted for as long as the fate of the victim of enforced disappearance remains unclarified.

62. As regard the implementation of these provisions, the Special Rapporteur reached the following conclusions:

- (a) As noted earlier by the Special Rapporteur, there is no independent State authority capable of investigating cases of disappearances in East Timor;
- (b) Apart from the above-mentioned measures taken by the police to try to locate the 66 persons reported missing, there is no information on efforts made to investigate the alleged hundreds of cases of disappearances that have not been formally brought up with the authorities;
- (c) As noted above, and according to the declarations of the Chief of Police himself, the necessary resources and technology have not been made available so as to allow a meaningful investigation to be conducted;
- (d) The families are afraid of reporting the death or disappearance of their relatives, because they think they will be brought to court for having links with the clandestine resistance or for having supported the demonstration. Indeed, the Special Rapporteur was indeed told that anyone who presents a complaint is automatically considered to be subversive. It was reported,

for example, that some of the victims had died of their wounds at home, but that the families had declared that they had died of malaria or diarrhea. Most were too afraid even to report to the Bishop.

63. The East Timor District Attorney explained to the Special Rapporteur that his office was not competent in offences involving military personnel. He further said that if a family complains about the disappearance of a relative, his office had no investigative power; he would informally ask the police to pay special attention to that case. But the complaint would have to be given directly to the police, and there were no avenues for civilians to force them to carry out an investigation. He further stated that his office had no files about the Santa Cruz incident and had not participated in the NCI. Likewise, there was no investigation under way to identify the 18 bodies buried at Hera. The only actions taken by the District Attorney were related to the prosecution of participants in the demonstration.

64. With respect to the cases of disappearances:

- (a) The Special Rapporteur feels that there is no ongoing investigation regarding the cases of the persons who remain missing;
- (b) The Special Rapporteur was surprised when the Chief of the East Timor Police declared that no cases had been received from the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances;
- (c) The Special Rapporteur is of the opinion that the dispute over the actual numbers of the dead and missing clearly indicates the need for further investigations. This controversy should, however, in no way obscure the need and the obligation to identify the dead and reveal the whereabouts of their remains, to identify and bring the perpetrators to justice and to compensate the families of the victims;
- (d) The Special Rapporteur reached the conclusion that since the NCI completed its investigation, no institutionalized or organized effort has been made by the Indonesian authorities to account for the fate of the dead and disappeared. Furthermore, the authorities did not allow independent human rights organizations, either domestic or international, to carry out human rights monitoring.

C. Analysis of the prosecution of the members of the security forces responsible for the killings and disappearances

65. The following paragraphs contain the Special Rapporteur's analysis, in the light of the pertinent international standards, of the

measures taken by the Government of Indonesia.

66. The consensus statement made by the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights on 4 March 1992 called for "the Indonesian Government to bring to trial and punish all those [members of the armed forces] found responsible (E/1992/22-E/CN.4/1992/84. para. 457)."

67. Point 18 of the Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions states that "Governments shall ensure that persons identified by the investigation as having participated in extra-legal, summary or arbitrary executions in any territory under their jurisdiction are brought to justice... This principle shall apply irrespective of who and where the perpetrators or the victims are, their nationalities or where the offence was committed." Point 19 states that Superiors, officers or other public officials may be held responsible for acts committed by officials under their authority if they had a reasonable opportunity to prevent such acts. In no circumstances, including a state of war, siege or other public emergency, shall blanket immunity from prosecution be granted to any person allegedly involved in extra-legal, summary or arbitrary executions."

68. The Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials, provide that arbitrary or abusive use of force and firearms by law enforcement officials is to be punished as a criminal offence under national law.

69. As regards the fate of the so far undetermined number of persons missing as a consequence of the Santa Cruz killings, the Special Rapporteur wishes to recall article 1 of the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, which reads as follows:

"1. Any act of enforced disappearance is an offence to human dignity. It is condemned as a denial of the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and as a grave and flagrant violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and reaffirmed and developed in international instruments in this field.

"2. Any act of enforced disappearance places the person subjected thereto outside the protection of the law and inflicts severe suffering on them and their families. It constitutes a violation of the rules of international law guaranteeing, *inter alia*, the right to recognition as a person before the law, the right to liberty and security of

the person and the right not to be subjected to torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. It also violates or constitutes a grave threat to the right to life."

Moreover, article 4, paragraph 1, of the Declaration states: "All acts of enforced disappearance shall be offences under criminal law punishable by appropriate penalties which shall take into account their extreme seriousness." Article 16, paragraph 2, further states: "(Persons alleged to have committed any of the acts referred to in article 4, paragraph 1) shall be tried only by the competent ordinary court in each State, and not by any other special tribunal, in particular military courts." Article 17, paragraph 1, states: "Acts constituting enforced disappearance shall be considered a continuing offence as long as the perpetrators continue to conceal the fate and the whereabouts of persons who have disappeared and these facts remain unclarified."

70. As regards the prosecution of the perpetrators of the Santa Cruz killing and connected grave human rights violations, the Special Rapporteur reached the following conclusions:

- (a) According to the information brought to the attention of the Special Rapporteur, torture, murder and kidnapping are criminal offences under Indonesian law. They are also prohibited by the Military Criminal Code and b) a variety of ministerial regulations. Other provisions of the Military Criminal Code are designed to curtail the abuse of authority by members of the security forces and to ensure that commanding officers take responsibility for crimes committed by their subordinates. Thus, the minimum instruments allowing for the prosecution of the perpetrators exist. However, members of the armed forces, including the police, who have committed crimes or have abused their authority can stand trial only before military courts, even in cases where the victims are civilians;
- (b) In spite of the recommendations formulated by the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture subsequent to his visit to Indonesia and East Timor in November 1991 (E/CN.4/1992/17/Add.1, para. 80), victims of human rights violations or their relatives still do not have direct access to the judicial system in cases of abuses perpetrated by members of the security forces. Consequently, such complaints have to be filed with the police, which belongs to the armed

forces. In practice, investigations are, therefore, rarely concluded. This can hardly be called an effective remedy. The Special Rapporteur is not aware of any provision entitling a civilian to bring such a complaint before a judicial or other authority if the police have rejected the complaint or refused to carry out an investigation. Even the Prosecutor has no authority to order the police to carry out an investigation. If the police find a complaint filed by a civilian to be well founded, the file is transmitted to the office of the Military Attorney-General, since the suspect would have to stand trial before a military court. This means that no civilian authority is involved in any way in dealing with a complaint filed by a civilian of an alleged encroachment on his fundamental rights. The Special Rapporteur feels that a system which places the task of correcting and suppressing abuses of authority by members of the army in that same institution will not easily inspire confidence. The Special Rapporteur believes that there is no reason why persons belonging to the military should be tried by military courts for offences committed against civilians during the essentially civil task of maintaining law and order.

- (c) Despite the fundamental shortcomings of its investigation, NCI reached conclusions that engaged the responsibility of the security forces to a greater extent than was admitted by the police during the Special Rapporteur's visit: "according to information received from the Military Operational Command, the death toll reached 19 but according to the account of other eye-witnesses and sources, the death toll exceeded 19 and their figures varied from 50, 60 to over 100. (...) Although the casualty toll until now was set at 19 dead and 91 wounded, the Commission feels that there are sufficiently strong grounds to conclude that the death casualties totaled about 50 while the wounded exceeded 91." NCI, however, gave no indication as to why the figure of "about 50" had been retained. During his visit, the Special Rapporteur was told by all the officials he met that only 19 persons had died as a result of the 12 November 1991 event. The Chief of the East Timor Police declared that 6 persons had died at the hospital on that same day, in the afternoon, and 13 at the site of the incident. The Special Rapporteur reiter-

ates his view that the dispute over the actual number of the dead and missing should not obscure the need and the obligation to identify the dead and reveal the whereabouts of their remains, to bring the perpetrators to justice and to compensate the families of the victims;

- (d) The report of NCI concluded that "action must be taken against all those involved in the 12 November 1991 incident in Dili and suspected of having violated the law, and they must be brought to trial in accordance with the rule of law, Pancasila /7/ and the 1945 Constitution." However, this statement does not specify or recommend who should be brought to justice;
- (e) The Special Rapporteur feels that the court martial set up as a response to the Santa Cruz killings was an encouraging first step towards the accountability of members of the armed forces for violations of human rights. However, as mentioned above, the Court examined only the cases of 10 low-ranking members of the security forces, who were accused of having acted "without command and beyond acceptable norms." They were charged under article 103, paragraph 1, of the Military Criminal Code for disobeying orders. Only one of them was charged with assault, in violation of article 351 of the Code, for cutting off the ears of a demonstrator. That is to say that none of the few military personnel accused was charged with homicide, serious assault, or for having committed enforced disappearances. Likewise, there did not seem to have been any attempts made by the prosecution, for example by using ballistic evidence, to attribute to the accused the shots which caused deaths or wounds. The sentences meted out by the military tribunal ranged from 8 to 18 months, which, considering the seriousness of the human rights violations that were committed on 12 November 1991 and possibly subsequently, seem to the Special Rapporteur to be inappropriately light penalties. Furthermore, the fate of the missing persons continues to be unknown;
- (f) The Honorary Military Council appointed by the President dealt with the cases of six senior officers and found them guilty of misconduct. This procedure was not public and did not involve the participation of the families or of independent observers. Many elements about it therefore re-

main obscure; for instance, the exact grounds for punishing those officers is not known, and in any event they were never brought to justice;

- (g) The Special Rapporteur is of the opinion that the inadequacy of the charges and the inappropriately light sentences imposed by the court martial on the few members of the armed forces accused of having been implicated in the 12 November 1991 incident are in no way a fulfillment of the obligation to punish perpetrators, and thus to provide a deterrent for the recurrence of a similar tragedy in the future. On the contrary, he feels that they illustrate that little importance is given to the respect of the right to life by Indonesian law enforcement officials in East Timor. On the other hand, the 13 civilians involved in peaceful protest during and after 12 November 1991 were sentenced to terms of up to life imprisonment. In paragraph 4 of its resolution 1993/97, the Commission regretted "the disparity in the severity of sentences imposed on those civilians not indicted for violent activities - who should have been released without delay on the one hand, and to the military involved in the violent incident, of the other" The Special Rapporteur is also of the opinion that there was an unreasonable disparity between the sentences passed upon the perpetrators and upon the victims; the latter were, in fact, those really blamed for the killings. He believes that this disparity is much more illustrative of an implacable determination to suppress political dissent than a genuine commitment to protect the right to life and prevent extrajudicial executions.

D. Compensation of the families and dependents of the victims

71. Principle 20 states: "The families and dependents of victims of extra-legal, summary or arbitrary executions shall be entitled to fair and adequate compensation within a reasonable period of time."

72. Article 19 of the Declaration states: "The victims of acts of enforced disappearance and their families shall obtain redress and shall have the right to adequate compensation, including the means for as complete a rehabilitation as possible. In the event of the death of the victim as a result of an act of enforced disappearance, their dependents shall also be entitled to compensation."

73. With respect to the above:

- (a) According to the information brought to the attention of the Special Rapporteur, existing procedures for the redress and compensation of victims and relatives are ineffective and cumbersome. Members of the public with a human rights grievance face the daunting prospect of complaining to the armed forces, the very authority they believe to be responsible;
- (b) According to the information gathered by the Special Rapporteur, the judiciary are largely shackled by the executive branch and the military, and the legal system suffers widespread corruption. The Special Rapporteur is concerned that there is no real right to defence in Indonesian courts. The few lawyers practising in East Timor are reportedly not trusted by the population, because they are considered to be linked to the Indonesian authorities;
- (c) In the case of the Santa Cruz killings, no compensation has been granted, and no special mechanism has been created for that purpose. The Special Rapporteur believes that the first step towards compensation should be the identification of the dead and disappeared, which, in turn, requires the recognition by the Government of its responsibility.

E. Prevention

74. The Special Rapporteur believes that lessons regarding the behaviour of the security forces should have been drawn by the Indonesian authorities after the Santa Cruz killings, so as to take decisive action with a view to rendering the recurrence of such a tragedy impossible in the future. Unfortunately, the information gathered during meetings with Indonesian officials, both civilian and military, lead the Special Rapporteur to conclude that the conditions that allowed the Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present. In particular, the members of the security forces responsible for the abuses have not been held accountable and continue to enjoy virtual impunity.

75. The Special Rapporteur welcomes the drafting of a bill on demonstrations and hopes that it will include provisions on the control of the use of force by law enforcement officials and that its provisions will provide a legal framework for the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. However, the measures taken to improve crowd control operations have proved insufficient, and force continues to be used to deal with peaceful demonstration, as was shown just three days after the Special Rapporteur's departure from East Timor. It was reported that on 14 July 1994, security forces violently broke up what was described by eye-witnesses as a largely peace-

ful demonstration at the University of East Timor (UNTIM) campus. The demonstration followed an incident which had occurred the day before, when three Indonesian students (some sources alleged that they may have been undercover military intelligence agents) insulted two Roman Catholic nuns. According to the information communicated to the Special Rapporteur by the Government of Indonesia, the situation became uncontrollable when the students started throwing stones at the police. Clashes broke out between the crowd and the policemen. Many students were injured when they tried to jump over a fence in the commotion. The Government admitted that 15 persons were injured, of whom 11 were treated and discharged and 4 were hospitalized. However, the eye-witness account of the rector of UNTIM rejected the Government's version of the incident:

"It is true that the demonstration initially proceeded in an orderly and peaceful fashion, as it had been granted a permit by the local police... It is not true that the mass rally turned brutal and highly emotional because of issues and incitement by irresponsible elements... It is our impression that the initiative for the physical clash started with the security forces violently attacking the demonstrators, which they did first with batons, kicks and striking people with their shields, tear-gas and attacks by two sniffer dogs. The East Timor Chief of Police in his press conference of 14 July 1994 even admitted that the wounded people were bruised all over and that their bodies were lacerated."

76. As noted earlier, the access of victims of human rights violations to the judiciary or to non-governmental organizations has not improved; no appropriate mechanisms to request an investigation or to file a complaint have been instituted. Institutionalized monitoring of the human rights situation in East Timor is not yet allowed. The fear of families of victims still prevents them from making their case known publicly. This was illustrated by the difficulties the Special Rapporteur encountered in trying to persuade victims or witnesses of human rights violations to meet with him in order to testify, and the precautions taken before, during and after such meetings. The Special Rapporteur clearly sensed terror among many East Timorese he had the opportunity to meet.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

77. The Special Rapporteur believes that the Santa Cruz killings should not be considered as a thing of the past. They must

not be forgotten, and there is still time to correct the shortcomings, noted at all levels, in the way in which violations of the right to life have been dealt with by the Indonesian authorities in East Timor: it is not too late to conduct proper investigations, to identify and bring to justice the perpetrators, to determine the fate and whereabouts of the missing persons, to grant compensation to the victims or their relatives, and to prevent the occurrence of further killings.

78. The Special Rapporteur urges the Indonesian authorities to carry out thorough, prompt and impartial investigations of all suspected cases of extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions and enforced or involuntary disappearances. Those investigations should be in accordance with international standards set forth in the various instruments mentioned in this report, and should involve the armed forces, the relatives of the victims, the local clergy, non-governmental organizations, and, particularly, civilian authorities. The Special Rapporteur calls on the Government of Indonesia to establish a civilian police force as a matter of urgency. This police force should be placed under the authority of the Prosecutor. The Special Rapporteur wishes to recall that the recommendation to establish a civilian police force had already been made by the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture after his visit to Indonesia and East Timor in 1991 (E/CN.4/1992/17)

79. In the case of the Santa Cruz killings and alleged subsequent grave human rights violations, the findings of the military inquiry should be made public and an additional investigation should be conducted by a new commission of inquiry. In this respect, and in addition to what was said earlier, the Special Rapporteur feels that the following aspects should be taken into consideration:

- (a) The new commission of inquiry should be composed of individuals of recognized independence, impartiality and expertise. It should include specialists in anthropology, forensic science, ballistics, etc. If this expertise is not available in East Timor or in Indonesia, it should be provided internationally, through the United Nations or non-governmental organizations;
- (b) The credibility of such an investigation could be increased by the participation of experts internationally recognized for their objectivity and competence. Such a presence would help to reduce amongst the East Timorese population the fear and mistrust which were so detrimental to the investigation of NCI;

- (c) The commission should have at its disposal all the necessary budgetary and technical resources for effective investigation and shall have the authority to obtain all information necessary to the inquiry;
- (d) All the necessary measures should be taken to protect complainants, witnesses and their families from violence, threats of violence, arrest or prosecution, or any other form of intimidation;
- (e) The families of the victims shall be informed of and have access to any hearing, as well as any information relevant to the investigation, and shall be entitled to present evidence.

80. The purpose of the investigation should be to determine the following points:

- (a) The circumstances of the killings;
- (b) The number of persons killed, their identity and the location of their graves;
- (c) The number of missing persons, their identity, their fate and exact whereabouts;
- (d) The chain of command and the identity of all the perpetrators and their superiors, and their individual responsibility in the human rights violations.

81. The Special Rapporteur strongly believes that no confidence-building measures can be effective and no solution to the problems facing East Timor can be found before justice has been done. The first step for the Government should be to recognize its responsibility and declare that killings, and not an "incident," took place in Santa Cruz. Full light should be shed, publicly, on all the tragic events described in this report, in accordance with the standards referred to above. An end should be put to impunity enjoyed by members of the Indonesian armed forces responsible for abuses. To that purpose, the Special Rapporteur recommends the following:

- (a) The jurisdiction over such cases should be handed over to the ordinary civilian judiciary;
- (b) The independence, fairness and transparency of the judiciary should be improved and guaranteed. Interference of the military at any stage of the proceedings, including the investigation, should be avoided. This should not exclude its cooperation, when it is requested. Corruption should be effectively fought;
- (c) Provision should be made to allow victims or their families to initiate judicial proceedings. In particular, investigations into complaints by victims

or their families should be compulsory and not left to the discretion of police authorities. Furthermore, victims or their families should be granted full participation in the proceedings, and free choice of independent counsel should be guaranteed;

- (d) Persons identified by the investigation as being responsible for abuses, whoever they are, should be brought to justice. The proceedings should be public. Human rights violations should be offences under criminal law punishable by appropriate penalties, fully taking into account their seriousness;
- (e) Acts constituting enforced disappearances should be considered as a continuing offence as long as the perpetrators continue to conceal the fate and whereabouts of persons who have disappeared and these facts remain unclarified;
- (f) Equitable compensation should be granted without delay to the victims or their dependents and families.

82. As regards the access to justice for the victims or their relatives, the Special Rapporteur recommends that the Indonesian authorities apply, in addition to the various international principles referred to in this report, the following points embodied in the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 40/34 of 29 November 1985:

"4. Victims /8/ should be treated with compassion and respect for their dignity. They are entitled to access to the mechanisms of justice and to prompt redress, as provided for by national legislation, for the harm that they have suffered.

"5. Judicial and administrative mechanisms should be established and strengthened where necessary to enable victims to obtain redress through formal or informal procedures that are expeditious, fair, inexpensive and accessible. Victims should be informed of their rights in seeking redress through such mechanisms.

"6. The responsiveness of judicial and administrative processes to the needs of the victims should be facilitated by:

- "(a) Informing victims of their role and the scope, timing and progress of the proceedings and the disposition of their cases, especially where serious crimes are involved and where they have requested such information;

"(b) Allowing the views and concerns of victims to be presented and considered at appropriate stages of the proceedings where their personal interests are affected, without prejudice to the accused and consistent with the relevant national criminal

"(c) Providing proper assistance to victims through the legal process;

"(d) Taking measures to minimize inconvenience to victims, protect their privacy, when necessary, and ensure their safety, as well as that of their families and witnesses on their behalf, from intimidation and retaliation;

"(e) Avoiding unnecessary delay in the disposition of cases and the execution of orders or decrees granting awards to victims."

83. As mentioned earlier, the involvement of the relatives of missing or killed persons into any sort of investigation is essential. The Special Rapporteur could notice himself that in the atmosphere of fear and suspicion currently prevailing in East Timor, the conditions conducive to such participation are not present. The Special Rapporteur therefore believes that a drastic reduction of the military presence in East Timor is a prerequisite for confidence-building measures allowing the families to feel safe enough to report about their missing or killed relatives. This reduction should not only affect combat units, but all troops present in the territory, including territorial battalions and military intelligence. In that regard, the Special Rapporteur welcomes the dissolution of the Special Military Command in East Timor in 1993, as well as the reductions of troops, especially combat battalions, already carried out.

84. The Special Rapporteur believes that the involvement of non-governmental organizations in all questions relating to human rights in East Timor - e.g. investigation, monitoring, legal assistance, information and training should be allowed and encouraged by the Indonesian authorities:

- (a) Independent NGOs should be created in East Timor and allowed to operate freely throughout the territory. At this stage, the Special Rapporteur feels that the involvement of the Catholic clergy (which at the moment is the only institution whose involvement with human rights questions is tolerated by the Indonesian authorities) in such organizations would be essential;

(b) Indonesian and international human rights NGOs should be granted full access to East Timor.

85. The Special Rapporteur believes that the National Human Rights Commission is not the most appropriate mechanism to deal with human rights violations in East Timor. Its mandate, the means of action at its disposal and its methods of work are insufficient. Furthermore, it is not trusted by the population of East Timor. In any event, it has not dealt with questions relating to East Timor. Consequently, the Special Rapporteur recommends that a commission for human rights in East Timor be created to monitor the situation of human rights, receive and independently investigate complaints, make recommendations to the competent authorities, and disseminate information about human rights. Its characteristics should be in accordance with the Principles relating to the status of national institutions (Commission on Human Rights resolution 1992/54, annex, adopted without a vote on 3 March 1992). The Special Rapporteur recommends that such a commission should be composed of individuals of recognized impartiality and independence representing the civil society of East Timor, including NGOs.

86. As provided for in article 3 of the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances the Special Rapporteur recommends that the Indonesian authorities "take effective legislative, administrative, judicial or other measures to prevent and terminate acts of enforced disappearance." Following article 4. paragraph 2, of the Declaration. the Special Rapporteur suggests that "[m]itigating circumstances may be established in national legislation for persons who, having participated in enforced disappearances, are instrumental in bringing the victims forward alive or in providing voluntarily information which could contribute to clarifying cases of enforced disappearance"

87. Measures should be taken to ensure that peaceful demonstrations of political dissent are dealt with in conformity with international standards. In particular, the use of force by law enforcement officials should be restricted accordingly. Furthermore, members of the security forces should be better trained in proper crowd control methods, and the appropriate non-lethal equipment for such operations should be made available to them. Training should also place more emphasis on human rights questions and should stress that a soldier receiving an order contrary to human rights has the right and duty not to obey it.

88. The Special Rapporteur recommends that the Indonesian Government invite the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to carry out a mission. He expresses the hope that his recommendations will be implemented, in conjunction with those formulated by the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture after his visit to Indonesia and East Timor in November 1991. In particular, he encourages the Government to accede to major human rights instruments, such as the International Covenant on Civil and political Rights and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

NOTES

- 1/ For activities undertaken in 1992 and 1993: on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, E/CN.4/1993/46, paras. 348-353, E/CN.4/1994/7. paras. 343-356; for torture, E/CN.4/1993/26. paras. 270-274, E/CN.4/1994/31, paras. 325-343; on arbitrary detention, E/CN.4/1994/27, annex II, decision No. 36/1993; on enforced or involuntary disappearances. E/CN.4/1993/25, paras. 278-290. E/CN.4/1994:26, paras. 260, 261 and 269.
- 2/ The Chief of the East Timor Police estimated that the shooting lasted for 10 to 15 minutes.
- 3/ See: E/CN.4/1994/26, para. 265 and Asia Watch, "Remembering History in East Timor." vol. 5, No. 8, April 1993, pp. 21-22.
- 4/ The Special Rapporteur will refer to the events of the 12 November as "killings," a word that, in his opinion, is more appropriate than the term "incident," used by many. including the Indonesian authorities. Indeed, in view of the number of victims, the Special Rapporteur deems it appropriate to speak of a "massacre."
- 5/ The presidential decree spells out that the NHRC shall "monitor and investigate the implementation of human rights and present views, considerations and suggestions to State institutions on the implementation of human rights."
- 6/ The Special Rapporteur was informed that the NHCR has a very limited budget, office facilities and staff and has no formal authority.
- 7/ The Pancasila is the state philosophy, which consists of the following five principles: (i) belief in one Supreme God; (ii) just and civilized humanity; (iii) the unity of Indonesia; (iv) democracy led by the inner wisdom of unanimity arising out of the deliberation among representatives; (v) social justice for the whole of the Indonesian people.

8/ In the terms of the Declaration, "the term 'victim' also includes, where appropriate, the immediate family or dependents of the direct victim ..." (para. 3).

ANNEX

ADVANCE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO 12 NOVEMBER 1991 INCIDENT IN DILI-EAST TIMOR

The text is reprinted as received from Amnesty International (AI Index ASA 21/03/92).

Conclusions

The Commission has strong reasons and grounds to arrive at the following conclusions:

1. The 12 November 1991 incident in Dili is the culmination of a series of earlier demonstration/incidents perpetrated by the anti-integration group/Fretilin SDP.

The Fretilin SDP, which are being increasingly isolated, have shifted their mode of operations from rural guerrilla to urban guerrilla, thereby abusively capitalizing on the development policy in East Timor based upon affection and prosperity and taking advantage of the situation, condition as well as the restive mood among the young people to instigate them to oppose integration as well as to attract world attention to their existence.

2. The 12 November 1991 Incident in Dili which caused a number of deaths and other casualties was clearly not an act ordered by or reflecting the policy of the Government of the Armed Forces, be it in the Capital or in the Province of East Timor. The 12 November 1991 Incident was essentially a tragedy which should be deeply regretted.

3. The 12 November 1991 demonstration in Dili showed elements of pre-meditated provocation by a group of anti-integration/Fretilin SDP and was not an orderly and peaceful procession dedicated to commemorate the death of Sebastião Gomes.

4. The demonstrators, who largely consisted of young people have acted belligerently, emotionally and destructively, partly as a result of agitations by the anti-integration group/Fretilin SDP by whom they have been influenced for quite some time. Furthermore, they consciously exhibited Fretilin and Falintil flags, pictures of Fretilin SDP leader Xanana and banners and chanted anti-integration yells and insults at the members of the security apparatus.

5. A number of foreigners took an active part in that demonstration.

6. As the tense atmosphere reached a boiling point, started by the stabbing of an Armed Forces officer and the wounding of a

private, and aggravated by the provocative belligerence and aggressive attitude assumed by the crowd which was perceived by the security personnel as posing a threat to their arms and to their safety, a spontaneous reaction took place among the security personnel to defend themselves, without command, resulting in the excessive shooting at the demonstrators, causing deaths and wounded. At the same time, another group of unorganized security personnel, acting outside any control or command, also fired shots and committed beating, causing more casualties.

In the handling of the riotous condition during 12 November 1991 Incident, despite the presence of riot-control units, the Commission did not observe the optimal implementation of proper riot-control procedures. The actions of a number of security personnel exceeded acceptable norms and led to the casualties, be it in terms of deaths, gunshot wounds, stabbing wounds, or wounds by blunt instrument. Although the casualty toll until now was set at 19 dead and 91 wounded, the Commission feels that there are sufficiently strong grounds to conclude that the death casualties totaled about 50 while the wounded exceeded 91.

8. There was careless handling of those who died, because although the visum et repertum were performed the deceased were not properly identified. Little opportunity was given to the families/friends of the victims to identify the bodies.

9. The Commission is of the view that in order to uphold justice, action must be taken against all who were involved in the 12 November 1991 Incident in Dili and suspected of having violated the law, and they must be brought to trial in accordance with the Rule of Law. Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution upon which the Republic of Indonesia is based.

Epilogue

In undertaking its task, the NCI received full support from all sides, be it from the Government, the Armed Forces, Church Officials and community leaders. It has to acknowledge, however, that the NCI faced obstacles because a number of prospective witnesses were not willing to give their account of the event because of doubt and concern that they would be directly incriminated in the 12 November 1991 Incident in Dili, or out of fear they would be regarded as belonging to the anti-integration group.

Jakarta, 26 December 1991

National Commission of Inquiry

M. Djaelani Head/Member
Ben Mang Reng Say Member
Clementino dos Reis Amaral Member
Harisoegiman Member
Hadi A. Wayarabi Alhadar Member

Anto Sujata Member
Sumitro Member

UN ENVOY TO GO TO EAST TIMOR

AFP, 28 November 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – UN Secretary-General Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali will send two special envoys to Indonesia and East Timor ahead of the dialogue between Jakarta and Lisbon (on 9 January) over the former Portuguese colony, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Monday.

He identified the two officials as Francesc Vendrell and Tamrat Samuel who have already visited Indonesia and East Timor several times.

A report from Geneva said that Vendrell, a UN official with special responsibility for the eastern Asia-Pacific region, was expected to leave Lisbon for Jakarta on 5 December (and to travel to East Timor soon afterwards).

UN ENVOY SPOKE TO XANANA

*Jornal de Noticias, 6 December 1994.
Translated from Portuguese*

Lisbon – The UN Director for the East Asia and Pacific Region met Xanana Gusmão for half an hour last Tuesday, according to the UN's envoy himself, Francesc Vendrell, speaking yesterday in Lisbon.

Vendrell declined to reveal any details of the talk he had with the Resistance leader in Cipinang prison. He arrived yesterday in Lisbon with another UN diplomat, Tamrat Samuel, on the last stop of his mission, which also took him to Jakarta and Dili, in preparation for the next round of talks between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia, scheduled to take place in January, in Geneva.

During this trip, Vendrell has sought the views of the interested parties in the Timor process. He will be reporting back to the UN Secretary General, who will then prepare proposals for the next meeting. It is hoped that, this way, the January meeting will not turn out to be "just another meeting," said Vendrell.

Vendrell met with Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, and with military leaders in Jakarta, Bali, Denpasar and East Timor. He would give no clues as to what had been discussed, as that "would not help" the negotiations.

In Lisbon, Francesc Vendrell will be meeting with Durão Barroso, and with the Timorese resistance in Portugal.

TIMORESE WILL MEET ONLY AFTER JANUARY

Publico, 7 December 1994. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The meeting of Timorese, agreed in Geneva last May during the meeting between Ali Alatas and Durão Barroso, will not now take place before the new round of UN sponsored talks on 9 January between the Portuguese and Indonesian diplomatic chiefs. One of the points contained in the last meeting's final statement referred to the dialogue between Timorese, stating that this "ought to be encouraged" as it constituted an "important contribution to the continued efforts" to find a "fair, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution" to the problem of Timor.

Although these broader talks have not taken place yet, Boutros Ghali's envoy, Francesc Vendrell considers the "confidence building measures" (suggested by the UN and agreed by the two Foreign Ministers) taken so far have had a positive effect. Vendrell, who today in Lisbon ends a series of political and diplomatic consultations in preparation for the January meeting, told *Publico* that Ghali's initiative had resulted in improved access to the territory and the participation, albeit indirect, of the Timorese in the talks underway between Indonesia and Portugal. "The Indonesian Minister Ali Alatas met separately with Ramos Horta (CNRM) and Abilio Araujo (promoter of reconciliation meetings). Minister Durão Barroso has done the same with Francisco Lopes da Cruz (itinerant ambassador of Indonesia and spokesman for Indonesia in the Araujo initiative). I myself have met Xanana Gusmão on two occasions."

Vendrell, accompanied by Ethiopian diplomat Tamrat Samuel, had a meeting last week with Alatas and Durão Barroso, met with Xanana Gusmão, and talked with Bishop Belo in Dili. He also had meetings with Indonesian military leaders in Jakarta, Bali, Denpasar and East Timor.

The outcome of these consultations with all the parties concerned in the Timor issue will now be reported back to Boutros Ghali, who will then prepare the agenda for the next meeting.

In contrast with Vendrell's reservations about revealing anything of the substance of his contacts or the prospects for the 9 January meeting, Ali Alatas told an Indonesian parliamentary committee that the forthcoming talks with his Portuguese counterpart may well go further than those of previous meetings, and "deal not with mere confidence measures but with more concrete issues concerning a joint settlement." This was reported by the Indonesian agency

Antara, which added that the Indonesian minister did not foresee any final agreement because "Portugal's position is still a long way from Jakarta's."

LOBBYING AT UPCOMING UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

From CNRM, 16 Jan 95

Dear Friends,

As you well know the UN Commission on Human Rights (CHR) is again holding its annual meeting in Geneva, starting end January. The meeting will go on until approximately mid-March. East Timor will be discussed in late February most probably.

Our objective this year is to force Indonesia into inviting two thematic rapporteurs to visit East Timor, preferably soon, i.e. in the first half of 1995. They could visit jointly, which may be more viable, or separately. At least one should go in the first half of the year and, if needs be, the visit of the second could be left for early in the second half of 1995.

The thematic rapporteurs in question are:

- a. the Special Rapporteur on Torture
- b. the Working group on disappearances.

To get Indonesia to accept this, it needs to face the prospect of a very strongly worded condemnatory resolution being passed by the HRC in case it does not comply and refuses to issue these invitations for thematic rapporteurs. If it does comply, then the reward would be a softer consensus statement adopted by the HRC.

In order to achieve this, the urgent support of all pro-East Timor NGOs, solidarity groups and other influential East Timor supporters is needed in as many countries as possible.

It is necessary to:

1. Get as many governments as possible to speak on East Timor at the HRC, in the strongest terms possible, rather than merely making some perfunctory reference to it.

Such strong statements should prominently refer to the recently released report by the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Mr. Bacre Ndiaye. As you know, it strongly condemns Indonesia for the Santa Cruz massacre. Please ensure that the respective Foreign Offices have the report. Statements on ET should refer to the report and call for the implementation of its recommendations.

Other points to raise would be release of political prisoners (notably Xanana Gusmão, José Antonio Neves), cessation of arrest and mistreatment of students, reduction of troops which cause human rights

violations, cessation of religious provocations, and cessation of illegal population transfers (the cause of recent inter-ethnic conflicts).

Please note that both current HRC member states, as well as non-member states are entitled to speak and co-sponsor motions. Voting is reserved for current HRC members. A list of current HRC member states is provided below.

2. Besides governments, please also try to mobilise NGOs with consultative status at the HRC to speak on ET. The more of them that address the HRC meeting and refer to ET, the better. They should also be asked to raise the points mentioned above.

European Union members please note: it is urgent that a most strongly worded draft resolution text is prepared. We understand this has not yet happened. This is the resolution which Indonesia would expect to be passed if it refused the invitation of the thematic rapporteurs. It should call for implementation of the Bacre Ndiaye report recommendations, and call for the invitation of the two thematic rapporteurs.

Please note that often in the past, EU members have appeared to participate in the preparation of such a draft resolution, only to later apply pressure on Portugal to accept a milder consensus statement. This should not be tried this time as it would be pointless.

We should also get non-EU members to be prepared to co-sponsor a resolution if the need should arise.

Nordic Countries: please note that Finland is the only member of the HRC this year. Please ensure it strongly mentions ET, and votes favourably.

Good luck with this important task, and thank you for your valuable help. A luta continua!

Commission on Human Rights members 1995

Algeria, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Great Britain, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Malawi, Mauritania, Mauritius, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Togo, United States of America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe.

FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN GENEVA

ALATAS: INDONESIA SEEKS COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT

Publico, 7 December 1994. Translated from Portuguese

The Indonesian Foreign Minister stated on Monday that he expected the forthcoming talks with Portugal, held under the auspices of the UN, to deal with an overall agreement on East Timor. According to the Indonesian information agency yesterday, Minister Alatas told a parliamentary committee that the talks would no longer be dealing with mere questions of confidence, but with more concrete problems connected with the overall settlement of the conflict. However, Ali Alatas predicted no final agreement between the two countries because "Portugal's position is still a long way from Jakarta's." Meanwhile, Xanana Gusmão expressed his support for a broadened dialogue among Timorese, which would include the Bishop of Dili.

VOA: ALATAS TIMOR COMMENTARY

Voice of America, 1/4/95. By Yenni Djahidin (not voiced), Jakarta

Intro: Indonesia's foreign minister, Ali Alatas, has sharply criticized Portugal, saying Portuguese officials are not creating a proper atmosphere for new peace talks about the disputed East Timor territory. Yenni Djahidin reports from Jakarta.

Text: Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas and Portugal's foreign minister, José Manuel Durão Barroso, are scheduled to meet next week in Geneva as part of talks sponsored by UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Portugal and Indonesia have been at odds over East Timor ever since Indonesia's 1976 annexation of the former colony – a move that followed Portugal's withdrawal and an Indonesian invasion to stop a war between Timorese factions.

In his news conference Wednesday, Mr. Alatas said Portugal has not been very helpful in creating what he called a confidence-building atmosphere on East Timor.

The Indonesian official said his government has done much to implement confidence-building measures in East Timor but continues to be criticized.

Alatas: "whenever there is something, they (Portugal) are the first who

jump and give to the press all kinds of inflammatory and highly exaggerated versions of what is happening. They continue to pursue a very aggressive and highly inflammatory attitude toward this issue of East Timor. [this is] not very helpful in creating the kind of confidence, in creating the kind of atmosphere conducive to the solution of the problem.

“We are required to do lots of things. You must accept a special rapporteur – we did it. You must allow the press to come here – we did it. You must do this, you must do that. This is supposed to be a mutual thing, not only on Indonesia. We are not in any way being asked unilaterally to do things.”

Foreign Minister Alatas said it is likely UN secretary general Boutros-Ghali will want to discuss substantive matters in order to reach a comprehensive, just, and internationally-acceptable solution.

Mr. Alatas also referred to the latest violence in East Timor blamed on simmering ethnic tensions between Timorese and immigrants.

He said the government could confirm one death and five injuries from the disturbances in Baucau – 180 kilometers east of Dili – which followed the stabbing of a Timorese by a non-Timorese.

News agency reports quoting witnesses and church sources in East Timor have put the death toll from the new years day violence at between two and five.

Military officials in East Timor have denied reports quoting local sources and human rights activists that security forces shot and killed some of the rioters.

VOA: UNSG TIGHT ON TIMOR MEETING

Voice of America, 1/6/95. By Douglas Roberts, Geneva

Intro: UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali meets in Geneva Monday with the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia for talks on the continuing dispute over East Timor—the former Portuguese colony annexed by the Indonesian government in 1976. VOA’s Douglas Roberts in Geneva reports there has been no firm word on what if any proposals the secretary general will recommend in his effort to resolve the dispute.

Text: this will be Mr. Boutros Ghali’s fifth meeting with the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers in the past two-and-a-half years.

He has said he will use the one-day session of talks to explore possible avenues

toward a negotiated settlement of the East Timor dispute. But the Secretary-General has revealed no details.

At a briefing here in advance of the meeting, UN spokeswoman Therese Gastaut would say only that Mr. Boutros Ghali is using his good offices in the search for what she called a just, comprehensive and internationally-acceptable solution of the dispute. But she, too, declined to provide any idea of what will be discussed at the meeting.

The Portuguese government has long maintained that Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor deprived its residents of their right to self-determination. But the Jakarta government has repeatedly rejected demands from East Timorese political leaders for a referendum in the territory. And foreign minister Ali Alatas reiterated that position at a news conference in advance of the Geneva talks.

Mr. Alatas said Jakarta will never abandon its claim to East Timor, calling it Indonesia’s 27th province. He was also sharply critical of the Portuguese government for what he termed an aggressive attitude that is not conducive to a settlement of the dispute.

Mr. Boutros Ghali has acknowledged that the Portuguese and Indonesian positions on East Timor remain far apart. But he maintains that the atmosphere between the two states has improved as a result of the dialogue over the past few years.

During previous rounds of talks, the UN official has focused on so-called confidence-building measures.

After a meeting last may, Indonesia agreed to permit more frequent visits to East Timor by UN officials and human rights groups. And in July, a senior UN aide travelled to Jakarta and the East Timorese capital, Dili.

The result was a report highly critical of Indonesia’s handling of political unrest in East Timor.

The document says Indonesian security forces clearly violated international law during a bloody clash with pro-independence demonstrators in Dili in 1991. It also criticizes Jakarta’s investigations into that clash and subsequent unrest.

It urges Indonesia to respect human rights in the territory including the right to peaceful assembly. And it says civilian police, with adequate training in crowd-control methods, should replace Indonesian army forces now in charge of security in East Timor.

News reports from the region say guerrilla resistance in the territory has dwindled in recent years. But there continue to be periodic clashes between pro-independence demonstrators and security forces, as well as violence involving East Timorese and Indonesian migrants.

SMALL NOTES ON EAST TIMOR

An anonymous East Timorese comments on the upcoming talks, January 7, 1995.

In the coming week, in Geneva, both Indonesia and Portuguese Foreign Affairs Ministers, Ali Alatas and José Durão Barroso are scheduled to continue the United Nations (UN) sponsored talk, Confidence Measure Building (CMB), on East Timor. It will be the fifth of a series of talks between the two countries under the auspices of the UN Secretary General on the disputed territory occupied by Indonesia since 1975.

Talks on East Timor began in early 1990s and both ministers have agreed, despite with limitations, to proceed on to take preliminary steps to strengthen the building of confidence towards a resolution of their disputed issue. Evidences of this have been the consensus to avoid diplomatic harassments between the two countries; to avoid using irrelevant diplomatic forums to launch criticisms on each other and; to find possible ways through a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution on East Timor.

However, this dynamic breakthrough which suppose to indicate both the goodwill and the changing of attitude and of atmosphere of the decision making between Indonesia and Portugal has indeed remained suspicious. Whether a positive outcome will be likely or not is questionable. As stated recently by the UN Secretary General’s spokesperson, Therese Ghastou, that interpretation on ways to resolve the issue of East Timor between the two countries remain far apart.

To my view, examining the recent developments on the problem, there are three broad issues that seem to curb a likely settlement on East Timor, although efforts have been advanced by all interested parts.

Unclear definition of Confidence Building Measure

Political differences between Indonesia and Portugal pose the major treat to a solution on the issue of East Timor. Its origin stemmed when the territory were left unadministered by Portugal following the civil war broke out in mid 1970s. East Timor since then remained as a non-governed territory, recognised by the UN.

Recriminations started to emerge as Indonesia began its involvement in the area in the late 1975. It invaded the territory militarily and subsequently annexed it in July 1976. The intervention which is considered internationally as illegal and unlawful, despite of the juridical recognition given by Australia and New Zealand, has stayed

unresolved for almost 20 years, leaving the lives of almost 200,000 victims unaccounted, even the UN has proved incapable to bring and end to the issue.

Indonesia insists that the declaration which took place by a number of refugees (who fled East Timor after the civil war broke out in 1975) in Balibo signed by the current Indonesia's roving ambassador from UDT, Francisco Lopes da Cruz, and other political party leaders in 1975, as the true demand of the East Timorese to integrate itself into its huge neighbouring country. The Portuguese government has been accused of abandoning East Timor, leaving political disorder to take place which would have been a threat to Indonesia, if the latter had not intervened into East Timor. Such a baseless justification which grounds on a well-designed but dirty diplomatic propaganda has remained undiluted for almost 20 years.

Portugal likewise provides its judgment on Indonesian attitude. The former claimed that it could have undergone a decolonisation process, if Indonesia had not invaded East Timor. Lisbon continues to hold this political stance to date and demands a total withdrawal of Indonesia Armed Forces from East Timor. Portugal's position gained significant support from pro-independent East Timorese community both inside the territory and in exile, and in most of Western countries. However, it has done little to combat increasingly Indonesia's lobby and influence in both political and economic circles among the Third World nations in particular and the World in general.

Continuous political recrimination between Indonesia and Portugal have not only endured their differences, but have led the issue of East Timor to become an ideological conviction on both sides. The issue of East Timor, therefore, has been transformed from mere political differences to a matter of principle to both Indonesia and Portugal. The latter is determined, based on its own constitution and on international law, to undergo a decolonisation process, whereas the former insists that an integration process, which is internationally deemed felonious, had taken place in 1976.

To date such a huge discrepancy, not to mention other social and cultural differences, remain distinctive in every aspect of their false diplomatic maneuvers. Seeing the issue in this context, one can suspect the philosophy behind both Indonesia and Portugal's reformatory political ploys which are, aimed at both unsettling the issue in a short term period and escaping increasingly international condemnation on their bureaucratic attitude. The UN Secretary General's sponsored talks therefore have been no more than a political stage to perform false political

propaganda. Both Ali Alatas and his counterpart José Durão Barroso despite allegedly claimed to have made progressive moves in their previous talks, they have indeed refuted all these political statements, afterwards. "False promises and noncompliance to their own widely publicized commitments" perhaps best summarize their fraudulent political capabilities. There is then no clear definition of what is "a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution for the question of East Timor." Portugal and Indonesia, each has its own interpretation of such a notion. The one who are left to bear all consequences are the people of East Timor themselves.

The refusal of East Timorese resistance representatives

Indonesia has been refusing the presence of the East Timorese representatives as part of its negotiation process with Portugal. Despite the recent meeting between Ali Alatas and José Ramos Horta (CNRM representative), and President Soeharto's promise to meet the resistance group have shed green light towards further resolution of the problem, their implementation remain doubtful. The experience of the past 19 years have witnessed dirty political tricks employed by Indonesia in the international diplomatic arena. Lies and filthy techniques of its mischievous record in East Timor - e.g. it insists that the East Timorese have opted for integration - as means of quelling the resistance, despite of its shortcomings, persisted unshamedfully. Indonesia has always been trying to play down the glorious resistance of the East Timorese. The recent occurrences such as the Dili demonstrations and the occupation of the US Embassy compounds by East Timorese youths in Jakarta have been reported as crimes perpetrated by GPK (trouble makers). In short, the current Indonesia's political maneuvers, despite seem promising, are no more than a series of its political duplicities that have been persisted for almost 20 years.

The hypocrite attitude of Western governments.

The end of the Cold War which has brought an epilogue to the world communism has been a propaganda for Western capitalist countries to impose their false democratic proposals, at best. The preach for freedom, the notion of peace, the advocacy of democracy and human rights during the Cold War, to countries like the United States, UK, France, Germany, Australia and New Zealand were not only aimed at isolating communist expansion. They were another form of these countries' spurious political adventures which are rooted in the very idea of capitalist doctrine of expansion, conquer and exploitation [of the 17th and

18th centuries]. Unfortunately, the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the disintegration of Eastern Europe have added more confirmation to such false conventional convictions.

In the post Cold War, issues of democracy, human rights and freedom are simply rejected because of the economic achievements of some Third World's dictator regimes. Australia for example, was a country which have been a champion of democracy and was believed to be a leading advocate of human rights in the southern hemisphere has, in the fear of being singled out from established economic blocs around the world, reversed conventional belief on its international role. Trade and economic interest have turned this giant's true colour to an extremely ridiculous stance instead and, opted to pursue economic interest (e.g. in Vietnam, Indonesia and Cambodia), at the same time, ignoring the plight of the oppressed people - whose blood have much to do with the building of such economic achievements -. Indeed, while ignoring the issue of human rights, successive Australian governments have provided long standing iron rulers of Asia (e.g. Indonesia & Vietnam) with vast economic assistance, strengthening their existence, neglecting the fact that thousands of people have been victimized for such economic accomplishments.

With regard to East Timor, not to mention the contribution of the 40,000 Timorese victims to Australian paratroops during the World War II, Canberra has always been a country willing to extend the suffering of the Timorese. Instead of helping its huge neighbouring country, Indonesia, to solve the issue of East Timor, Australia went far to give juridical recognition to the illegal occupation, neglecting facts that; the UN still recognizes Portugal as the jure administrator power of the territory and; that the East Timorese have never given any approval to Indonesia's presence in their homeland.

For most of East Timorese, Australian political decision to recognise Indonesia's presence in their territory (which came urgently in the mid 1980s), was one form of Canberra's admirations on both South East Asian countries' booming economy and the spook of losing the vast sea of Timor oil, which could supply average Australian citizen with billion of dollars in the coming future. Therefore, to Australia, the rush to make political decisions in favour of the leading regime of this region (e.g. by embracing Indonesia) means getting thousands of dollars every minute. The Timorese, again, are those who left to bear all negative consequences.

The neglect of human rights and hence human values at the expense of the wave of economic growth is becoming more conventional around the world. The East Timorese are aware that there are little hope for a insignificant issue like theirs to be settled. Nevertheless, the culture of terror that has been going on for almost 20 years, because of its nature, has contributed much to the building the culture of resistance and the dream for freedom in the mind of this nation. The desire to never abandon their struggle likewise continue.

What is the future?

The year 1994 has brought some positive steps to Apartheid and the Middle East conflict, however it also left many problems unresolved. Likewise, continue ignoring the call to end the tragic episode of war that has been lasted for 19 years in East Timor, will reinforce only the physical and cultural genocide of the East Timorese. The year 1995 lies ahead with massive task to be fulfilled. A commitment to resolve the issue of East Timor must be followed not only with true political will of both Indonesia and Portugal but also with true collaboration of the whole international community and those who once claimed themselves to be the champion of democracy. For example:

Give clear definition to Confidence Measure Building.

The international law should be applied to such a case. Clarification about the position of both Portugal and Indonesia is also essential. Both countries, at a cursory glance, are either interested or not-interested part alike on the issue of East Timor. With regard to the former, the grave irresponsibility of Portugal and the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, or the "de facto" control by Indonesia, and the "de jure" recognition given to Portugal on East Timor by the UN, bound the two countries to resolve the issue. With regard to the latter, both Indonesia (neo-colonialist) and Portugal (old-colonialist) are foreigners in East Timor. Whereas the ones who suffer a lot are the East Timorese.

Clear objectives and well defined meaning of "Internationally acceptable solution" is necessary. Otherwise, the UNSG's sponsored talks will remain only as a stage to display false diplomacies which will never bring an end the issue.

Include the East Timorese resistance leaders both inside and in exile and religious figures in every talk regarding the fate of their nation and the future of their case, under the auspices of the UN.

The UN, while sustaining its continuing efforts on the issue, should recommend a

proposal that could, apart from clarifying our previous point, encourage both Portugal and Indonesia to unfold their true political will, discharge political pursuit and commit themselves to extend peace, freedom and respect of human rights of the East Timorese. In addition, the East Timorese are the ones who must have "a say" about their own future.

To the international community, first and foremost to countries like Australia, New Zealand and UK, hiding behind the mask of democracy to pursue economic interests - most of which were built with the blood of innocent human beings - are not the fashion of the New World Order. Instead of giving assurances to dictator regimes like Soeharto and hence extending the suffering of many East Timorese, it is now the time to give a new shape to our history. Because, helping Indonesia government to resolve the issue of East Timor through an unbiased political atmosphere could nourish the tree which will bear fruits of freedom to the sons of those once offered their lives to save many Australian soldiers.

In this growing interdependent world there is no way to ignore the cry of both the East Timorese whose plight remain unresolved and of other ordinary men who simply refuse to accept the pervasive suffering of other human beings. The 1995 will witness another page of our history and this will be left to our future generations to judge.

Thanks for reading
Samodoc

VOA - TIMOR TALKS' LIMITED OBJECTIVES

Voice of America, 1/9/95

Intro: UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali is meeting in Geneva with the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal on the ongoing dispute over East Timor - the former Portuguese colony seized by Indonesian forces nearly two decades ago. VOA's Douglas Roberts in Geneva reports the Secretary-General appears to have set only limited objectives for Monday's talks, the fifth in a series of meetings over the past two and a half years.

Text: as the talks began at UN headquarters here, it was clear that the Jakarta and Lisbon governments remain far apart on the key question of East Timor's constitutional status.

Portugal says the 600-thousand East Timorese should be given the right to self-determination through a referendum. Indonesia flatly rejects the demand, insisting that the territory is, and will remain, its 27th province.

In advance of the meeting, both Portugal's foreign minister José Manuel Durão Barroso and his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas said they are looking to the UN Secretary-General for ways to break the impasse.

After the last round of talks eight months ago, Mr. Boutros Ghali was asked to identify possible avenues toward what was termed a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the dispute.

But at a briefing here, UN spokeswoman Therese Gastaut refused to say whether the Secretary-General brought any new proposals to Monday's talks.

She said Mr. Boutros Ghali is hoping to make progress toward a renewed dialogue between rival East Timorese factions. Supporters and opponents of Indonesian control of the territory held one inconclusive round of talks last year in London.

There have been repeated clashes in East Timor between pro-independence demonstrators and Indonesian security forces. News agencies reported fresh unrest in the capital, Dili, just hours before the start of Monday's talks here.

Portugal's foreign minister Barroso said the continuing disturbances only underscore the need for rapid progress toward a settlement of the dispute. And he repeated that self-determination for the East Timorese is the key to a solution. But Indonesia's foreign minister Alatas made it clear his government is not even prepared to discuss the issue.

The UN has never recognized Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. But Mr. Boutros Ghali has scrupulously avoided public comment on the question of self-determination in the territory.

UNSG COMMUNIQUÉ ON EAST TIMOR TALKS

UN Press Release, January 9.

PARTIES AGREE TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TOWARDS INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED SETTLEMENT ON QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR AT TALKS CONVENED BY SECRETARY-GENERAL

Next Round of Talks to Be Held on 19 May in New York

(Received from the spokeswoman for the Secretary-General in Europe.)

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali held a fifth round of meetings in Geneva today with the Foreign Minister of Portugal, José Manuel Durão Barroso, and the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Ali Alatas. The discussions focused on the Secretary-

General's initiative to facilitate the convening of an all-inclusive intra-East Timorese dialogue on a set of issues to be addressed in future talks and on confidence-building measures. In this regard, the Secretary-General wishes to record the following points of agreement arrived at during the meeting.

1. The meeting took note of:
 - the dispatch by the Secretary-General of a mission to Jakarta, Dili and Lisbon at the end of 1994 to conduct consultations prior to the present round of talks;
 - the presence of a representative sent by the Secretary-General at a meeting of East Timorese from inside and outside East Timor held in Chipstow, United Kingdom, at the end of September 1994 to initiate the first in a series of consultations with East Timorese groups and personalities of different political opinions, which was subsequently followed by similar consultations elsewhere with other East Timorese;
 - the meetings held in October 1994 between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia with leading East Timorese supporters and opponents of integration in conformity with paragraph 9 of the 6 May communiqué; and
 - the visit to East Timor in July 1994 by the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions of the Commission on Human Rights at the invitation of the Indonesian Government.
2. The two Ministers noted positively the Secretary-General's intention, following his consultations with a broad cross-section of East Timorese representing various trends of opinion, to facilitate and offer the necessary arrangements for the convening of an all-inclusive intra-East Timorese dialogue.
3. The objective of the dialogue will be to provide a forum for continuing the free and informal exchange of views to explore ideas of a practical nature that might have a positive impact on the situation in East Timor and assist in the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a solution to the question of East Timor. The dialogue will not address the political status of East Timor and will in no way constitute a parallel negotiating track or be a substitute for the ministerial talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General.
4. In order to create and maintain a propitious climate for a fruitful intra-East Timorese dialogue, the Secretary-General appeals to East Timorese of all shades of opinion to exercise restraint and refrain from

actions that could have a detrimental impact, prior to an in the course of the dialogue.

5. The Secretary-General expressed the need for the two Governments to cooperate with him in his initiative and to encourage all East Timorese to respond constructively to the initiative and appeal.

6. The two Ministers agreed to consider at the next round of talks substantive issues identified by the Secretary-General regarding possible avenues towards achieving a just, comprehensive and internally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor.

7. The Ministers recalled the statement issued on 6 May 1994 at the conclusion of the fourth round of talks in which they concurred, *inter alia*, on the need to improve the human rights situation in East Timor, and the relevant Chairman's statements adopted by consensus by the Human Rights Commission on that question, in particular, with regard to the access to East Timor, to the early release of the East Timorese imprisoned and to the full accounting of the persons dead or missing as a result of the violent incident in Dili of 12 November 1991. In that connection, the meeting took note of the Indonesian Government's intention, in the terms conveyed at the meeting, to take further steps for the implementation of the undertakings contained therein.

8. They also recalled the statement of 6 May 1994 on the need for continued restraint by both parties in the interest of maintaining a favourable atmosphere for further progress towards a comprehensive solution of the question of East Timor.

Following today's discussions, the parties agreed to continue their efforts, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor. The sixth round of talks between the Foreign Ministers under the auspices of the Secretary-General will be held on 19 May 1995 in New York. Prior to the ministerial meeting, preparatory talks will be held through the Representative of the Secretary-General.

BBC ON GENEVA MEETING

Adam Brook reports from Geneva for BBC, 9 January 1995

CUE: Indonesian and Portugal have agreed to allow talks to begin as soon as possible between East Timorese opposed to and those in favour of Indonesian rule in East Timor. The agreement came at a meeting in Geneva between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, chaired by the UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and subsequently annexed it, a move never rec-

ognised by the United Nations and bitterly opposed by Portugal, the former Colonial ruler. And opposition to Indonesian rule in the territory continues. From Geneva, Adam Brooks reports that today's agreement could lay the ground for progress in the search for a solution to the East Timor question.

AB: The drive for a solution to the East Timor question has gone up a gear. Today's agreement between Indonesia and Portugal contains two important elements. First it says that Dr. Boutros Ghali can facilitate, what it calls, an all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue. That means, if its fully implemented, that East Timorese, who are opposed to Indonesian rule, have an official foothold in the talks on East Timor's future. But that foothold's shaky. The dialogue will be informal and it will not address the political status of East Timor. Rather, it would focus on practical ways of improving the situation in the territory. Its significant that its the United Nations that will organise the dialogue, but its not clear if Indonesia will allow East Timorese pro-independence leaders to participate. The second important part of the agreement says that the next ministerial meeting between Indonesia and Portugal, scheduled for May, will address what it calls 'substantive issues.' That could mean some discussion of East Timor's political status. In all, the meeting seems to show some concessions by Indonesia, perhaps because of the continuing unrest inside East Timor and international pressure. The agreement could lend greater credibility to the political process surrounding East Timor and it could lead to progress. But much will depend on how Indonesia chooses to implement it.

INDONESIA AND PORTUGAL 'MAKE PROGRESS' IN TALKS

GENEVA, Jan 9 (IPS) - Monday's fifth round of United Nations brokered negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal on the continuing problems in occupied East Timor, "made good progress" according to a top U.N. envoy.

U.N. Special Envoy Frances Vendrell told IPS as the meeting closed that "Indonesia and Portugal made good progress" at the session but refused to elaborate on areas of agreement.

However Vendrell said both sides had agreed to hold a sixth meeting in the spring or possibly earlier.

Speaking before the meeting, chaired by U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas said Indonesia would concentrate on "confidence-building measures."

A source close to Alatas said Indonesia has already implemented many conditions demanded by Portugal. "We have allowed visits by members of the European Parliament to East Timor," he told IPS.

"Furthermore there are exchanges of visits to East Timor from East Timorese living in Portugal and those from the former Portuguese colony and there many more in the pipeline," he said.

U.N. officials said visits by Portuguese members of parliament, non-governmental organisations and representatives of Amnesty International were also discussed during the meeting.

Before the meeting Portuguese foreign minister José Manuel Durão Barroso said the right of self-determination for East Timor was the key issue. "This is the fifth time we have met. I think it is about time we found some agreement," he said. He and Alatas met individually with Boutros-Ghali before the joint session.

Mainly Muslim Indonesia invaded mainly catholic Christian East Timor in 1975 after the Portuguese colonial authorities moved out. Lisbon now demands a referendum that will allow East Timorese to pick between independence or continued association with Indonesia.

But the Portuguese initiative – which is backed by the Timorese resistance movement – "is being received with more enthusiasm in Lisbon than in Jakarta," according to Lisbon political analyst and Timor specialist, Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros.

Jakarta annexed the territory as Indonesia's 27th province one year after the invasion. Draconian campaigns against the Timorese, followed by enforced migration programmes have claimed the lives of some 210,000 East Timorese since then, say Amnesty International.

The talks were held in the shadow of renewed ethnic and civil clashes in the East Timorese capital of Dili on Monday where demonstrators broke into the University of East Timor in protest against Indonesia. Police fired into the air to disperse the crowd, and 24 demonstrators were reported arrested by Australian media.

At least five people died in rioting in the towns of Ermera and Baucau last week. Indonesian officials say one person was killed. The fighting followed tension between the Timorese majority and immigrants arriving from Sulawesi to run new small businesses.

In December hundreds of East Timorese went on the rampage in Dili after a Timorese Christian teenager was stabbed to death in a fight with a Muslim trader from the Indonesian mainland.

Speaking in Geneva Monday, Durão Barroso said Portugal was "ready to work in a

constructive way with Indonesia and the U.N. to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution for the question of East Timor."

But Alatas accuses Lisbon of obstruction. "(Portugal) continues to pursue a very aggressive and highly inflammatory attitude towards this issue," he told reporters in Jakarta before leaving for Geneva. "I have not seen much Portuguese implementation of their confidence-building measures," he said.

A U.N. report released last month provided a damning indictment of the 1991 massacre in Dili, where troops may have killed up to 200 marchers at a funeral.

U.N. special rapporteur Bacre Waly Ndiaye described the massacre as "a planned military operation against unarmed civilians" and noted warily "that the same conditions that allowed the killings in Dili to happen still persist in East Timor."

Indonesia says it has won over many East Timorese hostile to integration with Indonesia by staging a programme of public works using seven of its eight army battalions in the territory.

However Durão Barroso said that no progress could be made on concrete matters "so long as Indonesia insists on considering East Timor as its 27th province" and refuses to recognise East Timor's distinct national character.

He added that he would insist that the Timorese themselves be included in future negotiations as "the principal people interested in a solution."

Timorese resistance leader José Xanana Gusmão – writing from his prison cell at Jakarta's Cipinang jail, where he is serving 20 years for 'armed rebellion' – has backed calls for a referendum but urged both sides to compromise and soften their stances.

He said a referendum was "the only way for Indonesia to save face in a conflict in which it has shown itself a violator of universal principles and international law," he said in a message released last week to Portugal's national news agency LUSA.

"Changes in our own attitudes," he said, "in the attitudes of Jakarta, its politicians, its diplomats and generals will be needed in 1995." Some Timorese exiles support dialogue on autonomy while others still demand full independence.

The U.N. does not recognise Indonesia's rule in East Timor, and regards Portugal as administering authority under a 1975 resolution "until the process of decolonisation is completed," a process which includes a referendum on Timorese independence.

Durão Barroso emphasised that Lisbon stood by its rights as the U.N. authority – "the only one legitimate in terms of international law."

Portugal is also pursuing an order through the International Court of Justice to restrain Indonesia and Australia from taking oil from Timorese waters. The court is expected to give its judgment this year.

INDONESIA, PORTUGAL AGREE TO NEW ALL- INCLUSIVE TALKS

By Bob Mantiri

BRUSSELS, Jan 10 (IPS) - Indonesia and Portugal have agreed to new all-inclusive talks on the East Timor problem to be held in New York under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali, a U.N. official in Geneva said Tuesday.

He said that Boutros-Ghali held a meeting Monday with Indonesia's foreign minister Ali Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart José Durão Barroso.

As a result Boutros-Ghali agreed to make the necessary arrangements for the convening of a "dialogue among a broad cross-section of East Timorese representing various trends of opinion. An exact date has not been fixed yet for talks, but it will be very soon."

But sources close to Alatas stressed that Jakarta will not cooperate if the dialogue addresses the political status of East Timor or attempts to substitute ongoing ministerial talks on the problem.

It was the fifth meeting between Alatas and Barroso under the framework of confidence-building measures. They are intended to pave the way for normalization of diplomatic relations between Lisbon and Jakarta.

Portugal severed diplomatic relations with Jakarta following Indonesia's invasion of its former colony in 1975. The annexation of the island as the 27th Indonesian province has not been recognised by the United Nations. Portugal has demanded a referendum in East Timor to decide sovereignty.

The European Union in the meantime has welcomed progress in talks on confidence building measures. A spokesman of the French European Union presidency said: "The results of the meeting in Geneva could be the first step to a better understanding between Indonesia and Portugal – which may lead to the solution of the East Timor problem."

Portugal is still blocking a new trade agreement with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), due to Indonesia's human rights record in its former colony. The Association of South East Asian Nations groups Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and The Philippines.

A Brussels-based Portuguese diplomat said that relations could only be normalised if the human rights situation in East Timor improved. The Portuguese government has demanded the release of East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, who is serving 20 years for armed rebellion.

Indonesia indicated during the Geneva meeting that it will press for an early release of East Timorese rebels and would give a full account of the those people believed to be dead or missing as a result of a violent incident in Dili on Nov. 12, 1991. It did not mention whether this will include Xanana Gusmão.

Boutros-Ghali appealed to both parties to "exercise restraint and refrain from actions that could have a detrimental impact, prior to and in the course of the all-inclusive East Timor dialogue."

He stressed the need for Portugal and Indonesia to "cooperate with him in his initiative and to encourage all East Timorese to respond constructively to the initiative and appeal."

During their last meeting in May in Geneva Barroso and Alatas stressed the importance for "continued restraint in maintaining a favourable atmosphere for further progress towards a comprehensive solution of the question of East Timor."

Both ministers agreed to hold a sixth round of ministerial talks under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General on May 1995 in New York.

LISBON SAYS OF EAST TIMOR THAT 'TIME IS ON OUR SIDE'

International Herald Tribune (AFP wire), January 11. abridged

Geneva – Foreign Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso of Portugal strongly criticised Indonesia's rule in East Timor on Tuesday in comments made a day after a fifth round of United Nations-mediated talks here with his Indonesian counterpart.

He added, however, that "time is on our side" in resolving the East Timor problem.

He asserted that the Indonesian authorities had tried to curb pro-independence feeling by moving people out of the region but added that Jakarta might stop the practice because it had caused new ethnic tensions.

[NOTE: This is a confusing paragraph; the assertion about moving people out of East Timor is correct, but it is the movement of Indonesians into the territory that is causing the ethnic tensions and must be stopped. It seems likely that this was confusion on the part of the reporter, rather than Durão Barroso, but it is hard to tell.]

Mr. Durão Barroso's Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas, denied on Monday that any such transmigration existed.

JAKARTA WARY OF FULL INDEPENDENCE TALKS

By Bob Mantiri

BRUSSELS, Jan 11 (IPS) - Indonesia is prepared to grant East Timor more autonomy but is not prepared to allow the disputed territory the right to determine its own future, said a senior Indonesian diplomat here Wednesday.

"The Indonesian government is seriously looking for ways to give the East Timorese a limited self-rule, but to give them full independence is out of the question," the diplomat said.

Questioned about the self-rule, the diplomat referred to two Timorese provinces Aceh and Yogyakarta – which have a special autonomous status, giving them a strong voice in their own regional policy.

His comments came a day after the United Nations brokered talks in Geneva between Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart José Manuel Durão Barroso.

This resulted in an initiative from United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to organise a meeting of "all political currents" in East Timor.

The United Nations-sponsored meeting will be held shortly in New York. Indonesian foreign minister Alatas stressed during the Geneva talks on confidence building measures (CBM) that the new catch-all negotiations must "not address the political status of East Timor."

The territory was annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after troops invaded the island a year earlier. His Portuguese counterpart Barroso said that one option favoured by Portugal might be some kind of transitional autonomy for its former overseas territory while its political status was decided.

The United Nations did not recognise the integration of the island as Indonesia's 27th province and is still regarding Portugal as having administrative responsibility for its former colony.

Barroso strongly criticised some members of the European Union for adopting double standards on the question of human rights abuses in East Timor. Indonesia has repeatedly been accused of serious violations of human rights by United Nations investigators and Amnesty International.

Barroso singled out Britain as one of the main suppliers of arms to Indonesia. "I think there are sometimes double standards on human rights. One cannot criticise Libya,

one cannot criticise Cuba and then forget all about Indonesia," Barroso said.

The Portuguese minister admitted that a final political solution was still far off. He however thinks that worldwide interest in the problem of East Timor was growing rather than declining, giving Lisbon a stronger hand in the negotiations.

"I think that time is on our side now, while before it was not," Barroso told reporters.

"Some years ago the Indonesians were clearly thinking that the international community would forget about this problem and that Portugal would eventually get tired of trying to solve it," Barroso added.

"But now, as we are seeing, that is not happening. The resistance is there – civilian resistance, of course, not military resistance. The youth in East Timor is keeping this question very much alive. That is surprising, we did not expect so much interest," Barroso said.

NOTES ON MEETING IN GENEVA

From Gerry van Klinken, Griffith University, Jan 12.

The text of the SG's report was released yesterday.

The UN process has been glacially slow, but I think there is evidence of a more proactive role by the SG during the past 12 months. The focus of this last Geneva meeting was on setting up a forum for East Timorese to talk amongst themselves. The key sentence is 'an all-inclusive intra-East Timorese dialogue on a set of issues to be addressed in future talks and on confidence-building measures' (intro para).

First impression is that this represents UN blessing for a continuation of the London 'reconciliation' process, which was largely under Indonesian control and therefore rejected by the East Timorese Resistance. SG representative Samuel attended the last London meeting in September 1994. As in London, paragraph 3 stipulates that the coming forum 'will not address the political status of East Timor.' Nor will the meeting be 'a parallel negotiating track or... a substitute for the ministerial talks under the auspices of the SG.'

However there are some important new points that may make this forum good for East Timor. Most important is that the meeting is now 'facilitated' by the UNSG. Moreover he promises to take it seriously (the forum should 'assist in the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a solution to the question of East Timor,' para. 3). Taken together with the opening paragraph, this could mean the

meeting will set items on an agenda for the next tripartite UNSG-Indonesia-Portugal meeting, scheduled for 19 May 1995 in New York. We can see this as another step on the way of increasing East Timorese participation in a UN-sponsored resolution of the East Timorese conflict. Earlier Indonesian propaganda that East Timor's problems are essentially internal to the East Timorese loses much of its force, provided the East Timorese can coordinate their response.

Another positive point is the generous nature of the adjectives with which the report describes the forum: - 'all-inclusive' (intro para, & para 2). This ought to mean the participation of people like Bishop Belo and Xanana Gusmão. - 'free and informal' (para 3). This ought to mean the agenda can extend to the core constitutional issue of East Timor's political status.

Two internal contradictions endanger the document's effectiveness. Both are reminiscent of the problems with the London process. One is the list of participants. Responsibility for extending invitations appears to be delegated to the respective governments by paragraph 5 ('SG expressed the need for the two Governments to.... encourage all East Timorese to respond constructively to the initiative and appeal'). This obviously leaves open the possibility that the meeting will be less than 'all-inclusive.'

More serious is the contradiction in paragraph 3 about the agenda, which is said to be 'free' but then immediately adds 'will not address the political status of East Timor.' The meeting is to 'explore ideas of a practical nature that might have a positive impact on the situation in East Timor....' (para 3). This no doubt reflects the Indonesian desire to restrict talks to safe topics like education and health.

However not simply Indonesian reluctance is at issue here. The SG promises the May meeting will talk about 'substantive issues identified by the SG regarding possible avenues towards achieving a just, comprehensive and internally [sic: misprint for 'internationally?'] acceptable solution to the question of East Timor.' One would think East Timor's political status *must* be one of these 'substantive issues.' But indications are to the contrary. Para 7 defines the issue as ('inter alia') human rights: in particular access by human rights monitors, the release of (unspecified) East Timorese prisoners, and a full accounting of Dili massacre victims. It does not mention constitutional issues.

The nebulous status of East Timor in UN eyes as a case of incomplete decolonization, not as a case of an invasion of a sovereign state, nor as a case of Third World colonialism, will mean the gap between East Timorese hopes and UN ability to deliver

will remain wide. This gap explains the SG's appeal 'to East Timorese of all shades of opinion to exercise restraint and refrain from actions that could have a detrimental impact prior to and in the course of the dialogue' (para 4; in para 5 the SG asks respective Governments to encourage their East Timorese to 'respond constructively to.... the appeal'). The East Timorese have the greatest interest in a resolution, yet only they are subject to an appeal for restraint, not their former or present colonial rulers. This impatience with East Timorese aspirations is not only an Indonesian obstructionist booby trap in the document but a UNSG one.

However, even the human rights issue can have significant political repercussions if followed through consistently. Two successive Special Rapporteurs to the UNSG have now recommended the demilitarization of East Timor. This would mean the removal of Jakarta's main instrument for resisting development of a free political process in East Timor, the precondition to a real solution.

On balance I think the East Timorese stand to gain from this UNSG initiative. If they ignore the two serious internal contradictions in the body of the text and focus on the opening paragraph it means East Timor's most credible leaders, including Xanana, are being invited to tell the UNSG what he should be talking about with the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers next May.

ALATAS: HORTA CAN TALK (BUT NOT POLITICAL ISSUES)

Voice of America, 1/13/95.

By David Butler, Bangkok

Intro: Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said today (Friday) the leading East Timorese independence campaigner in exile can join a UN-sponsored dialogue on East Timor. David Butler reports from our southeast Asia bureau in Bangkok.

Text: Foreign Minister Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart agreed Monday in Geneva to the UN-sponsored talks among East Timorese.

After meeting with President Suharto Friday, Mr. Alatas told reporters José Ramos Horta could join the talks so long as he does not raise political issues. Mr. Horta is the leading East Timorese independence fighter not in jail.

Mr. Alatas said the talks, to be held somewhere outside Indonesia, will discuss only the issue of reconciliation.

Foreign Minister Alatas made similar comments after the Geneva meeting. Diplomats and other analysts said then it was unrealistic to think any gathering of informed East Timorese would not discuss political issues and possible independence.

Mr. Alatas said the United Nations will not organize the meeting among East Timorese, but will facilitate it. He said details of the meeting have not yet been settled.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and annexed it in 1976. The United Nations has never recognized Indonesian sovereignty over the territory.

Portugal maintains the people of the territory should vote in a referendum about their status. Indonesia insists East Timor is and will remain its 27th province.

Indonesian officials in the past have ridiculed Ramos Horta's campaign for East Timorese independence.

JIM DUNN'S THOUGHTS ON GENEVA MEETING

James Dunn, Foreign Affairs Columnist - 61-44-743484, Australia, Jan. 14

Having recently had talks in New York with Portuguese diplomats and UN officials I am inclined to agree that something positive may emerge from the latest UN-sponsored meeting. It may well be that the agenda will be expanded on the spot, so to speak, despite the recent statement by Alatas that Indonesia will not let the conference go of if the status of East Timor is brought into debate. Other Indonesian forces, perhaps including Tutut and Habibie, are at work it would seem, though I am very unsure about what they are aiming at. Much will depend on the setting for this meeting. If it were to be in Hongkong or Sydney the Indonesians could hardly scuttle it without disastrous diplomatic consequences. And it will, after all, be a UN sponsored forum.

However, we must not underrate the determination in ABRI and some Kemlu quarters not to give ground on any move that would encourage a reconsideration of integrasi. For ABRI, including figures like Try Sutrisno, freeing up the political situation in the province would risk provoking a rush to expose the human rights horrors of the past, with potentially serious internal consequences. To put it simply, to keep up the lies about Timor, about the way it happened, means having to keep the lid fairly tightly on the situation. Nor could the meeting avoid the issue of the massive inflow of non-Timorese which itself would lead inevitably to a discussion of the status of the territory.

There has been some interest in the role of Abilio Araujo, the former Fretilin leader. As one who knows him well and is familiar with his past, I have serious doubts about his credibility. His conversion from an uncompromising and rather paranoid Marxist to a man of all sides troubles me. I cannot help feeling that his game is largely about power and personal ambition, as well as a move to undermine Horta. In my opinion Jill Jolliffe has given him a boost he hardly deserves, in part, I fear, reflecting her personal dislike for Horta.

This does not mean that Araujo should be ignored. But he should be watched carefully. It would of course be great if Xanana Gusmão and Bishop Belo could attend this meeting. The real test will be in its preparation.

EVENTS IN ASIA

KOREAN DEMONSTRATION FOR EAST TIMOR

On Friday, 2 December, there was a demonstration outside the Indonesian Embassy in Seoul, Korea, organised by the Korean Human Rights Network. About 25 people attended. The demonstration was attacked by a squad of about 50 Korean riot police and broken up. Only minor injuries were inflicted. A letter was delivered by the organisers to the embassy, the text of which follows.

I have also just seen some photographs of a demo in support of the Timorese outside the US Embassy in Colombo, Sri Lanka. I'm not sure of the date but it obviously coincided with APEC. The solidarity network grows...

Jonathan, BCET

Text of letter delivered to Indonesian Embassy, Seoul, 2 December 1994

Dear President Suharto,

We, members of the Korean Human Rights Network (KOHARNET) have gathered here in front of the Indonesian Embassy, in Seoul, in honour of the occasion of Human Rights week '94 in order to protest against the suppression of the people in East Timor by Indonesia. We are also here in honour of the visit of Mr. Roque Rodrigues to Korea, who has dedicated his whole life to the restoration of the human rights and independence of East Timor. As the word 'Killing Field in the Indian Ocean' symbolizes, the serious human rights violations in East Timor are no longer an issue of East Timor itself or Indonesia; yet it is a great challenge and shame to the peoples in the Asia Pacific region.

First of all, we on behalf of KOHARNET working for full realization of the human rights not only in Korea but also in the rest of the world, cannot but condemn brutality against East Timorese by Indonesia for the last 20 years. At the same time we wish to pay our heart-felt respect to the people of East Timor who have been struggling for their right to self-determination and independence without much support from abroad.

We came to know through the numerous international news reports that 29 young people of East Timor organized a sit-in protest for the release of their national leader Xanana Gusmão and East Timor's right to self-determination within the US Embassy in Jakarta during APEC summit '94. We also paid much attention to the fact that dozens of people were arrested during the peaceful demonstration in Dili, capital of East Timor, in those days.

Those events reminded us of the Santa Cruz massacre where more than 200 innocent people were killed by the Indonesian troops indiscriminate shooting while they were peacefully marching on November 12, 1991. Such a tragic massacre, which is similar to a bloody one which occurred in Kwangjoo in May 1980, was a great shock to the conscience of humankind and aroused great indignation among the Korean people. However none of the offenders have been punished till now. On the contrary, people protesting against such an injustice have been put into prison.

We understand that those systematic human rights violations have been continuously occurring due to the historical fact that Indonesian armed forces illegally invaded East Timor in 1975. As is internationally well-known, the United Nations representing the international community made a request for the immediate withdrawal of the Indonesian army from East Timor, condemning the illegal occupation of the Indonesian army and supporting East Timor's right to self-determination. Nevertheless you have refused to comply with the demands of the international community and have continued to justify your rule over East Timor.

On November 15, 1994 the APEC summit took place in Indonesia where a lot of people have been oppressed under the dictatorship for the last three decades. What people throughout the world were interested in during the APEC summit was the issue of East Timor, rather than the agenda of the APEC summit itself. It implies that there will be no peace and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region as well as in Indonesia without a solution of the East Timor issue on the principle of East Timor's right to self-determination.

Universal values such as human rights and democracy are becoming increasingly important in an era of globalization. Our concern for human rights in other nations is an expression of the conscience of humankind and a practice of the universality of human rights, not an intervention in the affairs of another country. Therefore, as members of the global village, we wish to express our strong aspiration for full restoration of human rights and East Timor's right to self-determination and we strongly urge the Indonesian government to do the following:

1. The Indonesian government should take all the necessary measures to stop all kinds of human rights violations in East Timor.
2. The Indonesian government should allow UN human rights delegates and international human rights organisations to visit any place without restriction in East Timor in order to investigate objectively into human rights violations.
3. The Indonesian government should punish those offenders related to the Santa Cruz Massacre and other killings in East Timor according to the report of an internationally recognised fact-finding mission.
4. The Indonesian government should immediately release Mr. Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the national liberation movement for the independence of East Timor, unconditionally.
5. The Indonesian government should let a referendum, which will decide on the future of East Timor, take place as soon as possible in accordance with the UN resolutions and East Timor's right to self-determination.

Signed

Mr. Koo Young-koo
Chairperson of KOHARNET

Member organisations of Korea Human Rights Network (KOHARNET):

- Lawyers for a Democratic Society (Minbyun)
- Human Rights Committee - National Alliance for Democracy and Unification in Korea (NADUK)
- Democratic Legal Studies Association
- Family Association for Democracy
- The Buddhists' Committee for Human Rights
- Bereaved Family Association for Democracy and Unification in Korea (Yoogahyup)
- Sarangbang Centre - Solidarity for Participation and Human Rights
- The Catholic Human Rights Committee
- Human Rights Committee of the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK)

MALAYSIA'S ATTACK ON WEST LACKS BITE

By Johanna Son and Mustafa Ali

KUALA LUMPUR, Dec. 10 (IPS) - Malaysia this week served as a forum to challenge the dominant, Western concept of human rights, but nagging questions about its own record took some of the sting out of what was to have been a stern rebuke of the West.

Questions about Malaysia's policies in the area of human rights were raised not just by local critics, but were often at the back of the minds of some activists at the two-day conference organised by a Penang-based non-government group Just World Trust (JUST).

Indeed, after the meeting closed mid-week, another group was soon holding another conference that would "assess" what had been discussed.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's tirade against the West's attempts to impose its worldview on the rest of the world though was well-received by an activist audience, which welcomed his leading the Third World's struggle against Western domination.

"What qualifies the Western liberal democrats to become both judge and executor of the behavior of nations and citizens of other countries?" Mahathir asked at the JUST conference, citing Bosnia as a clear example of "Western hypocrisy."

But some wondered if the message would have rung more loudly if its harbinger had a clearly better record on human rights, apart from its would-be tiger status, to back it up.

After all "you can't be a spokesman for the South while repressing your own people at home," said Kempton Makamure, a Zimbabwean law professor and activist. He said Mahathir's message would be welcomed by the South, but adds that "progress (for a country) can't be bought at the cost of repression."

Some activists said despite the West's faults, Asian governments must not invoke culture or the search for a balanced concept of rights as an excuse to deny human rights at home.

Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM), which organised the follow-up meeting late this week to the JUST conference, was among the most vocal of the activist groups. Much of the focus of its attacks, however, was Malaysia itself.

It described Malaysia as a "highly controlled" society where people are detained without trial, the press is controlled by having to get publishing licenses and publications are either owned by government or its allies.

Only when Mahathir improves Malaysia's record does he have the "moral authority to say anything meaningful on human rights," SUARAM said in a statement at the conference.

"Although we may not have many political prisoners, there are some 10,000 people detained without trial under the Dangerous Drugs Act. That's a lot considering our small population," noted SUARAM's Sivara-sa Asiah.

"The principle of being innocent until proven guilty is not there. If that's an Asian value, then I wouldn't be proud to be Asian," he said, adding that freedom from arbitrary detention, freedom of expression and association were universal rights.

In a November 1994 report, the New York-based Human Rights Asia noted that Kuala Lumpur used the "draconian" Internal Security Act (ISA) to detain members of the Muslim organisation called Al-Arqam, accused of teaching deviationist Islam.

This was the most publicized series of arrests since the 1987-88 crackdown, when the government jailed political dissenters and revoked the licenses of several newspapers.

Malaysia is reviewing the ISA. In October, Law Minister Syed Hamid Albar said the National Security Council is discussing whether to amend or abolish the ISA altogether.

Human Rights Watch/Asia cited Malaysia's continued crackdown on illegals that began in July 1993, as shown by its round-ups of Filipino workers. Some illegals, like Burmese nationals, are detained indefinitely as they are not recognised as citizens by their own governments.

SUARAM's Lee Siew Hwa said reducing human rights to an East-West conflict is "simplistic." She warned that invoking Asian values may be a way for governments like Singapore and Malaysia to discourage citizens from asserting more civil and political rights.

Theorists say rising affluence in authoritarian governments is creating a large middle class that would not be content just with economic clout, but aided by the globalization of information, would soon demand political clout as well.

Malaysia, analysts add, hosted the conference at a time when despite its robust economic growth the country is subjected to criticism for its political record. Critics say the Malaysian government may be trying to divert attention away from its internal situation.

But Deputy Premier Anwar Ibrahim seemed to put a balance to Kuala Lumpur's view of human rights, saying: "Development cannot be used as an apology for authoritarianism. The fact of the matter is

more nations have been impoverished by authoritarianism that enriched by it."

"To cite cultural differences or Asian values in order to deflect from ourselves criticism against human rights violations is an affront to our moral sense," he said.

Unfortunately, the JUST conference appears to have now split Malaysia's community of human rights activists, some of whom had questioned Mahathir's keynoting the discussion and complained over the non-inclusion of human rights violations in the South, like Burma or East Timor.

At the conference's close, an irked JUST director Chandra Muzaffar hit SUARAM for organising its own forum that "poached" on the speakers and participants JUST had paid for to come to Malaysia. He said, "If ethics is important in life and society, it is also important for NGOs."

Said one Malaysian activist: "I don't understand this. If we are split like this, only the government wins."

CNRM MESSAGE TO WORLD YOUTH, MANILA

The following message has been sent to participants in the tenth World Youth Day celebration, held in Manila 10-15 January.

Domingos Sarmiento Alves was recently appointed Special Representative of the National East Timor Student Resistance-RENETIL, a CNRM member body. Domingos Sarmiento led the 29 East Timorese youth who staged a sit-in at the US Embassy in Jakarta last November. He is now based in Lisbon.

CNRM- EAST TIMOR, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MAUBERE RESISTANCE

Message to Tenth World Youth Day Participants

15 January 1995

The National Council of Maubere Resistance extends greetings to organisers and participants in the World Youth Day in Manila, Philippines. We are witness to exceptional circumstances that justify a day to celebrate youth.

However, as you gather at this important celebration, the people of the nearby territory of East Timor continue to suffer under the 19-year long genocidal occupation of their country by the armed forces of the neighbouring Indonesia. Using any available violence to intimidate, terrorise and obliterate the population, the Indonesian occupier has over the years unsuccessfully attempted to break the spirit and the resistance of the East Timorese people against the illegal occupation of their country.

Disturbing reports are published almost daily by the world media about the recurring of human rights violations committed against the people of East Timor by the brutal Jakarta regime. Yet the longing for freedom and justice has proven stronger, and almost two decades later the Jakarta generals have to acknowledge the failure of their East Timorese adventure, as the costs of maintaining their occupation rapidly escalate. We witness today a strengthening rather than a weakening of the nationalist spirit of the East Timorese people.

Resistance to Indonesian presence increasingly grows and strengthens in East Timor. It is the youth which is proving to be the most active force opposing the unjust policies of the Indonesian colonial oppressor. These valiant people include young adults, students, school children, and those who should be at school if the circumstances would allow it. For their courageous and principled stance, the youth of East Timor, those who are meant to be the future of the nation, face discrimination, torture, imprisonment and death at the hands of their brutal occupiers. Even those who avoid those direct horrors, still face loss of family, culture, security, a proper education and basic human rights.

But it is not only the people of East Timor who suffer from the brutality of the Suharto regime. The people of Indonesia itself face similar oppression from their corrupt and authoritarian rulers. Again, it is the youth of Indonesia who being most active in the growing pro-democracy movement, bears the brunt of military violence and repression.

We call on all participants to the World Youth Day to remember the suffering youth of East Timor during this important event. Remember those who have given their lives, often after horrendous mistreatment and torture, to defend universal principles of justice and human rights, such as the ones you are able to enjoy. Keep these courageous fighters in your minds and prayers. Use your influence to press for international action against the military dictatorship in Jakarta which oppresses the people of East Timor as well as its own citizens, including its youth.

We urge all participants in the World Youth Day Celebration to intercede so that unprincipled governments cease their business-motivated support for the corrupt Suharto dictatorship. It is this support which enables the oppression of the Indonesian people and the genocide of the people of East Timor to continue.

As the youth of the world, beacons of the future aspired to by humanity, we urge you to hold high the banner of high ideals, support for fair opportunity, and for fun-

damental human rights. Resolve yourselves to work hard to accomplish these ideals for yourselves, and show the strength of your solidarity with your suffering regional neighbours.

José Ramos Horta,
Special Representative,
CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance)

Domingos Sarmento Alves
Special Representative,
RENETIL (East Timor Students National Resistance)
13 January 1995

EVENTS IN UK AND IRELAND

INDONESIA USES THE NICHOLLS DELEGATION

INDONESIAN'S REPORT TO UN ON BRITISH DELEGATION TO ET

UN Document E/CN.4/1995/107
5 December 1994

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, Fifty-first session

Item 11 of the provisional agenda

QUESTIONS OF VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

Letter dated 17 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations Office at Geneva addressed to the Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights

Pursuant to the Chairman's statement on the situation of human rights in East Timor at the fiftieth session of the Commission on Human Rights, in particular concerning greater access to the province, I have the honour to furnish you with information concerning the recent visit of the British parliamentary delegation to East Timor province, Indonesia from 18 to 20 September 1994 as part of their three-week visit to Indonesia from 8 to 25 September 1994.

It is the ardent wish of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia that such information be made available to the fifty-first session of the Commission on Human Rights in 1995 in extenso.

Soemadi D.M. Brotodiningrat
Ambassador

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO VISIT EAST TIMOR PROVINCE

A British parliamentary delegation has visited East Timor from 18 to 20 September 1994 as part of their visit to Indonesia from 8 to 25 September 1994. The five-member parliamentary delegation was headed by Mr. Patrick Nicholls and consisted of Messrs. Robert Bank, Cecil Walker, Roy Beggs, Charles Goodson and James Kilfedder. While in Jakarta, they met with President Suharto, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, a number of other cabinet ministers, members of the National Commission on Human Rights. In East Timor, they met the representatives of the ICRC as well as Bishop Bello [sic], the head of the Roman Catholic community in East Timor.

The visit to East Timor, which lasted for three days, was made not only to find out more about the situation in the province but also aimed at obtaining first-hand information about the steps taken by the Indonesian competent authority to prevent the November 1991 tragic 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.

In an interview given to the mass media following the visit to East Timor, Mr. Nicholls asserted that the human rights of the people in the province have been protected in accordance with the country's relevant laws and regulations. British ministers and members of parliament were impressed by what Indonesia had done in developing East Timor, and for that reason Indonesia deserved special credit. He also commended the armed forces' role for their civic mission programme, for instance, in providing computer courses and basic technological training for the East Timorese youths.

Mr. Nicholls believed that following the Portuguese withdrawal, it was natural if the East Timorese people wanted to join their brothers in other parts of Indonesia since geographically East Timor was part of the Indonesian archipelago. To accelerate the development in the country's 27th province, he maintained that the country should give a high priority in the development programme in East Timor so that it can keep pace with other provinces.

During the interview, he further said that criticism launched by foreign countries against Indonesia on East Timor was virtually caused by exaggerated reports by international media about the province. A country should not air its views on another before knowing the real situation in that other country, he said. He finally voiced his dis-

agreement with reports portraying negative human rights records on East Timor.

ANN CLWYD TELLS TORIES: STOP APOLOGISING FOR INDONESIAN ATROCITIES

News Release issued by the Campaigns and Communications Directorate of The Labour Party, 7 December 1994

Shadow Foreign Minister Ann Clwyd has called on the British Government to give more support to the oppressed people of East Timor. Speaking at a lobby of Parliament, organised by the British Coalition for East Timor, she called for a diplomatic offensive, and stated that a future Labour Government will review arms sales to ensure that they are not used for purposes of internal repression or international aggression.

Ann Clwyd said:

'The Conservative Party has apologized for the Indonesian regime for long enough. While Patrick Nicholls defends President Suharto in the press, Robert Banks and Foreign Office Minister Alastair Goodlad fall over themselves to heap praise upon the Indonesian Government on the floor of the House. During the Queen's speech debate 3 weeks ago, when the oppression of civilians in East Timor was raised, some Tories began to laugh.

Well the people of East Timor aren't laughing. The families of the 200,000 East Timorese that have died since the illegal occupation began haven't been moved to chuckle or giggle. There are no smiles on the faces of the orphans, or those whose brothers or sisters or children have perished.

This rally must send a message to the Conservative Government today: stop apologising and start acting to support the oppressed people of East Timor. Use every available diplomatic opportunity to show complete opposition to the Indonesian human rights record.

Labour's policy is clear: we will continue to press both the Government and the European Union to exert much greater influence on the Government of Indonesia, directly and through the United Nations to respect the rights of the people of East Timor.'

UNIONISTS COMMEND JAKARTA'S HUMAN RIGHTS ROLE IN TIMOR

The (Irish) Sunday Business Post, 15 Jan 1995, Reporter; Frank Connolly

The report of a British Parliamentary delegation to East Timor, which included three Unionist members, and which claimed that Indonesia deserved special credit for developing the region has been sent to the UN Human Rights Commission despite

recent criticisms of human rights abuses and a growing military offensive against East Timorese nationalists.

The delegation of six members of the Anglo-Indonesian parliamentary group, including Cecil Walker M.P. and Roy Beggs M.P. of the Ulster Unionist Party and Jim Kilfedder, Independent Unionist visited Indonesia and East Timor last September along with three Conservative party members.

The leader of the delegation, Patrick Nicholls M.P., said after the trip that the human rights of the people of East Timor had been protected and that the Indonesian armed forces were to be commended for their civic mission programmes. Nicholls resigned in November as Tory party Vice-Chairman following criticisms of his public attack against the EU and what he termed "German warmongers and French collaborators."

He said that it was natural that the people of East Timor should wish to become part of Indonesia and that criticism launched by foreign countries against Indonesia was caused by exaggerated international media reports. He claimed that the Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Bishop Belo, had welcomed the delegation and said that here had been an improvement in the human rights situation. The bishop later denied that he had claimed any such improvement. On the contrary, he recently said that East Timor was "like hell going through another colonisation."

Nicholls comments formed the basis of a report submitted by the Indonesian government to the UN Commission on Human Rights late last year aimed at countering widespread condemnation of the country's human rights record in East Timor. It also coincided with a military build up by Indonesia in the disputed region and the exclusion of foreign journalists, six of whom have been killed while reporting on the conflict in recent years.

UUP member Roy Beggs said on his return from East Timor that he had seen no evidence that the Indonesian government was brutalizing the people of East Timor, an observation that drew criticism from Amnesty International which claims that the Indonesian government has killed over 200,000 East Timorese since forcibly annexing the country following the departure of the Portuguese colonists in 1975.

The Industrial Development Board in Northern Ireland recently announced that an Indonesian company, Texmaco-Polyfindo was to create 900 jobs in Beggs east Antrim constituency.

Jim Kilfedder, Independent Unionist another member of the delegation told the Sunday Business Post that the people he met in East Timor expressed their desire to

become an autonomous region within Indonesia.

He said that there had been a change in the atmosphere since the killing of over 400 unarmed protestors by the Indonesian military in the East Timor capital Dili two years ago.

"I got the impression that there had been a remarkable change in the whole atmosphere since that disaster at Dili. The people I talked to out there wanted to have special status within Indonesia. The majority of people realise the area needs a massive investment which will come from mainland Indonesia. When I was there I did not hear of any complaints about any breach of civil rights," Kilfedder said.

According to the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign in Dublin, troops, armoured cars and tanks have been deployed in the region in the past few days while more restrictions have been placed on foreign journalists and visitors by the Indonesian authorities.

[N.B. The Ulster Unionists are the sister party of the British Conservative party.]

MOTION IN IRISH SENATE

Dec. 1, 1994

The following motion was today placed on the Order of Business in the Irish Senate. "That Seanad Eireann (Irish Senate) in pursuance of the motion of 16th November, 1994 in the Portuguese Parliament,

1. Firmly repudiates the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and the crimes systematically perpetrated by the respective police and military authorities to the patriots of that martyred and heroic territory;
2. regrets the persisting climate of terror and repression endured by the Timorese citizens for so many years-unresigned and unsubmitive;
3. again draws the attention of the international community to the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination; which the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic safeguards and the Portuguese support;
4. in particular, firmly condemns the serious violations of human rights that have been perpetrated in East Timor and
5. urges the release of all Timorese political prisoners, specially of Commander Xanana Gusmão.

Senator David Norris
Senator Joe O'Toole
Senator Mary Henry

BRITISH PEACE ACTIVIST TO SPEAK AT DUBLIN COMMEMORATION VIGIL

Voice of Timor (Ireland), press release. 6 Dec.

British peace activist Chris Cole, will give the keynote address at a commemoration vigil at the British embassy, Dublin, on Wednesday 7th December at 7.p.m. to mark the 19th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

Chris Cole has served a term of imprisonment for entering a British aerospace weapons factory and causing damage to hawk aircraft. Britain is the biggest supplier of weapons to Indonesia.

200,000 East Timorese, one third of the population, have died since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony. Ten United Nations sanctioning resolutions have been passed calling on Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor. All have been ignored.

"I am deeply concerned that despite the testimony of East Timorese people that they have seen the hawk aircraft used in East Timor, the British government is yet again about to sell more hawks to Indonesia," Cole said on arrival in Dublin.

More information Dublin 6233148

PROTEST AT EAST TIMOR GENOCIDE

Irish Times, 8 December

A man who spent six months in prison for disarming weapons in a British Aerospace factory which were due to be sold to Indonesia held a protest outside the British Embassy in Dublin yesterday to mark the 19th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

The English peace activist Mr. Chris Cole, said that during his trial for causing 1/2 Million pounds in criminal damages he argued that he was in fact preventing a crime and the real criminals were the arms dealers. The trial resulted in a hung jury but Mr. Cole was sentenced to 8 months in prison at his second trial. Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor one third of the population, 200,000 people have died.

The United Nations has passed 10 resolutions calling on Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor. Britain is said to be the largest supplier of weapons to Indonesia. "I want to ask the Irish people to press the British government to stop supplying arms to Indonesia," Mr. Cole said. "I have been working against the arms industry for many years and when I learned of the situation in East Timor I realised we causing genocide."

During his visit to Dublin Chris Cole was interviewed for: East Coast Radio, CKR FM, LFMF, The Big Issues, and The Irish Catholic. Ireland Radio News also carried a report of the British Embassy Vigil

LETTER TO THE EDITOR IRISH TIMES 8 DEC 1994

Sir, It is understandable and commendable that newsreel images of Auschwitz should have made Kader Asmal want to fight for others (Irish Times Dec. 3). however despite the reliable reports and newsreel images of similar atrocities in Indonesia and East Timor, Nelson Mandela and the ANC government, of which Mr. Asmal is a member, have forged closer links with the blood-soaked dictator Suharto. I hope that Mr. Asmal well deserved triumphal visit to Ireland will be slightly marred by pertinent questions concerning this inconsistency,

Yours,

Raymond Deane, Dublin

SOME ATROCITIES ATTRACT A BLIND EYE

The Independent, 7 December 1994. By Charles Glass

Today is a double anniversary: of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that brought America into the Second World War in 1941, and of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975. To mark the first, America will hold commemorative services in Hawaii. For the second, there will be a demonstration this evening outside Parliament. The aim is to lobby the Government to stop the sale of British weapons that allow Indonesia to prolong its illegal occupation of the former Portuguese colony.

To understand what has happened in East Timor, imagine for a moment that August 1990 the United States endorsed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Kuwait is now Iraq's 19th province, filled with Iraqi settlers, businesses and secret policemen. Each year the United Nations makes a ritual condemnation of the occupation, Western arms producers sell Saddam Hussein the weapons he needs to sustain his army in Kuwait and to suppress internal dissidents.

Imagine, too, that on the evening before the invasion, Saddam met not the unfortunate US ambassador April Glaspie, but President George Bush and Secretary of State Jim Baker. They had flown into Baghdad to promise Saddam diplomatic cover and sufficient military equipment to absorb Kuwait into Iraq. When Baker leaves office, he joins a company with vast interests in Iraq, negotiates deals with Saddam and encourages other companies to do the same. American factories making Reebok and Nike

shoes and Calvin Klein clothes open and employ Iraqi workers at a daily wage of one pound, while the Iraqi army suppresses trade unions and murders labour activists.

The British Government follows America's lead by providing Saddam with aid and trade deals. It encourages British Aerospace to sell him Hawk fighter jets and participates in financial rescue packages to sustain the regime. Meanwhile, British companies like Trafalgar House go into construction joint ventures with Saddam's son, while BP and Britoil explore for oil off Kuwait, and British Gas buys options on gas fields. And every so often, when Saddam hosts a summit conference with his friends, like the president of the United States and the prime minister of Japan, a few Kuwaiti students demonstrate against the occupation and are arrested and tortured.

A change of location, and the scenario becomes true. It happened in East Timor. In December 1975, the Indonesian president, general Suharto, was planning his invasion. The president of the United States, Gerald Ford and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, flew to Jakarta to meet Suharto and give full American support to the invasion - a fact admitted to me years later by Philip Habib, a State Department official who attended the meeting.

After leaving office, Kissinger met Suharto again. In 1991, as a board member of Freeport McMoRan, he helped the company to renew for 30 years its permit to produce copper in the Indonesian province of West Irian. By then the Indonesian army, with American and British weapons, had killed 200,000 of East Timor's 700,000 people. East Timor had become in all but international law and common justice, Indonesia's 27th province.

During the recent Asian-Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum in Jakarta, dictators and elected politicians discussed trade while outside in the streets about a thousand demonstrators inconveniently demanded human rights for Indonesians and independence for East Timor. thirteen hundred miles away, in the East Timorese capital of Dili, more demonstrators fought with the police and army.. At least three were killed. The next day General Suharto announced - as the leaders of the United States, China, Japan and the rest stood near him - the success of the conference. By 2020, all 18 countries would be part of a vast common market.

While Indonesian troops patrol East Timor, Trafalgar House is building a 35-mile toll road in partnership with President Suharto's daughter, Tutut. Like her brothers, Tommy and Bambang, Tutut is a billionaire. The International Labour Organisation and the Catholic Church have accused her of employing slave labour from East Timor,

and she already collects revenues on the private toll road from the airport into Jakarta.

In East Timor, Indonesian soldiers entered a Catholic church, took Communion and then spat out the host and wiped it underfoot. Other soldiers have harassed nuns. Torture is the primary method of interrogation and intimidation. Indonesia is settling Muslims in the Catholic country, building mosques and encouraging conversions to Islam. Meanwhile, BP and Britoil are exploring for oil in the Timor Gap under a 1989 agreement between Australia and Indonesia - which the UN had declared illegal - to exploit East Timor's resources.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Dili, Carlos Belo has described his country as "a hell, where Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police." The British Government has announced that the Overseas Development Agency will grant Indonesia more than 70 million pounds in aid for a power station and the Tutut-Trafalgar road. Britain is negotiating the sale to Indonesia of Scorpion tanks and Hawks, in addition to the 16 Hawks that British Aerospace agreed to sell last December. Then, Britain's Chief of Air Staff, Sir Michael Graydon visited Jakarta a week before Indonesia approved the purchase.

In the United States, the Congress last year placed restraints on relations between Indonesia and American companies, the military and the White House. For the moment, Suharto is being denied funds that he enjoyed until 1993 under the US International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme. Both Houses passed the Feingold Amendment, which fell short of demanding East Timor's independence or a referendum, but did require the US administration to base "the sale and transfer of US arms to Indonesia on an improvement in human rights conditions in East Timor."

And the Foreign Aid Bill for next year prohibits the sale of small arms and crowd control equipment that the Indonesians have used on the East Timorese, most famously during the November 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili.

It is not much, but it has left a small gap that Britain is filling. Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, wrote that "military contacts are reasonably extensive and gradually increasing, with some training [of Indonesian police] in the UK."

These are the policemen who, like the Iraqi police in occupied Kuwait maintain order and preserve an illegal occupation that today enters its 20th year. Like the attack on Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1975 was a day of infamy - but the perpetrators of this crime have no sense of shame.

HUGH O'SHAUGHNESSY ON RTE WORLD REPORT

RTE radio and Astra Satellite to Europe, 10 Dec. 1994.

Shane Mc Elhatton: It's almost 20 years since Indonesia invaded East Timor and annexed the territory in face of international condemnation. The United Nations has never recognised Indonesia's rule over the region, nor has Portugal the former colonial power in East Timor.

The invasion was bloody and independence movements have never been crushed. Last week the territory was gripped by almost two weeks of sporadic rioting and demonstrations. Since 1982 UN leaders have sponsored discussions between Indonesia and Portugal in an effort to find a lasting and internationally acceptable solution to the problem.

Hugh O'Shaughnessy of the London newspaper the Observer has visited the occupied territory several times in recent years. These are his impressions.

Hugh O'Shaughnessy:

The 19th anniversary of the occupation of their country by Indonesian troops, which occurred the other day, has been a bitter but not a hopeless commemoration for the 600,000 or so people of East Timor. Nineteen years ago the army of neighbouring Indonesia swept into the tiny former Portuguese colony which had just proclaimed its independence after a short civil war. The Timorese are bitter not just because a neighbour vastly more powerful than themselves had gone back on its word that it would never attack them, there bitter also about what the world did or rather didn't do.

Stern resolutions of condemnation were passed in the United Nations Security Council but unlike the more recent case of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait no one took any action to punish the offender.

The Indonesian dictator General Suharto had been given tacit or perhaps even explicit permission for his crime from US President Gerald Ford and his travelling companion Henry Kissinger. They left the Indonesian capital the day before the aggression. When the five permanent members of the Security Council at the time the US, Britain, France, the USSR and Taiwan/China looked the other way. They presumably hoped that the Timorese would either give up or be killed.

200,000 of them or a third of the population were indeed killed, the survivors resisted nobly with few weapons their calls ignored by the outside world for fifteen years. In 1991 shortly after my first visit to the country the Indonesian occupation

forces were stupid enough to massacre several hundred of the Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. and they did in front of a television camera of a Max Stahl a young British filmmaker whose bravery will go down in that country's history. Stahl's horrific film electrified the world and alerted ordinary people to the negligence of their diplomats who looked the other way as the Timorese had undergone their martyrdom. But as I discovered this year just before the Indonesians threw me out in July during the last of my three visits to occupied Timor the flame of resistance is burning as hot as it was. It's burning differently from when I went there first. In 1991 the many Timorese who wanted to continue the resistance against the occupiers felt there was only one choice, either you joined the guerrillas in the mountainous interior of the country or you went into exile to be able to speak and act freely. today in the scruffy streets of Dili Timorese are quiet openly defying the occupying forces. At every opportunity the Indonesian police and army gives them they protest. They protest at the occupation itself, they protest at the flood of Indonesian settlers who are taking their country away from them under their very eyes, they protest at the Islamisation of their Christian land - they protest at the ridicule of the Sacrament and the Rosary.

The Irish governments stance on East Timor has been noted by the Timorese. As an Irish citizen I was particular heartened to get a letter from the Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring after I was expelled from Dili this year. And by the same token the Australian government which is joining the Indonesian in stealing the oil reserves which belong to the Timorese is more and more embarrassed by the protests against its shabby action. If anyone ever thought East Timor was a lost cause they were wrong. Its getting less lost and stronger as every day passes.

This is Hugh O'Shaughnessy back in London from East Timor.

BRITISH ANTI-HAWKS COALITION MEETING

From Jonathan, BCET, Dec. 13.

The Anti-Hawks Coalition (of which BCET is a member) held a meeting at the Friends Meeting House, London, tonight. I counted 103 people which, for a wet Tuesday, is not bad.

The meeting, which was chaired by Will MacMahon of CAAT was addressed by John Taylor (who's book, Indonesia's forgotten War, has just been re-printed by Zed books), Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL, John Pilger and Maureen Tolfree, who's brother

Brian Peters was one of the journalists murdered by Indonesian troops at Balibo in October 1975.

I won't put down what they said, as I'm sure you can all probably guess. What strikes me is the growing size of meetings here in the UK on East Timor. Elizabeth Exposto spoke at a public meeting just over a week ago and about 70 people attended. Maybe we are slowly getting somewhere with the British public.

CATHOLIC CHURCH SELLS BAE SHARES

The Observer, 18 December 1994. By: Hugh O'Shaughnessy

In a move against Britain's growing arms trade the Roman Catholic diocese of Westminster has sold a holding of 11,000 shares in British Aerospace which it managed on behalf of more than 60 Catholic trusts. The stake was worth some 46,000 pounds.

This takes sales by church-related charities of arms company stocks to 350,000 pounds in the past month. Westminster's action follows a church investigation and reports in *The Observer* of a massive sale of BAe aircraft to the Indonesian armed forces illegally occupying East Timor and of Indonesian persecution of its largely Catholic population.

Cardinal Basil Hume, the Archbishop of Westminster, is organising a seminar on the arms trade in February.

The Westminster action is part of what campaigners see as a quickening trend towards 'ethical investment' and away from shareholdings in the weapons industry. Ray Hemmings of the Clean Investment Campaign, which is run by the Campaign Against the Arms Trade, says various Anglican dioceses are preparing motions for next year's General Synod which would seek to outlaw investment in the weapons business.

The Salvation Army is reliably understood recently to have sold shares in two companies involved in the arms trade - 50,000 in Lucas at 200p and 20,000 in Thorn at 975p. George Becker, the Army's financial officer, said that its investment policy followed guidelines on arms and the environment, but could not confirm or deny individual deals.

JOURNALISTS IN THE LINE OF FIRE

Letter in the Independent (UK) by Maureen Tolfree, 7 January 1995

Sir,

The journalistic death toll highlighted by Jonathan Eyal will shock all who took news for granted ('Some journalists are dying for a good story,' 3 January). I was one such - until October 1975, when Brian Peters and his four colleagues died at Balibo, East Timor. Accidental death in civil war. Or so we were told. Brian was my brother.

We know, now, that Indonesian troops were involved. We know now that if any of the five had emerged alive, Indonesia's full-scale invasion would have been cancelled. We know now that the British and Australian governments knew about Balibo but stayed silent. Had they protested, full-scale invasion - and its ghastly aftermath - would not have occurred. We know, too, that a sixth journalist was murdered in East Timor soon after the invasion. He was Roger East. One reason why he was in East Timor was to investigate the Balibo killings.

Dr. Eyal suggests that the media are being taught their responsibilities through journalists' deaths. Their families pay part of the price. When accompanied by government lies, the price is especially heavy.

Yours sincerely,
MAUREEN TOLFREE

M.E.P CALLS FOR UN OFFICE IN EAST TIMOR

Irish Network Radio News, 8 JAN. 1995

Newsreader; Bernie Jameson

An Irish Member of the European Parliament has called on the United Nations to install human rights monitors in East Timor immediately to protect the country's population from persistent massacres from Indonesian government troops.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in the 1970's after it was granted independence by Portugal

Niall Andrews says this has resulted in enormous human rights abuses and the massacre of about a third of the population. Mr. Andrews wants a permanent office to be set up as soon as possible and he says that if the EU calls for this and is successful other pressures on Indonesia will soon follow.

Niall Andrews; The Americans have an enormous influence there and I'm certain that if President Clinton took an independent line on what is happening there that things would change. I believe that President Clinton has a good line on Foreign policy and he is not very keen on what is happening there. I also feel that the Australians have a responsibility in that area and they appear to have condoned the genocide with their support for the Indonesians.

THE TRIAL OF THE "WARTON FOUR"

Report from Michael Bane, banem@essex.ac.uk, 16 Jan. 1995

Trial will be held on Mon 23 Jan, Preston, UK.

On Wed. 23 Feb. 1994, myself and others entered a British Aerospace (BAe) factory at Warton (in the UK) where Hawks are finally assembled. We were there to protest about the latest sale (1993) of Hawks to Indonesia. However, we were prevented from progressing through with banners through the site, were arrested and charged with going equipped with the intent of causing criminal damage.

We will be defending ourselves at Preston Crown Court. The trial starts on Monday 23rd Jan and is booked in for 4 days. An aspect of our defence centres around a section of British law that implies that one can commit one crime in order to stop a bigger crime. In our case, we will be claiming that our action was a way we believed we could stop the greater crime of BAe Hawks being used in the genocide of the East Timorese.

We hope that John Pilger will be a witness and that we will be allowed to show the documentary "Death of A Nation - The East Timor Conspiracy."

There will be a party in Preston on the Sunday (22nd) evening, a press call at 10:30am outside the courts on the Monday (23rd), a press conference with Pilger Weds (25th) lunchtime, a public meeting that evening (with Estavão from E.T. and other speakers) and some drinks after the trial finishes (prob. Thursday).

Everybody welcome to attend all/some of the above... Accommodation available.

For more info contact Michael on 0457 871609.

TIMORESE STUDENT FOR N.U.S. HONORARY PRESIDENT

From TAPOL, Jan. 16

All readers of reg.easttimor who are students or who know students are asked to support the nomination of Fernando de Araujo for Honorary President of the National Union of Students.

Nominations should be sent to Steve Hale, N.U.S. Treasurer, who made the nomination. Address:

Steve Hale, N.U.S., Nelson Mandela House, 461 Holloway Road, London N7 6LJ. Fax: 071 263 5713

The nomination paper reads as follows:

FERNANDO DE ARAUJO FOR HONORARY PRESIDENT OF N.U.S.

By getting 100 signatures from 25 colleges, any person can be nominated for Honorary President of N.U.S.. There is then a vote on this at the N.U.S. Conference in late March where a simple majority is needed.

Fernando de Araujo is currently imprisoned in Jakarta Indonesia. He was arrested on 24 November 1991 while Chair of RENETIL, the clandestine organisation of East Timor students and sentenced in March 1992 to nine years imprisonment: His crime?

"To stir up unrest or anxieties among the population and between Indonesia and other countries."

Fernando was a crucial link between East Timor and organisations in the outside world such as Amnesty International. He was also a supporter of self-determination for East Timor. He is an Amnesty International Prisoner of Conscience.

Making Fernando de Araujo an Honorary President will convey recognition for his brave struggle against the brutal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and attract National Press attention to that struggle. It will bring hope to Fernando who is still imprisoned in Jakarta and it will send a message to Indonesia that the outside world will not forget their occupation. One day East Timor will be free again.

For more information read Press Cutting from TAPOL Bulletin No 110, April 1992 or contact TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign at 111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR7 8HW, Phone: 081 771-2904 Fax: 081 653-0322.

Fernando de Araujo

for Honorary President of N.U.S.

Additional note from TAPOL:

Fernando's nomination would be most appropriate this year, the 20th year of Indonesia's illegal annexation and occupation of East Timor which was invaded by a massive force of Indonesian troops on 7 December 1975. If you wish to get a copy of the TAPOL cutting or other information, please make a response to this posting.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

HORTA GIVES PORTUGAL TWO MONTHS

Publico, 29 November 1994. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Note from CDPM: This is the item issued at the newspaper "Publico" on the 29 November 1994, about which it was said that Ramos Horta had stated he had been the "mastermind" of the Dili and Jakarta Demos. Can anyone find such a statement at this item of news?

Lisbon – The situation of Timorese refugees gives rise to accusation and threats. Seventeen thousand Escudos (approximately 65 Pounds Sterling) per month, sharing filthy rooms, one bathroom for 30 people. Ramos Horta believes these are "unacceptable" conditions in which the Timorese are forced to live. Yesterday, Horta used the opportunity of a press conference held for the most famous and most recent arrivals from East Timor, to criticise the Portuguese state and make a threat.

Timorese who occupied the US Embassy in Jakarta and who all arrived in Lisbon last Friday, Ramos Horta threatened that if the conditions of Timorese refugees in Portugal did not improve within the next two months, the special representative of the CNRM (Mauhere Resistance National Council) promised to take upon himself the "direct and personal responsibility" of "embarrassing" the Portuguese state internationally.

Ramos Horta said it was "unacceptable" that the Timorese refugees received 17,000 Escudos from Social Security, and were obliged to share filthy rooms, and "one bathroom between thirty people." He believed this situation was the result of "incompetence" on the part of those responsible for a "corrupt system" of Social Security. But his accusations did not stop there. He went on to include the Presidency, government, parliament, opposition parties: "They are all at fault."

Only the civilian society escaped criticism - "the most tolerant and generous we have met," in which organisations such as the 12th November Association (in whose offices yesterday's press conference was being held) prove that it is possible to do more for the Timorese refugees.

The criticism and threats were leveled towards the end of the meeting with reporters. Before that, the CNRM representative listened attentively to the statements made by Domingos Alves, the spokesman for the

29 Timorese who had occupied the embassy.

In reasonably fluent Portuguese (he is one of the few members of the group who speak the language), Domingos Alves went over the group's main objectives: the release of Xanana Gusmão and other Timorese and Indonesian political prisoners, direct participation of Timorese (Xanana, Bishop Belo) in the talks on the future of the territory, international investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre.

He said little about the "difficult" preparations and execution of the plan to invade the embassy, although he did reveal that counter-information was spread by students in the underground resistance movement, Renetil, thereby preparing Jakarta for something to happen 14 or 15 November (the occupation actually happened on the 12th). He complained about how they were treated once inside the US embassy compound, where the Timorese were only given something to eat at the end of the second day of occupation. After that, said Domingos, they lived on two meals a day of rice and water.

Expressing determination to carry on the struggle from overseas, Domingos Alves said that, for the group of 29, coming to Portugal was just a change of barricade - "from the underground front to the diplomatic front." In the latter arena, as was made quite clear by Domingos' several expressions of loyalty, it was Ramos Horta who is in charge.

244 arrests in Dili

It was Horta who reported on the situation in East Timor, revealing that, according to the latest information he had received from inside the territory, the number of detentions in Dili alone between 12 and 15 November had risen to 244.

He took the opportunity to "clarify" the recently reported release of Ma'Huno, the guerrilla who took over the command of the armed resistance in East Timor after the capture of Xanana Gusmão, and who was himself arrested shortly afterwards. Ma'Huno was replaced by Konis Santana, the man who is still in charge of operations in the mountains of East Timor. According to Ramos Horta, Ma'Huno "has never been released" and is still in detention where he has always been, at the headquarters of the Kopassos (Special Forces Command) in Dili. He is only allowed to leave there for a few hours on Sundays, and is always kept under surveillance.

TIMOR DIFFICULT TO PASS IN COUNCIL OF EUROPE?

Comment from Bruno Kahn, Agir Pour Timor

A motion for a resolution on East Timor has been presented to the Council of Europe on January 28, 1994. So far this resolution has not been adopted. This would be the second resolution of the Council since the one it passed in 1991.

Here follows the list of documents of the Council of Europe relevant to East Timor since 1991:

Parliamentary assembly Resolution 966(1991) relative to East Timor

Soares Costa, Parliamentary assembly. Motion for a directive relative to East Timor. Doc. 6533 1991

Parliamentary assembly. Directive no 470(1991) relative to East Timor

Ministers Committee. Statement on East Timor. Doc. 6552ADDI 1992

Parliamentary assembly. Written statement no 225 in favour of the immediate release of Mr. Xanana Gusmão and of defence of human rights in East Timor (2nd edition). Doc. 6725, Dec. 225 1993

Franck, Parliamentary assembly. Parliamentary questions for an oral response: no 16, human rights in East Timor and release of Mr. Gusmão. Doc. 6829, 1993

Franck, Parliamentary assembly. Parliamentary questions for an oral response: the current situation in three former Portuguese territories – Angola, Mozambique and East Timor. Doc. 6936, p. 8, 1993

Franck et al., Parliamentary assembly, Motion for a resolution on East Timor, Doc. 7011. 1994

Here is the text of the latter motion, presented by MM. Franck, Vogel, Aguiar, Finsberg, Haller, Schieder, Espersen, Err, Fluckiger, Robert, Cuco, Iwinski, Bohm, Eisma:

The Assembly,

1. Referring to earlier resolutions taken by the Council of Europe;
2. Considering
 - the continuing serious violations of human rights in East Timor;
 - the necessity to end the Indonesian annexation of East Timor;
 - the importance of reaching a peaceful solution to the East Timor question with participation not only of the Indonesian and Portuguese governments but also of genuine representatives of East Timor, among them Bishop Belo, in the negotiations in the

United Nations under the leadership of Boutros Boutros Ghali,

3. Considers that new steps are needed in order to realise the self-determination of East Timor, the implementation of human rights and the peaceful solution to the status of East Timor.

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY IN PARIS

From Bruno Kahn, Dec. 11

Yesterday, Dec. 10th, several organizations celebrated the human rights day and the beginning of the decade of indigenous peoples by demonstrating and press-conferencing.

The action was initiated by Solidarité, a solidarity movement with Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe. Originally it was concentrated on the fate of indigenous peoples around Amazonia, but several organizations like Agir pour Timor, France-Libertés and Tribal Act expressed interest to extend it to peoples of the Indonesian archipelago.

The demonstration started about 3.30 pm in front of the Ecuador embassy, where petitions were handed out to the Embassy's staff. Banners were displayed, denouncing the devastating effect of oil on the Amazonian environment; people chanted slogans like "Petrole c'est la mort, Amazonie c'est la vie!" and "rendez leurs terres aux Indiens!" Agir pour Timor was there, with its own banner "Solidarité internationale: Agir pour Timor," as well as posters asking for Indonesia out of East Timor and the release of Xanana Gusmão.

Press conference

The press conference was staged in front of the World Bank building. Demonstrators arrived about 4 pm and chanted some more slogans, including anti-WB ones (the 50 years is enough campaign participated the event). The press conference, with a megaphone, was in both French and Spanish, with a translation offered by a kind Argentinian. It started with an account of a representative of the Juma people of Ecuador, who explained the problems faced by his people with the development of oil drilling and, in a very militant way, stated that they wouldn't wait for international institutions to help them in the coming decade, but they would take their destiny in their own hands. Followed a representative for Guatemala, who explained the unsatisfactory state of the transition to democracy in this country. He stated that the Mayas must have more say and influence in a country where they are a majority.

A French representative of Nitassinan, an organization concerned with the struggles of

Indians in North America, gave an account of the Leonard Peltier case. Then Tribal Act spoke on behalf of a West Papuan and Dayak representatives, who unfortunately hadn't got a visa in time to attend (they had sent texts of their interventions). Finally, Antonio Dias, on behalf of Agir pour Timor, gave an account of the situation in East Timor; he concluded by observing that all these problems worldwide have the same flavor, and called for a new kind of international: an international of peoples.

The demonstration started again, this time towards the human rights square on the Trocadero. New slogans included: "Indonesie, ca suffit! Suharto, assassin!" It arrived on the Square about 5.30pm. It dispersed after about 1/2h of leaflets distribution.

About 60 people participated the demonstration. Press coverage was modest but included IPS and Radio France Internationale.

LETTER TO BILL CLINTON (FROM PORTUGUESE ACTIVISTS)

Publico, 15 December 1994. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon – Although the original plan to demonstrate outside various diplomatic representations in Oporto has been changed (not least because there is no longer an Australian consulate there), there is still determination among the city's youth to keep public attention focused on human rights violations in East Timor. Tomorrow, members of the young socialists, social-democrats and centrists will be marching through the streets of Oporto in a jointly organised action, "with no party banners," in solidarity with the Timorese people, and intend to deliver a letter to Bill Clinton (the contents of which have not been made public) at the US Consulate.

"We are counting on the support of all young people," said Social Democrat Youth (JSD) leader Sergio Viera during a press conference yesterday. The initiative, which is "non-partisan, and in which young students and workers from all over the district will protest against the tragedy that overshadows the daily life of the Timorese," has the backing of the Academic Federation of Oporto and various secondary education associations.

EVENTS IN CANADA

CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARY LETTERS ON EAST TIMOR

Following are letters from Canadian MPs in response to recent letters on the events of November 1994 in East Timor and Indonesia. For the information of international readers, the Canadian government has been the Liberal Party since a year ago; the opposition is the (Quebec separatist) Bloc Quebecois, the third party (not written to this time) is the Reform Party, while the New Democrats (social democratic) and Conservatives have very small numbers of MPs.

FROM ANDRE OUELLET, Foreign minister (Dec 13)

Thank you for your letter of November 16, 1994, regarding the human rights situation in East Timor.

Human rights are an important aspect of our bilateral relationship with Indonesia. For this reason, the Government of Canada is concerned about both the recent disturbances in East Timor and the limitations placed on press freedom.

The issue of human rights was discussed at length when Prime Minister Chretien met with President Suharto in November 1994. The Prime Minister also used this opportunity to announce a \$2 million project to be carried out by Care Canada in East Timor.

We will continue to assist the people of Indonesia through funding of Indonesian non-governmental organizations, and to monitor developments closely, with a view to contributing in a concrete fashion to improvements of the human rights situation there. For your further information, I am attaching a backgrounder on Canada's relations with Indonesia, which focuses on the human rights situation.

Once again, thank you for writing.
(The enclosed 2-page backgrounder slightly updates one issued by Foreign Affairs last March.)

FROM LUCIEN BOUCHARD, Leader of the Opposition (Dec. 2)

(note: Bouchard's illness makes a personal response impossible)

On behalf of the Honourable Lucien Bouchard, Leader of the Official Opposition, we wish to acknowledge receipt of your correspondence concerning the suffering of the people of Indonesia and East Timor, who have often been the innocent victims of human rights violations.

The Bloc Quebecois firmly believes that Canada's aid to Indonesia must be more

closely linked with the respect for basic human rights in both Indonesia and East Timor. Furthermore, the Bloc will support all United Nations initiatives in a peace process.

I would like to add that some of our MPs met with Mr. José Ramos Horta, Foreign Minister of East Timor (in exile) last October 24th, and that Nic Leblanc, Opposition Critic for Asia, raised the issue of human rights in Indonesia, in a question to the government last November 15th.

In closing, let me assure you that the Bloc Quebecois shares with you the hope that one day justice and peace will be served in this former Portuguese colony, and that human rights will be fully respected in Indonesia. Towards this end, we have taken particular note of your comments, and the Bloc will continue to pursue this important issue in discussions with the government, whether in the House of Commons or in Committees.

Thank you for writing to the Leader of the Opposition.

Michel Leduc, Political Advisor

FROM SVEND ROBINSON, NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NOV. 23)

Thank you for your recent correspondence regarding the situation in East Timor. Over the years, I have spoken out numerous times on this issue. Recently I questioned the Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific on the situation. Please find enclosed a copy of that exchange. Also, you will find enclosed a copy of a motion I introduced in the house on this issue. Please be assured of my ongoing support on this very important matter.

(Robinson's motion of Feb. 3/94 calls on the government to recognize the independence of East Timor and condemn the 1975 invasion. On Nov. 1, he asked Raymond Chan in the House of Commons the latest of several questions regarding human rights in Asia, particularly in China, Tibet and East Timor. Chan responded that trade and engagement with China was good and would help the cause of human rights, but did not mention East Timor.)

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

PILGER CALLS FOR ESCALATION OF EAST TIMOR CAMPAIGN

By Pip Hinman, Green Left, Dec. 4.

SYDNEY - "Australians can be made to understand the problem with trading with Indonesia's genocidal generals," renowned author and film maker John Pilger told a 450-strong meeting here on December 2. "Trade is not the holy grail, as the Australian government would have us believe."

Organised by Green Left Weekly, the public meeting at Trades Hall was packed to well over capacity (some 60 people had to be turned away), evidence of the strength of feeling in Australia that East Timor has a right to independence.

Gina Soares, from the November 12 Committee, Dita Sari, general secretary of the Indonesian Workers Struggle Centre and Max Lane, a founding editor of Inside Indonesia, co-convenor of Aksi and national executive member of the Democratic Socialist Party, also spoke passionately about the struggle for justice in East Timor.

Lillian Crofts from Australian Humanitarian Aid for Bougainville also put the case for her country's sovereignty. "This is the first war where Australia has complete control," she said, urging Australians to pressure Canberra - "the control room" - to stop Papua New Guinea's military invasion of the island.

Pilger, whose outspokenness on the Australian government's role in Cambodia and East Timor hasn't won him many friends in high places, recounted his time researching his film on East Timor, *Death of a Nation*. Holding up a list, compiled by a Timorese priest, of 271 people, from infants to the aged, who died at the hands of Indonesian soldiers in just one village in 1983, he said, "I would like to put this document of genocide under the noses of Prime Minister Keating and Foreign Minister Evans."

The killing, as the 1991 massacre of 270 people in Dili proved, hasn't stopped. "Those who collaborate with the Indonesian regime, who give comfort and support to it, who appease it, are dealing with genocidists," Pilger said.

"The Australian intelligence community has long been in bed with the Indonesian defence and security apparatus," Pilger noted. "Evans knows how many people were killed in Dili."

The Australian government's close collaboration with the Indonesian regime goes back some way. Pilger recalled how in Au-

gust 1976 the then prime minister, Malcolm Fraser, was warned by the White House to toe the line and support Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. In October 1976, Australia was the first country to give de facto recognition to the Indonesian military takeover. This year, Pilger noted, "Keating went to the US to tell Congress off for being too harsh on the Indonesian regime. For that Keating was called a 'comrade-in-arms'" by the Suharto government.

In January 1995, the International Court of Justice in the Hague will pass judgment on the legality of the Timor Gap Treaty. According to legal experts, Pilger said, a 1970 United Nations resolution (which Australia helped to draft), would deem the treaty "a contract with a thief."

"We have a lot to do. We need to let as many people know about the facts as possible. But we also need to do more than that," Pilger said. "We need to build the movement for independence in East Timor and oppose the 'special status' position for East Timor put forward by Evans."

For Dita Sari, while international campaigns have an important impact, they are not enough. The Indonesian working class has an important role to play in the struggle for East Timor's independence, she said. "It's the same regime which in 1965 killed 2 million people and the same regime which pays workers less than the minimum wage."

Sari made the point that there are more than 120 Australian companies in Indonesia, including in the Timor Gap. Both Indonesian and Australian workers had a crucial role to play in the struggle for East Timor's independence. But, she cautioned, that will require a struggle by the Indonesian trade union movement against the yellow union, the SPSI, and by Australian unionists against the ACTU.

Vice president of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) Gina Soares criticised the Australian government's hypocritical stand over human rights. We have to question Keating's motives for insisting that he doesn't feel obliged to raise the human rights issue every time he meets Suharto, she said. "Fretilin and the UDT have vowed that they will continue to fight until the last Indonesian soldier leaves East Timor.

"We are committed to national unity, and we demand that the Australian government suspend economic cooperation with Indonesia until it leaves East Timor."

"The resolve and courage of the East Timorese independence fighters, a group of which recently occupied the US Embassy in Jakarta to get their message out, is one sign that we can afford to be optimistic," said Max Lane. "The emerging alliance between the East Timorese nationalists and the Indonesian working class is another sign."

Lane said that while the Indonesian government had not yet changed its policy towards East Timor, the Indonesian political elite is feeling the pressure.

"Will Suharto change his policy? Yes, because the East Timorese have resolved that they will make East Timor ungovernable."

Lane called on all democratically minded people to organise together to demand that the Keating government suspend all war cooperation with the Indonesian regime and that the ACTU ban work in the Timor Gap - much as it helped the Indonesian independence movement in 1945.

"The more noise we make, the more we rally, the more we refuse to vote for parties which support dictators at the expense of human rights, the closer to independence East Timor will be."

INTERVIEW: JOHN PILGER

Green Left, Dec. 11

Australian journalist and film maker John Pilger was recently in Sydney on the way back to England from a trip to New Zealand. Zanny Begg from Green Left Weekly spoke with him about the changing face of world politics.

John Pilger isn't very popular with the establishment. His commitment to social justice makes enemies of many governments and multinational companies that would prefer to have their actions escape his gaze. He has offended the Australian Labor Party by blowing the cover on its role in East Timor. He was banned from South Africa for his opposition to apartheid. He told the world about what the UN was really up to in Cambodia. He has earned the wrath of media magnates worldwide for his courageous exposure of uncomfortable truths.

Pilger's aim is to "turn conventional journalism on its head." He takes as his departure point the "aspirations of ordinary people, not of the powers that burden their lives." Pilger's commitment to ordinary people makes him side consistently with the forces of social change. It has taken him to the heart of conflicts all over the world.

During our discussion, a briefcase was left next to our table in the restaurant. A nervous waiter asked if the case belonged to us before promptly removing it. Pilger's calm was momentarily ruffled as he asked, "Is it ticking?" He immediately laughed the moment away with a disclaimer, "It comes from being in war zones all the time. You get attuned to nerves."

The last war zone Pilger travelled into was East Timor. His film *Death of a Nation* helped revitalize the campaign for solidarity with that country. The East Timor support hot line was choked with callers after the

first screening in Britain. In New Zealand, 600 calls flooded in on the opening night. In Australia the ABC declined the offer to screen *Death of a Nation*. It was later revealed by sources inside the ABC that political factors influenced that decision. When Channel 9 eventually screened it, 3000 callers rang in to the hot line.

There are many journalists who have supported this or that cause. What makes Pilger such an anathema to the powers that be is his willingness to side openly with the struggle for change on a worldwide scale. He grounds his concern for "ordinary people" in an understanding of the forces of capital that oppose them.

Challenging power

Rather than regarding the 1960s as an era of good music and bad haircuts, as mainstream society would have us do, Pilger sees the legacy of the '60s as political. "The 1960s in the West, and through much of the developing world, called the establishment to account. They represented a dramatic raising of political consciousness which we are still the beneficiaries of today.

"The revolutionary fervor of the 1960s raised consciousness, without which many of us would not be in a position to analyze the balance of power. The Cuban revolution, the Nicaraguan revolution, the Vietnamese revolution were all part of, or came out of, that. These are crucial models for challenging power."

According to Pilger, power today lies in the United States. He believes that we live "in a uni-polar world. The United States is the strongest regime on earth and is unchallenged in that position." Pilger argues that the dominance of the United States is filtered through the United Nations and its associated financial institutions.

"One of the real dangers to democracy in the world is the international financial institutions. It is through these institutions that we see imperialism operate in its new form. I think we are seeing a kind of world government develop which is managed by the World Bank and the IMF and which has its headquarters in Washington.

"We are seeing a return to the autocratic conduct of world financial authorities that was got rid of in the 19th century. In many ways it is more subtle than the old days of imperial power.

"It doesn't need gunboats, because once you have a country indebted, you can do what you like. For example, during the Gulf War, Egypt's support was bought with a bribe: \$14 billion of its debt payments were cancelled in return for its cooperation. So the financial arms of the UN have enormous power and in the end all look to the power of Washington. Even Japan, the greatest

economic power on earth does not have power in the UN.”

Pilger is clear on the effect the UN has on world politics: “I don’t think we should be naive about the role of the UN. It cannot bring peace in its current form. The UN is a vehicle that is used by Western powers. There are parts of the UN which have produced positive results - the Food and Agricultural Organisation, the Human Rights Organisation - but overall the UN is not a friend of the developing world. The contrast is very vivid if you take the Gulf War and look at how the UN was used to mobilise a massive force to attack Iraq, and then you take Rwanda, where the UN was not mobilized to save lives. The priorities of the UN are those of Western powers.

“In the 1970s the UN came as close as possible, under its present structure, to being a world body. This was when power went to the General Assembly and for a brief period the majority of nations held sway and influenced bodies such as UNESCO. But during the 1980s power came back to the Security Council - a totally anachronistic body born of the Cold War.”

The domination of the world by global financial elites Pilger sees as the agenda behind the signing of GATT. “We are told Orwellian truths about GATT. The real truth about GATT is that it is a rather ingenious form of wealth creation for one seventh of the world. In 60 years time, one seventh of the world will control three quarters of the world’s resources. GATT is nothing but a way of ensuring their influence and power.

“The agreement reaches into the developing world, but only to give seductive crumbs to various elites. Fundamentally GATT is about finding the cheapest labour possible, getting natural resources at the cheapest prices possible and developing them for the maximum profit for the smallest number of people in the world. It’s straightforward logic really; one feels obliged to congratulate those who thought it up.”

Reinventing democracy

According to Pilger, Orwellian double-speak lies behind the pronouncements that bodies like the UN make on their role in preserving and nurturing democracy. Pilger argues that “democracy has been reinvented.” The propaganda of the UN, governments and the establishment media has drawn an automatic equals sign between “capital” and “democracy” in an attempt to “hide the devastation that market forces have wreaked upon the world.”

A prime illustration of this trend, Pilger argues, is the invasion of Haiti. “A man was democratically elected by a people on a platform of real change for the country.” A

military coup, with tacit approval from the US, deposed him. “He was then taken out by the US, and a lobotomy was done on him.” The US subsequently invaded and “he was then reinstated. So now,” Pilger concludes, “‘democracy’ has been installed and if this so-called ‘democracy’ is challenged, the US marines will arrive to save it.” The irony is devastating.

Pilger believes that rhetoric of “democracy” will mean that “dictators are going out of fashion.” Instead puppet governments, which give lip service to freedom and democracy while opening up their country to foreign investment, will be on the wish list of imperial powers.

Drawing on issues raised in his film *Return to Year Zero*, Pilger continues, “You only have to look at the zeal with which ‘democracy’ was installed in Cambodia to understand this phenomenon. The fact that the UN peace process in Cambodia handed back most of the country to the Khmer Rouge, the fact that the country was left covered in landmines, didn’t matter. What mattered was holding the elections and getting out. This whole process was used to blunt revolutionary movements and has nothing to do with real democracy.”

The myth that democracy equals capitalism underpinned much of the West’s gloating over the collapse of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. After the Berlin Wall came down, newspapers the world over declared “Communism is dead.” Pilger rejects these assumptions. He argues that the experience of Stalinism has left socialists “with a terrible legacy” but the assertion that capitalism has won the Cold War is “utterly false.”

Pilger believes that Stalinism “so perverted socialism in the Soviet Union that it handed the forces of capitalism in the West a weapon of propaganda that is still being used against those who seek even a modest form of change today. During the Cold War socialists had to bear the brunt of this propaganda.

“The forces of capitalism were able to say that socialism had been tried and found wanting for the Soviet people. This was utterly false, of course. Even since the Cold War, socialists have had to bear an added burden of people saying that socialism has been defeated in the Soviet Union by the forces of capital, when of course it didn’t exist.

“It is a very powerful myth that the forces of capital have shown themselves to be superior to socialism. It is not true. It is a matter of common sense that socialism is the only force that can give any semblance of equity and justice in the lives of most people in the developing world. That social-

ism should not be a form of organised government is an absurdity.

“Propaganda saying that socialism has been defeated by something that is causing the greatest disparities of wealth in recorded history is equally absurd. The poverty in the developing world is so severe it almost defies the record books.”

But Pilger doesn’t look at inequalities and the need for change only in the developing world. The implications of GATT, trade agreements like NAFTA and the financial arms of the UN also reach into the wealthy countries. In the heartlands of imperialist power, poverty and unemployment affect growing numbers of people. “When you walk through the streets of London and meet the homeless,” Pilger explains, “you are meeting the Third World.”

“In the First World,” Pilger continued, “the whole notion that people have the right to work decent hours for a decent wage in decent and safe conditions, and that they have the right to withdraw their labour in an organised and collective way if a dispute arises, has been summarily withdrawn because of these trade deals.

“These trade deals no longer mean the piecemeal destruction of rights fought for by trade unionists in the late part of the 19th century and the early part of this century; they mean the wholesale destruction of them. We see this process in Australia with enterprise bargaining.

“Parties like the Australian Labor Party are no longer a social democratic party. They should be called a conservative party. They have united labourism with Thatcherism. They are the ones who are cutting back on public services like health and education and introducing enterprise bargaining.”

Optimism

The information that Pilger deals with is fairly depressing. He describes a world where giant multinational companies move “all over the world searching for the cheapest labour.” A world where wages and living conditions are being driven down, in both the First and Third World. But Pilger is not a pessimist. He remains optimistic because of his faith in the ability of “ordinary people.”

“You must never underestimate the power of popular forces,” he asserts, “even in countries where the odds seem almost impossible. The Zapatistas in Mexico are just the tip of the iceberg. Right throughout Latin America, Asia and Africa you see the great phenomenon of human change beginning again. I think in the early part of next century there will be real and sustained challenges to the power structures that exist today, particularly in the developing world. There is no doubt about that.

“Already there have been indicators of this, if not yet real gains. South Africa is a prime example. Apartheid is not over yet, but there has been an initial victory. There has been an initial victory in Eritrea. There has been an initial victory in Namibia. This is just on the African continent.

“Throughout the continent of Latin America there have been the stirrings of radical change.

“Even in the Philippines - just because the popular mass movements that got rid of Marcos were betrayed by Aquino doesn't mean that they won't rise again, and rather wiser than they were last time. In Indonesia the mass movements that were shattered in 1965 are stirring again.

“People have got used to accepting the monolithic nature of capital. But we can tend to forget that throughout the last 300 or 400 years the most powerful force in the world was not capital but popular power. That is not to say that the people have always won. They haven't, they have often lost. But the people have demonstrated their power, and I am confident that they will rise again.”

Pilger believes that “popular mass movements are the only way to change the world.” He argues strongly that “you do everything most effectively if you do it collectively.”

With reference to Australian politics, he told me, “You are changing things by being member of an organisation and by being part of Green Left Weekly. I think this is significant. A few years ago the government of this country could say virtually anything about Indonesia and East Timor and get away with it. Now they can't, and that is because there has been a turnaround in propaganda and an increase in popular outrage.”

Pilger cautions people who are dismissive of radical change happening in Australia: “If people despair about change not being popular in Australia, they should look to New Zealand. There you have a country that has undergone massive economic assault. Yet the New Zealand Alliance has been able to gain enormous popularity. The Alliance is addressing the bind of two conservative parties. This is the same bind we have in Australia.”

Pilger's concluding remarks during the interview sum up the basis of his optimism: “I have never lost confidence in the fact that people have enormous potential power if it is used collectively. A great deal of the power imposed on people is that of paper tigers. We have seen many historical examples of people winning, and I think we will see them again.”

DECEMBER 7 IN DARWIN AND AUSTRALIA

From Rob Wesley-Smith, AFFET (Australians for a Free East Timor)

In Darwin in recent years we have built up a good rapport with local police, who ring up in advance of major dates to ask what we contemplate doing and what assistance they can provide, so I usually tell them.

This way we get assistance, good behaviour, and sometimes information. This time I declined to advise our intentions except that we would not be vandalistic, and that we intended a lunch time rally. We agreed amongst ourselves not to use the telephone on arrangements to avoid intelligence intercepts. We met in a park, then went by convey to the Indonesian reception house which may also be a residence, rather than to the Consular offices where police and barricades and some colleagues waited in vain. As we left, a mobile phone alerted TV stations who arrived in record time to film the occupation, 10 minutes before Police arrived. One nimble colleague got on to the roof with a banner, whilst a slower one was grabbed by the ankle as he climbed. White crosses, banners, and signs were in the garden, the East Timor Resistance flag was raised, brief speeches filmed, and devil masks were worn by many especially vulnerable East Timorese. The gates which were open on our arrival somehow got chained shut. This was really a TV event, but would also intensely annoy Ali Alatas we believe. Police in less friendly than usual mood allowed a couple of minutes for people to get out, then arrested those remaining. Those without Australian passports left quickly to avoid legal charges. Others were escorted to the police wagons, while our colleague 'Shell' on the roof was violently pulled down backwards and handcuffed, while Wes + mask was left sitting on a chair near the door until spotted and had to be carried to the wagons, providing good TV footage. About then the Indonesian Consular spy van drove past rapidly, with a cameraman bravely filming through the sun door. In all 8 were arrested, 4 women of whom 2 were East Timorese.

Our brave Ilana did a live to air interview on the mobile phone from the Police paddy wagon, which got good radio airing. At the police station, only the women were searched, and they were processed after the men (well, they were VERY noisy), and all were charged with trespass after delays of 4+5 hours, enough to keep us from the planned rally. Although the City Council denied us a permit for a rally in a park, it went ahead, and we won the PR battle re

freedom of speech, and we also got support from local shopkeepers for our actions.

TV stories went national but were avoided by Australian TV International, which is beamed to SE Asia. We believe that the Government has pressured the Australian Broadcasting Corporation to minimize mentions of East Timor.

Our spokespeople made the point very clearly that our small invasion of someone's lawn was minuscule compared to the invasion of East Timor and the continuing violations of homes and bodies on a daily basis. (PS I see Rev John Chamberlain was arrested in LA after learning bad habits here, tsk tsk).

The East Timorese arrested may be able to mount a defence based on the dictum of 'Honest Claim of Right' i.e. Indons took their land, ETse can take theirs. Also, but rather oppositely, if the East Timorese are now all good Indonesian citizens, why is it so wrong to go on the front lawn of an Indonesian house?

We also sent letters to Suharto and to the Portuguese Foreign Minister demanding that the next round of talks starting 9/1/95 in Geneva make specific and measurable progress. I feel that we should demand that UN Peace keepers be in place by March 1995, with Indonesian troops out by June 1995, or we must ensure world wide that it costs Indonesia more to stay in East Timor than to get out. If the present impasse remains until the 20th anniversary of the invasion on 7/12/95, then I feel we will lose momentum to some extent. I feel we must pressure the UN Sec Gen. and Portugal NOW, with the Indons.

Elsewhere in Australia there were also very good actions. In Perth WA 40 people maintained a vigil at a city church, with leaflets, and national radio press. In Adelaide SA 150 people marched from Parliament House to the Indonesian Consulate. In Melbourne 300 people held a rally, and Sydney also had something. The 12th Nov. tends to take emotional pride of place these days. May I suggest that Monday 9th January or Sat/Sun 7th/8th be targeted for the NEXT MAIN ACTIONS to pressure the next and most critical talks between Indonesia and Portugal under UN Sec Gen. auspices, demanding on-ground outcomes as above. Then 30th January will be the start of the International Court at The Hague hearings on the validity of the Timor Gap agreement. Meanwhile much cash is needed by Resistance Timorese in Indonesia and East Timor. Obrigado barak.

DARWIN AND DILI UNIVERSITIES TO COOPERATE

*From George Quinn Faculty of Arts, NTU,
Dec. 7 1994*

The Northern Territory University and East Timor University have signed a Memorandum of Cooperation. The signing ceremony was held in Dili on Tuesday, November 29th. The document was signed by the Rector of East Timor University Father H.P. Bratasudarma S.J. and the vice-chancellor of the Northern Territory University Professor Malcolm Nairn. The signing ceremony was attended by the three 'saka guru' (pillars) of East Timor, Governor Abilio Soares, local military commander (Dan Rem) Col. Kiki Syahnakri, and the Bishop of the Diocese of Dili Monsignor Carlos F.X. Belo.

Also in attendance were Mr. Allaster Cox, First Secretary at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta and Mr. Wisnu Mahendra representing the Indonesian Consulate in Darwin. East Timor University was also represented by First Deputy Rector Mr. Armindo Maia and Head of the Planning Office Mr. Helder da Costa as well as the Chair of the University's Lorosae Foundation Mr. Mariano da Cruz. Accompanying the NTU's Vice-Chancellor were Registrar Mr. David Price, senior lecturer Dr. George Quinn and senior research fellow Mr. João Mariano de Sousa Saldanha.

The MOC is the first to be signed by East Timor University with an overseas university. Initially cooperation will proceed on a small scale. A librarian will be sent to Dili to investigate how the NTU can help UNTIM with the development of its library resources. UNTIM staff will come to the NTU for English language training and post-graduate studies in Development Management. The Northern Territory University has already benefited from its association with UNTIM through the participation of Mario Saldanha and Armindo Maia in its East Timor Project, and it is hoped that this mutuality of cooperation can be consolidated and further developed.

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

Parramatta Advertiser, 26th Dec. 1994

The greatest award freedom fighter Agio Pereira can visualize would be the granting of independence to his native East Timor by Indonesia.

In lieu of such an event, however, Mr. Pereira gratefully accepted a human rights award he believed was "further recognition of the East Timor cause" recently.

The award was one of three presented worldwide by Japanese human rights foundation Yope-Ode. Mr. Pereira won the award for his work with the Paramatta base support agency, The East Timor Relief Association. He worked for the East Timor cause since arriving in Australia 13 years ago. For the past three years this has involved sending medicines and money to the Timorese.

INDONESIA AND REGIONAL CONFLICT AND RESOLUTION

*International Conference in Darwin 26-28
July, 1995*

The conference will cover a wide range of areas and potential speakers are invited to submit topics in their field of expertise and which they feel could contribute to the growth of understanding between the peoples within Indonesia and its neighbours.

The conference will follow with a few days of cultural activities provided by Darwin's East Timorese community and trips to one or more of the Northern Territory's national parks. The dates at this stage of planning are as follows:

Wednesday 26 - 28 July - Conference

Saturday 29 July - Cultural Day

Sunday 30 July - Trips to National Parks

The suggested procedure is to allow half an hour per speaker allowing plenty of time for discussions and action planning. Speakers from the broadest political and academic spectrum are encouraged to submit their ideas so that a greater understanding of the problems facing south Asia can be grasped and ideas for conflict resolution proposed.

The scope is the countries and situations influenced by the Indonesian military and its militarism and the militarism of the region.

The organisers include Australians for a Free East Timor (AFFET), Northern Territory Students Union, Student Supporters of East Timor, La Faek Cultural Association, CNRM, Coalition Against Kangaroo Exercises, and Women's Embassy; with talks to involve Indonesian groups, The Democrats political party, The Greens, SL, UDT, Amnesty International, CAA, ETRA, and others.

The Organising Interim Committee comprises: Chairperson Rob Wesley-Smith Phone/Fax 61 89 832 113; Secretary Hugh Ekeberg Phone/Fax 61 89 85 4557; Treasurer Jude Conway Phone 61 89 41 0046; with East Timor Community representative José Gusmão Phone/Fax 61 89 275 478 Correspondence to: AFFET PO Box 2155, Darwin NT 0801 Australia

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

(PORTUGUESE) GOVERNMENT PAYS (WASHINGTON) LOBBY

*Independente, 2 December 1994. Translated
from Portuguese Abridged*

Lisbon - The Portuguese Foreign Ministry has hired a US company - Edelman Public Relations Worldwide - to undertake lobbying on behalf of East Timor in the US. The contract (a decision taken at the highest level) has been in force since 1 September, and involves sums in the region of 50 thousand dollars. In September, the Indonesians began to spend 460 thousand dollars per year on their lobbying activities.

The Edelman contract is initially for 6 months, after which time the Portuguese authorities will assess the results. The amount, which the Foreign Ministry refuses to make public, does not appear under any budget heading, but will be paid from a Ministry "blue bag," out of which the money the Portuguese Government spends on the Timorese resistance also comes.

Contacted by the *Independente*, the Edelman firm in Washington refused to comment on the operation, and would only confirm that the existence of a contract.

Edelman's men were in Portugal, and were briefed on the Timor dossier at the Foreign Ministry.

urging the government to hire a lobbying firm in Washington in order to counteract the effects of the Indonesian lobby. Political lobbying (in the US) is managed by the Portuguese Embassy in Washington. However, "the hiring of Edelman does not substitute the work of the Embassy," *Independente* was assured. Before the recent APEC summit in Jakarta, US journalists took part in briefings on Timor prepared by Edelman. It was, therefore, easier to put questions to politicians at the summit about the Timorese issue. The dimension which Timor acquired before, during and after the Jakarta summit was the result of the "Information Kit" which the Americans took with them.

DECEMBER 7TH: "A DATE WHICH WILL LIVE IN INFAMY" ... IN EAST TIMOR

*The following op-ed is being distributed by
the Progressive Media Project for publica-
tion on Dec. 7, 1994. By Matthew Jardine*

On December 7, 1941, Imperial Japan attacked the U.S. Naval fleet at Pearl Harbor.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded the newly independent country of East Timor—with U.S. weaponry and approval. This is a day of double infamy.

Since the invasion, Indonesia has resorted to violent repression in an effort to wipe out all resistance to the occupation. Using every instrument of oppression—including censorship, starvation, torture, and direct military assault—they have tried to destroy Timorese society. More than 200,000 East Timorese—about one-third of the 1975 population—have lost their lives in one of the worst cases of genocide in this century.

It is now past time that President Clinton help end the suffering of East Timor and terminate U.S. support for Indonesia's ongoing occupation. Ten United Nations resolutions have condemned the invasion and called for an immediate withdrawal, but the United States has never seriously contested Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese colony. Successive U.S. administrations have instead provided hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic assistance to Indonesia.

East Timor stole headlines in November during President Clinton's visit to Jakarta, Indonesia, for the meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. The day before Clinton's arrival, 29 East Timorese scaled the spiked fence of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, then held a sit-in calling for independence and the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from their country.

The next day, a small independence rally followed the Sunday morning Catholic mass in Dili, the capital of East Timor. After the demonstration, more than 1,000 youths clashed with riot police in full view of dozens of foreign journalists. Intermittent violent protests continued for the next two weeks; four or five are reported dead and hundreds were arrested.

Clinton's visit was the first to Jakarta by a U.S. president since 1975, when President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger met General Suharto during the two days prior to the invasion of East Timor. There is little doubt that the United States gave Suharto the green light to attack; about 90 percent of the weapons used during the invasion were supplied by the United States.

During the presidential campaign, Bill Clinton called U.S. policy toward East Timor "unconscionable," and his Administration has begun to challenge Jakarta's occupation. In 1993, the State Department blocked a proposed sale of four U.S.-made F-5E fighter jets to Indonesia. This year, the State Department banned small-arms sales to Indonesia.

But the Clinton Administration has also provided Indonesia with \$180 million in

economic assistance, in addition to \$30 million worth of weapons sold in 1993. U.S. corporate arms sales—which require State Department approval—are expected to reach \$57 million this year.

The reasons for U.S. reluctance to stand up to Indonesia are clear: Jakarta's is the world's fourth most-populous country and a burgeoning hub of multinational corporate activity. Nevertheless, President Clinton should fulfill his campaign promise to put human rights and international law at the center of U.S. foreign policy. It will not be easy—some of Indonesia's closest allies in Washington were elevated by the recent Congressional elections. This makes strong and principled leadership on the part of President Clinton all the more vital.

An immediate suspension of all U.S. economic and military aid and arms sales to Indonesia would send a strong signal to Jakarta that the U.S. will no longer be its partner in crime. Jakarta, anxious to maintain good relations with the United States, would be under intense pressure to withdraw from East Timor in the face of such clear U.S. resolve.

Barring radical change in Indonesia or East Timor, only decisive action by Washington and its Western allies can pressure Indonesia to grant East Timor its freedom. For Americans, December 7th is "a date which will live in infamy," always there to remind us of the tragedy of war. The people of East Timor don't need to be reminded; they're still living it today.

Matthew Jardine is a pseudonym for a Los Angeles-based writer currently completing a book on East Timor to be published next year by Odonian Press. His name is withheld to protect his contacts in East Timor from possible reprisals.

DECEMBER 7 PROTESTS TO MARK 19TH ANNIVERSARY OF INDONESIAN OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR

Press Advisory from ETAN/US, Dec. 3.

The East Timor Action Network/US will protest the continued occupation of East Timor at Indonesian diplomatic offices throughout the United States on Wednesday, December 7. Pickets and vigils will be held at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington, DC and at its consulates in New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

ETAN will also picket an energy conference in Houston co-sponsored by the Indonesian government. The Houston protest will highlight the expropriation of East Timor's oil resources.

Peaceful vigils and pickets will take place in the following cities:

- Chicago: Indonesian Consulate, 2 Illinois Ctr, 233 N. Mich. Ave. 11am to 2pm. Contact: Darren Burleigh 708-968-7926; Elliot Stokes 608-222-9137.
- Houston: "First Energy Outlook Conference," Wydham Warwick Hotel; 8 am-lunch break. The conference is co-sponsored by the Consulate of Indonesia and others. Contact: Brendan Guilfoyle, (512)339-8265.
- Los Angeles: Indonesian Consulate, 3457 Wilshire Blvd.; 4 pm - 6 pm. Contact: Matthew Jardine, (310)450-5375.
- New York: Indonesian Consulate, 5 E. 68th St., Manhattan; 4:30- 6:30 pm. Contact: John M. Miller, (718)788-6071.
- San Francisco: Indonesian Consulate, 1111 Columbus Ave.; 10 am-1 pm. Co-sponsored with East Timor Religious Outreach. Contact: Rev. John Chamberlin, (415)474-6219 or (415)731-4760; Pam Sexton, (415)824-1816.
- Washington, DC: Indonesian Embassy, 2020 Massachusetts Ave. NW; 5 pm. Contact: Sally Levison, (301)589-9071.

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. Toward that end ETAN envisions a limited period of autonomy leading to an internationally supervised referendum on independence.

Afterword: All took place successfully except Chicago, which was snowed out.

INDONESIA PICKING U.S. SITE FOR PLANE PLANT

Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Dec. 29, 1994

The Indonesian government is deciding between sites in Alabama, Oregon, Georgia and Arizona to build an airplane factory, an official said yesterday.

The \$100 million factory would build the N-250, an Indonesian-designed passenger plane, at the rate of one aircraft every two days, said B.J. Habibie, minister of research and technology. A decision will be made in February.

A similar factory would be set up later in Europe, said Habibie, who also is president of the state-run aircraft company IPTN, which designed the 75-seat turboprop. A prototype of the plane was unveiled in November, and its first test flight is expected next year.

The American plant would be developed with a U.S. partner that would have a 60 percent stake in the venture. The Indonesian government would own the rest. Half of the plant's production would be marketed in North America.

Last year, The Boeing Co. Signed an agreement with IPTN to assist in expanding its airplane manufacturing. Boeing also set up a technical advisory team to work with Indonesian firms on that country's aerospace industry.

A Boeing spokesman said yesterday that the company has declined an invitation to be the majority partner in the U.S. airplane plant, but has not ruled out future involvement.

IPTN, the Indonesian aircraft company has long been a Boeing supplier. Boeing buys trailing-edge flaps for the 737 from IPTN's factory in Bandung, Indonesia, and Boeing's Defense and Space Group is upgrading the Indonesian Air Force's 737 Surveillance aircraft.

The project has been criticized in Indonesia as a waste of public money. Recently, six environmental groups went to court seeking cancellation of a presidential decree diverting US\$185 million to the aircraft project from a planned reforestation program. A Jakarta court dismissed the case, saying it had no authority to judge presidential decrees.

CSM: KEEP PRESSING JAKARTA

Editorial, The Christian Science Monitor, January 11, 1995

The United Nations Secretary-General attempted this week to break through the East Timor stalemate.

Yet as Boutros Boutros-Ghali met in Geneva Jan. 9 with foreign ministers of the former colonial power, Portugal, and the current colonizer, Indonesia, the people of the Southeast Asian enclave were reeling from further clashes with the Indonesian Army and others who have migrated there - at Jakarta's urging, many say.

The talks yielded a glimmer of hope - support for a UN convening of all East Timorese groups, but only as long as the discussion does not touch on political status.

Portugal favors self-determination for East Timor, while Indonesia - which invaded in 1975 after Portugal pulled out - calls East Timor its 27th Province. The UN views Portugal as in charge until residents can decide their future, a vote Jakarta refuses.

This area of lush mountains and white sand beaches has seen a ferocious 20-year struggle between a pro-independence rebel

group, Fretilin, and the Indonesian Army. Diplomats say as many as 200,000 have perished. The world paid little heed until British (sic) journalists reported a November 1991 massacre by the Army.

The East Timorese have proposed gradual steps toward self-determination. Jakarta, however, along with a rule of intimidation and cultural insensitivity, has poured millions into the area's development to win local acquiescence, and made a deal with Australia to develop its oil potential.

East Timor burst onto the world's screen again in November, when students embarrassed Jakarta with a sit-in at the US Embassy during the APEC summit. Now local fears are high that, when the world looks away, a retaliatory crackdown will occur.

The US needs to keep the pressure on Jakarta. Consistent communication rather than retaliatory acts are likely to get more results. Remarks by President Clinton and other top officials during the APEC visit were heartening, given concerns that he would let commercial prospects win out over human rights. He let President Suharto know that his ambitions for his country would most benefit from clear progress on human rights. A joint statement by US Reps. Frank Wolf(R) of Virginia and Tony Hall(D) of Ohio provided a key signal that bipartisan pressure on rights would continue.

FORGETTING TIMOR

By Alexander George, Lies of Our Times, Sept.-Dec. 1994

[Comment: This is the back-cover article in the final issue of Lies of Our Times, which is fitting given its closing sentence. We mourn the passing of this important publication which has done an excellent job at revealing the biases and the truths hidden in the reporting of the New York Times.

— Charlie Scheiner]

In some ways, Andrew Pollack's November 28 report on East Timor represents an improvement in *New York Times* coverage of that dirty story ("Timorese Worry World Will Now Forget Them," P. A8). The article - datelined "DILI, East Timor," and not "DILI, Indonesia" as all previous *Times* reports have been - gave due weight to some of the suffering of the East Timorese at the hands of the Indonesians and treated official statements with skepticism.

But errors and a failure to provide an appropriate historical context continue to plague the coverage. Thus, East Timor was still referred to as "the former Portuguese colony," even though mention was made of the fact that "the United Nations still recognizes Portugal as having jurisdiction." (Per-

haps Pollack was taking his cue from the United States which, as he reported, does not contest the forced integration of East Timor into Indonesia.) Pollack perpetuated the myth that Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975 to intervene in a civil war, when in fact the civil war had ended months before.

Pollack nowhere mentioned that within five years after the invasion up to 200,000 Timorese (close to one-third of the pre-invasion population) had died of starvation, been killed by bombings, or been massacred outright. Finally, Pollack omitted all information about the substantial military, financial, and diplomatic support provided by the West - and the U.S. in particular - for Indonesia's brutal subjugation of the East Timorese.

The *Times* has failed over the years to cover either the full facts or our country's dishonorable role. During the worst of the atrocities, the paper remained virtually silent (see Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* [Boston: South End Press, 1979], sect. 3.4.4). It is with good reason then that the Timorese fear the "world will now forget them."

A WITNESS TO U.S. SUPPORTED HORROR (ALLAN NAIRN)

By Colman McCarthy, columnist Washington Post, 1/10/95

Having had his skull fractured by the butt of a U.S.-made rifle - as wielded by a soldier in the U.S.-supported Indonesian army - Allan Nairn has an opinion of America's foreign policy not commonly shared by our diplomats. He views it as ranging from brutal to anti-democratic.

Even had he not been bloodied and threatened with death in East Timor in 1991 during a massacre of unarmed civilians by the troops of President Suharto - a favored dictator of the State Department going back to when he took power in 1967 - Nairn's views on our foreign policy would likely be the same. As a reporter he has gathered facts in El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and other countries where amoral regimes have murdered and suppressed their own people and been rewarded by weapons or the succor of economic aid from Washington.

In the past decade arms sales to Indonesia totaled \$641 million, according to the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy.

Nairn is an independent journalist - 39, New Jersey-born and New York-based - who has reported for the *Progressive*, the *Nation*, the *New Yorker* and other outlets

that appreciate digging beneath the surface rather than idly scratching it.

Nairn was honored recently in Washington with the Joe A. Callaway Award for civic courage. That isn't among the nation's best-known or flashier awards, nor is the organization giving it – the Shafeek Nader Trust for the Community Interest – as heralded as it should be. The late Nader founded the Northwest Connecticut Community College.

This absence of celebrity is fitting because the kind of risk-taking practiced by Allan Nairn is devoid of the showy, and lacking what is required to land him on TV journalism shows where talents for glibness matter more than records for solid reporting.

Nairn specializes in human rights stories. As valuable as the annual reports of such organizations as Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International may be, they remain abstract compilations of horrors, not muddy-boot accounts from Third World villages and streets where people chance their lives to practice the simplest of freedoms. Nairn goes further: exposing links between local violence – clubbing Timorese students, death squads in El Salvador, disappearances in Guatemala – to the sanctioning of that violence by successive arms-supplying U.S. administrations.

Despite nearly losing his life during the 1991 massacre in East Timor – half of a small island north of Australia annexed by Indonesia in 1976 – Nairn returned last November for follow-up stories. He paid his own way. He wanted to observe the political scene when President Clinton came to Indonesia for three days for an economic summit. The candidate who scolded President George Bush for coddling dictators would coddle the ruthless Suharto – overseer of the killing of 200,000 Timorese, a third of the population – with a \$40 billion trade deal. It includes rich contracts for General Electric and Exxon.

The Clinton-Suharto chumminess brought swarms of the international news media to Indonesia. Except for a few paragraphs about 29 Timorese students occupying a U.S. Embassy parking lot, the details of ongoing terror in East Timor again went unreported. The press herd came and went while Nairn, on hand before and after, stayed three weeks.

Security forces barred him from entering East Timor. He was arrested and held for 20 hours in Jakarta on Nov. 12. He tried again and was pulled off a plane bound for East Timor. His third effort was successful. He slipped in and gathered the kind of information – torture houses, killings, censorship, fear – that few outside news organizations are pursuing.

Why, Nairn was asked in Washington, is this story relatively unknown in the United States? “When you talk to editors,” he replied, “one excuse they’ll often use is ‘our readers don’t know about East Timor, they aren’t interested.’ And why don’t readers know? Because editors don’t put it in the paper. . . . If you look at the standards for what makes something news, you could hardly have a bigger story than this. Proportionately, this may be the largest genocide since the Nazis, and the U.S. government has been directly involved.”

Nairn was first nudged in his direction when as a high school student in 1974 he met and was inspired by Ralph Nader, for whom he later worked. Nairn has reported different details of the same story since he went to Guatemala in 1980 after studying at Princeton. The United States, he believes, has aided one military state after another around the world, actions “for which there’s no justification.”

There is not one, either, for the U.S. news media to avoid deeper coverage. Which is why Allan Nairn is of inestimable value and why, also, he won’t be running out of story ideas any time soon.

RESOURCES

“QUITO” - OPERA IN SYDNEY

Sydney Metropolitan Opera is currently performing a work of “audio-visual music theatre” called “Quito” - about the life and death of Francisco Pires, a Timorese schizophrenic who was found hanging from a curtain rail in his room at Royal Darwin Hospital in 1990.

Book & music: Martin Wesley-Smith; book & lyrics: Peter Wesley-Smith.

In this work we use the invasion of Quito’s head by voices, and of his body by drugs, as a metaphor for the invasion of his homeland by Indonesian troops. The performers are The Song Company, a six-person a cappella classical vocal ensemble.

Delores Des Mai, in “Beat” Magazine, writes: “. . . where it could have lapsed into table thumping, “Quito” does manage to dance the shaky line between preaching politics and smothering you in pathos . . . The blur between Quito’s experience and that of the East Timorese people provided fodder for some rather sensational scenes . . . (There) is a mix of music that is both bizarre and amazing. You get everything from 17th century motet to country and western ballad, chillingly discordant a cappella to some of Quito’s own songs . . . Some very brave decisions have been made in putting this

production together - some work brilliantly, the odd one or two fall short of the mark, but that, my sweet, is the nature of experiment . . . it is a very worthy production and should manage to move even the hard hearted among us.” (Nov. 14 1994)

Ken Healey, in the “Sun-Herald” (Nov. 20 1994), writes: “We are unlikely to forget “Quito” easily . . .”

BRIAN HOAD IN *THE BULLETIN*, NOVEMBER 29 1994 (Edited):

It was a night to remember when Sydney Metropolitan Opera launched its production of Martin and Peter Wesley-Smith’s disturbing new music-theatre piece “Quito” - a night of madness rather than gladness . . . “Quito” is about basic human rights . . . about being driven mad . . . about political as well as personal madness, about how societies as well as individuals can suffer from it, from schizophrenia - the disintegration of personality; a failing sense of reality; wild distortions of thoughts, emotions and behaviour; voices in the head, delusions, paranoia, mania, depression, suicide . . .

“Quito” was the nickname of Francisco Baptista Pires, an 11-year-old refugee from East Timor who managed to make it to Darwin after (Suharto’s) goons laid siege to the former Portuguese colony in 1975, slaughtering some 200,000 people - about a quarter of the population - including members of Quito’s own family who failed to escape. Successive Australian governments adopted the usual low posture and saw, heard and spoke no evil . . .

“Quito” is an extraordinary criss-crossing of themes and ideas which amplify each other to throw up all manner of questionable meanings . . . Martin Wesley-Smith and his . . . librettist Peter . . . have long shared a fascination for the world of Lewis Carroll/Charles Dodgson, one in which nothing is quite what it seems . . . “Quito” comes from a dark corner of that world, yet it is not without black humor - particularly when it is satirizing crazy politicians.

Musically, electronic tapes and a ghostly piano that plays itself, supplemented by the roaring jets overhead, take care of the more dramatic moments while the six members of The Song Company, sometimes in ensemble, sometimes solo, sing songs which - as usual with Wesley-Smith - are drawn from many sources: from Orlando Lasso, a master of the masses, motets and madrigals of the 16th century when Portugal was setting up shop in Timor; Timorese folk songs; Quito’s own songs; songs in sardonic cabaret style; even vulgar vaudevillean songs - like the sendup of our mellifluous foreign minister, “Thank Evans.”

Medical staff hand out pills to settle the audience on arrival; a video screen presents a

documentary on the death of Quito, and interviews with his friends and family. On another screen a monkey face creepily transforms into more familiar human features. And on a small stage there is a poignant, bare, featureless wooden puppet, which is Quito, continually manipulated and finally destroyed.

It's a low-budget production and a bit rough around the edges. The Song Company are splendid vocalists, but still raw as actors. Yet the roughness and the rawness, like the ceaseless jets, all blend into this haunting tragedy.

There is a quote which particularly sticks in the mind: "Few of us can tolerate invasion of any sort. Everyone needs a private, secure place - mental and physical."

"QUITO" REVIEW IN "THE AUSTRALIAN"

"Quito" is an extraordinary music-theatre work based on the true story of the young schizophrenic Timorese musician Francisco ("Quito") Pires, who was found hanging from his pajama cord in the Royal Darwin Hospital in 1990.

Using a mix of unaccompanied song - spanning the whole spectrum of music from classical to rock, pop and computer - multi-screen projections and a couple of huge Japanese Bunraku-type puppets, but no visible conductor, it comes over with all the punch of an updated political satire.

The more the piece employs humor, the more deadly it becomes. The hit of the evening was a cabaret song and dance routine, full of false jollity, with the Song Company's bearded baritone doing a self-congratulatory "Senator Evans's international cowboy" number. It brought a sudden burst of spontaneous applause from the audience.

"Quito" attempts to link up the "invasion" of a schizophrenic mind with the invasion of a country, in this case East Timor. Its message seems to be that Australia is quicker to interfere in distant problems than when problems occur nearer home.

The vocal sextet that makes up the Song Company has rarely had an opportunity to show so clearly just what virtuosos they are. They are not only capable of singing a whole performance a cappella and keeping in pretty good tune, but are astonishingly fine actors as well.

And because there was no orchestral or electronic accompaniment to mask the words - which is almost the norm in contemporary opera - every bit of the excellently compiled text, some of it Quito's own, comes across ...

"Quito" is scored for six voices (two sopranos, an alto, a tenor, a baritone and a bass baritone) plus tape. We are currently working on a cut-down simplified version for touring, and will be looking for performance opportunities for the Song Company in 1995 and for the possibility of other productions using different singers.

The piece pulls no punches when dealing with the situation in East Timor, and thus helps to bring the situation there to people's attention.

For more information, contact Martin Wesley-Smith, at martinws@hkucc.hku.hk

AETA CALENDAR

The Australia-East Timor Association has made a 1995 calendar that is available for purchase. It is A2 size on thick paper (200g). Taking up much of the space is Elaine Brière's beautiful "mother and baby" photograph taken in East Timor in 1974. Beneath it are all the days of 1995, with significant dates in the recent history of East Timor circled and explained. We have chosen the events and dates so that we can commemorate events throughout the year, not just in November and December. It is an activist's calendar, but it was professionally designed and looks good ...

At A\$5 per calendar (including p & p) you can afford to buy several! Send a cheque to:

AETA, PO Box 751, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010 Australia
tel.: [61-2] 558 7226, 30 2028, 331 5986;
fax: [61-2] 716 8266

If you wish to buy in bulk, and sell copies locally, please get in touch with Stephen Langford (secretary, NSW branch) for an attractive deal.

EAST TIMOR EXHIBITION VISITS IPSWICH

By Nick Everett, *Green Left*, Dec. 4, 1994

BRISBANE - Community Aid Abroad's "East Timor 1942-1992" photo exhibition opened in Ipswich on December 3. The exhibition, on the Queensland leg of its tour, contains more than 100 photos of culture and resistance in East Timor.

Ipswich Lord Mayor David Underwood used the occasion to attack federal governments of different shades for standing idly by during two decades of killing in East Timor; Gough Whitlam had remained silent on the issue, he noted.

Underwood drew some parallels with the independence struggle on Bougainville. Australians, he said, know much more about the role of the CIA in supporting brutal regimes, than know of the war that mining giant

CRA, hand in hand with the federal government, is conducting in Bougainville, or of the piracy of Timor oil by Australian oil companies.

Mario, from the East Timorese community, also spoke, urging people to attend a vigil on December 7, at 5.30pm in the Queen Street Mall, to mark the 19th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion.

EAST TIMOR AND THE MEDIA

A Critical View of Western Journalism and Scholarship on East Timor By Geoffrey Gunn (with Jefferson Lee) **Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers, 1994. 271 pp., \$25 (pb) Available by postal order from PO Box 703, Leichhardt 2040**

Reviewed by Arun Pradhan in Green Left Review

The crime against the people of East Timor by the Indonesian regime is becoming known to the world thanks largely to the continuing resistance of the East Timorese. A largely untold crime is the complicity of Western governments in the Indonesian invasion, and the bias of the establishment media in justifying it.

In the wake of the APEC meeting and the Australian government's "economic push into Asia" overshadowing any semblance of human rights, this bias and complicity are as strong as ever. Thus *A Critical View* comes at an important time and is a damning rejection of those who support the ALP's "softly softly" approach to Suharto.

The book is a comprehensive and at times quite detailed record of East Timorese history and the constant sell-outs and betrayals that have surrounded the invasion.

Amongst the best sections is the chapter which describes the Australian and US role in the invasion. It refers to CIA papers which confirm that Indonesia was involved in clandestine warfare in East Timor from 1974. With this sort of information readily at hand, the US and Australian governments made conscious decisions to remain silent, and basically gave the Indonesian regime the go-ahead.

The book documents the role played by Whitlam, Fraser and Hawke in their support for the Suharto regime. Whitlam in particular is shown up, not only for his initial complicity, but for his continuing justifications. He even "proudly offered evidence to the UN Decolonisation Committee in support of his case as to why East Timor should be removed from the UN agenda." East Timorese self-determination was on the ALP's platform as it ran for, and won, the 1983 federal elections. By early June of that year, it was clear that ALP platform

and practice were two quite distinct things, as Prime Minister Hawke indicated "defence aid" to Indonesia would continue. Hawke's comment from Jakarta that "we should put East Timor behind us" formalized this betrayal.

The authors are just as detailed in their exposure of the media's role. Of course, after the Dili massacre and even more recently with the protests around APEC, the media could not ignore East Timor. Yet despite occasional exceptions, the media played down the massacre and emphasised the need for long-term trade relations to temper any "hasty reaction."

In their analysis of the media, the authors use a "Chomsky model" which was popularized in the documentary *Manufacturing Consent*. To me Chomsky's work is successful in three ways: its analysis, the vast amount of information it presents and its accessibility and clarity.

Certainly this book is dense with information; I find myself continually referring back to it and have not been disappointed by lack of detail. Analysis of the vested interests of Western governments is well backed up by this sea of information.

If the book has failings, it is in its presentation. Even from the title, one can see the tendency towards a convoluted academic style. Its structure and chronology could have been better planned and, combined with the style, might prevent some from getting through it. I would not recommend it to someone who is new to the subject.

The other main disappointment was its one-sided view of the media. Even in Chomsky's *Manufacturing Consent*, he took the time to present the alternative press as an option. The authors make a single reference to *Vanguard* and a few to *Tribune*, but that is all.

This is unfortunate since the role and motives of the establishment media become even clearer when seen in the context of such alternatives, and certainly the role of *Green Left Weekly* has been widely recognised by the East Timorese community and solidarity activists alike.

However, these criticisms should not take anything away from a very useful book. In documenting a long list of betrayals, the authors have shed light on information which is usually distorted or ignored.

Geoffrey C. Gunn (with Jefferson Lee), A Critical View of Western Journalism and Scholarship on East Timor, Journal of Contemporary Asia Press, Manila, 1994, 272pp, biblio, index. [available from publisher, P.O. Box 592, Manila, Philippines 1099. Price US\$10. Send cheque with payment in US dollars. Post free for surface mail. Airmail add US\$8.00 per book]