

# Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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

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

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**TRIALS OF CIVILIANS**

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**BRANCO ADDRESSES  
 DILI COURT**

*Kompas. 28 March 1992. Original language: Indonesian. Abridged*

**ACCUSED ASKS FOR PASTOR'S  
 VISIT EVERY SUNDAY**

(Jakarta) – The accused, Francisco Miranda Branco, has asked the court trying him for subversion for permission to be visited every Sunday by a pastor in the period up to Easter. He raised this because, up to the present, he said he has had only one visit by a pastor since his arrest, and that was on Christmas Day 1991.

He was reading out his *eksepsi* (demurrer) in court on 26 March, after being charged with subversion for being the architect of the 12 November demonstration.

He told the court he was summoned by the district police in Dili on 25 November 1991 for investigation in connection with the "Dili Incident." After ten days of interrogation, he was moved to the police detention centre on 6 December because he was suspected of involvement in the incident.

He is an official of the East Timor administration's Economic Affairs Office. He said the 12 November demonstration was a reaction to the clash [*we would need to see the original document to know whether he used the word \*clash\**] at Motael Church on 28 October 1991 when Sebastiao Rangel

was killed. "I was suspected as the implementer [pelaku] of that incident."

He spoke in his demurrer at length about the history of East Timor since the political unrest in Portugal.

He has been working at the Economic Affairs Department of the East Timor regional administration since January 1986 and once received a certificate of appreciation from the Home Affairs Minister because he helped in the conduct of the general election in East Timor.

"Since I started studying the history of Indonesia's independence, the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, I have been very interested in the subject," said Branco.

But later, there were a number of incidents which led him to change of mind and started reminding him of the situation during Portuguese times. He mentioned specifically

the exile of East Timorese from the eastern sector (Los Palos, Viqueque and Baucau) to Atauro Island.

He also spoke about the coffee monopoly, something which never happened during the Portuguese era.

The reality with which the East Timorese were confronted prompted the younger general to get involved in protests.

"The people of East Timor feel that they are being treated like second-class citizens in their own country, despite presidential regulation No 68/1988 [proclaiming that East Timor shall be treated 'like any other province'].

"I did not feel the consequences personally because I enjoyed privileges as a government employee."

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### CAMARA OUTLINES JUSTIFICATIONS FOR NOV. 19 DEMONSTRATION

*Jakarta Post. 1 April 1992. Abridged*

The alleged mastermind of the Nov. 19 demonstration by 70 East Timorese here testified yesterday that it was intended to urge the Indonesian government to correct its 16 years of mistakes in East Timor and to build a more harmonious relationship with the people there.

Joao Freitas da Camara, 37, said in testimony at the trial of Agapito Cardoso, 25, who was charged with publicly expressing hostility towards the government, that the demonstration was not launched to undermine or hurt the government. Da Camara himself is being tried separately on subversion charges.

"It's just that we could not stay inactive while our brothers were being shot dead. We had to protest. We wanted to protest against all the actions in East Timor which were not in accordance with human rights from the beginning until the tragedy of Nov. 12."

The Nov. 12 incident was the result of the Indonesian occupation in East Timor since Dec. 7 1975, he said. Da Camara, who was once arrested on Oct. 20 1986 for what he called human rights activities, admitted that he was the mastermind and leader of the Nov. 19 demonstrations in front of the UN building and some embassies in Jakarta.

He also paid for the students' accommodation here, except for their meals, with the money he received from an Australian organisation. The students participating in the demonstration came from various cities in Java and Bali.

He told the court that originally they had planned only to demonstrate in front of the UN building but when the UN official they met rejected their request - that the international body talk with members of the DPR (House of Representatives) to guarantee their safety - they decided to go to the foreign embassies as well.

Da Camara said he asked permission from the UN staff and several police officers, saying: "We want to demonstrate in front of every embassy building," and one of the uniformed police officers answered: "Go ahead."

Later after the police arrested them, he said he was beaten inside the police van but not during the interrogation sessions. The first interrogation session at the police precinct was long and tiring, lasting from that afternoon until 6 am the next morning, he said.

He said he believed that since the demonstration was conducted peacefully, calmly and in an orderly manner, the police would let the demonstrators go, but this was not the case.

The session was adjourned to Thursday.  
**Witness reprimanded**

At another trial session for Virgilio da Silva Guterres, 26, a student of the National Institute of Technology (ITN) in Malang, Judge Tuaradja Siregar reprimanded witness Antonio Lopez, 26, who used the term "massacre" instead of "incident" when describing the Nov. 12 tragedy in Dili in which 50 East Timorese demonstrators were killed in a clash (sic) with the police (sic).

Another witness, Antonio Mario Soares, 23, said he did not object to integration of East Timor and Indonesia but he felt solidarity with the victims of the incident. The session was adjourned to Thursday.

At the trial of Dominggus Bareto de Jesus Vas, 29, the defendant told the court that when the embassies of Japan and Australia did not open the door for them he felt cheated by Da Camara because he had not guaranteed their safety and acceptance. Asked why did he did not separate himself from the demonstrators, he said he did not know Jakarta and could have easily got lost. He said he recognised East Timor as part of Indonesia and would not join any other anti-integration activities

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### EAST TIMORESE (CAMARA) DISPUTE VALIDITY OF 1976 INTEGRATION

*Jakarta Post. 3 April 1992. Abridged.*

*Comment: Joao Freitas da Camara is using the courtroom in the best tradition of political trials. If he uses it thus when appearing as a witness, his own trial can be expected to produce some stirring moments. But the obscenely insensitive remark of the judge reflects the contempt in some Indonesian circles for the suffering of the East Timorese.*

The leader of the anti-integration demonstration launched on Nov. 19 last year insisted that East Timor was an independent nation before Indonesia came and took over.

"East Timor proclaimed its independence on Nov. 28 1975, before the Balibo

proclamation which was made outside East Timor, across the border in Indonesia," Joao Freitas da Camara, 37, said on the witness stand at the trial of Virgilio da Silva Guterres, 26, at the Central Jakarta District Court yesterday. Da Camara is being tried separately on subversion charges.

When Judge Tuaradja asked him if he knew that East Timor had joined Indonesia, Da Camara answered, "What I know is that East Timor has been made to join Indonesia."

#### **Balibo**

He did not recognise the Balibo proclamation made on 30 Nov., 1975 by four political parties of East Timor which stated that East Timor wanted to join Indonesia. "The Balibo proclamation was not legitimate," he said.

"We had a nation called the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Our first president was Francisco de la Cruz who was detained in Jakarta. The second was murdered," he said.

"It was the intention of the people of East Timor to integrate with Indonesia," said the judge. "Indonesia did not invade East Timor."

"'Invasion' is not my term, it was used in the UN resolution," said da Camara. Asked why he did not go to the DPR instead of to the UN building, Da Camara said the DPR would not have taken care of the matter. Moreover, it was an international matter.

#### **Killed**

Another witness, Jose Louis de Oliveira, 26, said he joined the demonstration because he believed his brother was killed on Nov. 12 but he later learned that he was alive. When he explained that the black bandannas the demonstrators wore in the Nov. 19 demonstration were a traditional emblem signifying grief over the death of their brothers in Dili, Judge Siregar jokingly said the black gown he wore also signified sadness since he had to try the defendant. The joke (sic) caused the people attending to burst into laughter.

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### INDONESIAN STUDENTS GO ON TRIAL ON CHARGES OF SUBVERSION AND 'SPREADING HATRED'

*Chronicle of Higher Education April 8, 1992 English By Margot Cohen*

(Jakarta) - The two chief organizers of a pro-independence student group and three undergraduates from Indonesia's troubled province of East Timor have gone on trial here on charges of subversion and "spreading hatred."

The five were arrested last November following a Jakarta rally protesting a massacre in Dili, East Timor, where soldiers fired into a crowd of pro-independence

demonstrators and killed at least 50 people. Indonesia annexed East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1976, but its sovereignty has not been recognized by the United Nations. Several soldiers are to be court-martialed for their part in the Dili shootings.

The trials of the students, which are expected to last about three months, are seen as part of a broad government effort to quell student protest.

Two defendants charged with subversion face the death penalty: Fernando De Araujo, a literature student at Udayana University in Bali, and Joao Freitas Da Camara, who dropped out of the law program at Atma Jaya Catholic University in Jakarta after the government withdrew his scholarship.

### 7-Year Maximum Sentence

For the lesser crime of "spreading hatred," a maximum seven-year prison sentence faces Agapita Cardoso of Udayana University, Virgilio Da Silva Guterres of the National Institute of Technology in East Java, and Domingus Bareta De Jesus Vas of the Catholic University in Central Java.

Mr. De Araujo and Mr. Da Camara founded a pro-independence student group in 1988, the National Student Resistance Movement of East Timor, known as RENETIL, for its initials in Portuguese. The group, which attracted members from universities across Java and Bali, concentrated on non-violent activities such as disseminating information on human-rights violations and holding discussions on political and economic problems in East Timor. It was suspected of drawing funds from an armed rebel movement.

The students operated clandestinely until the November 12 massacre jolted them into public protest. They were subsequently detained and interrogated by the police – and denied access to lawyers, according to the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, a human-rights group that is helping defend some of the students.

In a country lacking an independent judiciary, the students are in a difficult position. The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation has never won a subversion case. However, other recent cases of alleged subversion in Indonesia's Aceh province that involved faculty members at several universities ended with prison terms rather than the death penalty.

Besides incidents in which protestors were beaten or arrested, the government has used more subtle forms of pressure to deter dissent. After the massacre in Dili, the government suddenly cut off scholarship payments to East Timorese university students. They were resumed on the condition that the students sign a statement that they agreed with the integration of East Timor, that they are not involved in any anti-integration activities, and that they apologize for any such activities in the past.

Thus far only a handful of students reportedly have refused to sign the statement.

## FRETILIN 'JOURNALIST' BROUGHT TO DILI COURT

*Antara report in Pelita. 10 April 1992.*

*Original language: Indonesian. Summarised slightly.*

*Carlos dos Santos Lemos is one of six East Timorese facing charges in Dili for 'spreading hatred,' for which the maximum penalty is seven years.*

CDSL [i.e. Carlos dos Santos Lemos], 31 years old, who acted as a 'journalist' to cover the demonstration in Dili on 12 November 1991 was brought before Dili district court on Thursday.

In his indictment, prosecutor Charles Simbolon said that as a member and executive member of the 'mouse' [the word used is 'tikus'] Fretilin group, it was his task to report and take photos of the demonstration which were later to be sent abroad. The prosecutor said that by sending his photos abroad, the intention was to win international support for the aspirations of himself and his comrades, namely achieving a Free East Timor, separated from the Republic of Indonesia.

The prosecutor said that before performing his 'journalistic' duties, CDSL and several of his friends (being tried separately) had held several illegal meetings and had set up a "Clandestine" organisation, called the CE [for Executive Committee] owing allegiance to GPK/Fretilin whose leader, Xanana Gusmao, is still in hiding.

These illegal meetings which were held in Dili from July to November 1991 had discussed ways of attaining a Free East Timor, the prosecutor said.

"In addition, CDSL, as chair of the contacts section of the CE organisation, along with his comrades, had also planned various demonstrations to welcome the Portuguese parliamentary mission that was scheduled to visit East Timor in early November."

In furtherance of these plans, CDSL and his comrades utilised the Christian community which conducted a mass at Motael Church, which held a procession from the church to the Santa Cruz cemetery.

"In order to record this demonstration which, according to the findings of the National Inquiry Commission, resulted in 50 deaths and another 90 being wounded, the accused acted as a 'journalist' and leader of this bloody incident," said the prosecutor.

Prior to the presentation of the indictment, the judges disputed the presence of a team of lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) and the Indonesian Bar Association (Ikadin) in the court-room, saying that the accused had given power of attorney to Ponco Atmono, a court lawyer. The LBH-Ikadin team told the court they had been

appointed by the wife of the accused, Mrs. Antonia Ana Fraga Lemos to defend him.

The accused's wife who was present in court then rose and said that she had withdrawn her letter dated 21 February to the LBH-Ikadin team on 8 April. The presiding judge said that even without that withdrawal, there were no grounds for the team to act as the accused had already appointed Ponco Atmono. The judge said that the team of lawyers could remain in court but only as observers. However, on hearing this, the team rose and left the court.

## GREGORIO: "I LED 12 NOVEMBER DEMONSTRATION"

*Jakarta Post. 10 April 1992. Abridged.*

A witness in a subversion case yesterday withdrew his statements before his investigators but admitted to having led an anti-Indonesia demonstration on Nov. 12 last year which ended in a riot (sic).

Gregorio told the district court that his investigators had put pressure on him to admit things he did not know of the defendant's role in the demonstration at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

He said however, he led the protesters from the Motael Roman Catholic Church to the cemetery to mourn the death of a youth killed in brawl with a pro-Indonesian group two weeks earlier.

Gregorio was testifying in the trial of another Nov. 12 demonstration leader, Francisco Miranda Branco. The protest resulted in the death of about 50 people after the thousands of protesters clashed (sic) with troops.

He said all the placards carried by the demonstrators were designed by an anti-Indonesia activist named Constantio Pinto and he was in charge of distributing them to the protesters.

Public prosecutor I Ketut Swara had charged that Francisco's role included organising the Nov. 12 demonstration and preparing the anti-Indonesia banners.

Gregorio insisted that Portugal was still the legitimate administrator of East Timor. He said the anti-Indonesia guerrillas under the leadership of Xanana Gusmao were to continue to seek independence.

In a related case, the court charged Carlos dos Santos Lemos, 31, and Bonifacio Magno Ferreira, 35, with organising the demonstration and inviting three foreign journalists for an interview with separatist leader Xanana Gusmao.

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## GOVERNMENT URGED TO OPEN MARTIAL COURT FOR NOV 12 DILI INCIDENT

*Jakarta Post. 13 April 1992. Abridged.*

*Comment: Note how phrases like 'the riot in Dili' and 'demonstrators clashed with troops' have become standard phrases in the reporting about the massacre.*

Lawyers defending an East Timorese who is being tried in connection with the Nov. 12 riot in Dili urged the government to court martial army officers involved in the shooting deaths of demonstrators.

"The trials for civilians have been going on for some time now. Many people have started to ask when the officers involved in the tragedy will stand trials," Luhut MP Pangaribuan, of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH) said Saturday.

The defence team involves LBH and the Indonesian Bar Association (Ikadin).

Around 50 people were killed when demonstrations clashed with troops in Dili on Nov. 12 last year. Thirteen students and former civil servants are currently on trial in Jakarta and Dili courts in connection with the riot and a subsequent anti-government protest in Jakarta.

"The government's decision to form a Military Honorary Council is wonderful and the people really appreciate this. They hope the council will send the offenders to the military tribunal soon," Pangaribuan told *The Jakarta Post*. He also called for the military tribunal to open the hearings to the public.

Frans Hendra Winarta, a lawyer from Ikadin, told the *Post* that the army officers allegedly involved in the shootings must be immediately sent to court for the sake of the rule of law.

He also urged the council to publicly name the officers responsible for the killings and clearly explain what actions had been taken against them. "Everything must be made transparent. People need to know what actions the government have taken against the offenders," Frans said. The right to information is one of the human rights, he said.

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## PRINCEN: HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN EAST TIMOR REPORTED TO TRY

*Jakarta Post. 14 April 1992. Abridged.*

The Institute for the Advocacy of Human Rights (LPHAM) passed all information it received on human rights abuses in East Timor to Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno, says Johannes Cornelius Princen, a noted human rights activist.

Princen, 66, the head of the Institute, told the Central Jakarta district court yesterday at the trial Joao Freitas da Camara, 37, that

the defendant told him many things about East Timor concerning the customs and culture of the people and the fact that some of his relatives were killed there.

The information provided was sent on to Gen. Try so that the alleged incidents of abuse could be checked out, he said.

Princen said that the aid the institute gave the defendant had nothing to do with the information it got from him. "Absolutely not!" he stressed when the prosecutor, T. Simanjuntak pressed him on the issue. The institute gave Camara Rp 50,000 a month to help him pay his rent and education. "The amount I gave him was not much. I regretted that I did not have enough funds to give him more."

The witness said he had no idea the defendant was involved in efforts to establish an independent East Timor. The Institute, said Princen, was not a political organisation and helps anyone from any province who approaches it for assistance.

Another witness, Virgilio da Silva Guterres, said he was struggling for the rights of the East Timorese to determine their own fate, adding that this did not necessarily mean independence. Whether the Timorese wanted to integrate with Indonesia or to be independent, their wishes should be honoured, he said. "Don't just give us special treatment in development while treating our right to freedom as a secondary matter."

He admitted that it was a fact that East Timor had integrated with Indonesia but doubted the validity of the process because it did not involve all the people.

The demonstrators did not go to the House of Representatives because they did not acknowledge the Indonesian government in East Timor, he said. "We tried to find an impartial party, which in this case was the UN." The declaration present to the UN staff and to the Australian and Japanese embassies said what Indonesia did in East Timor was similar to that of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait but it did not urge the US or the UN to apply sanctions of any kind to Indonesia.

Asked why he took part in the demonstration, Guterres said he knew the risk he was taking, that it could mean the end of the scholarship and his opportunity to govern.

"But when the situation became more tense, I made the decision. What's the study for if the people to whom I want to dedicate myself are killed?" he said.

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## FIVE MOTAEL TIMORESE ON MURDER CHARGES

*Tempo. 18 April 1992. Original language: Indonesian. Abridged slightly.*

*Comment: The ultimate travesty!*

### NOT SUBVERSION TRIALS

The Dili prosecutor's office has sent forward the papers for five persons to be

charged for another bloody incident. This is the brawl on 28 October near Motael Church between pro-integration and anti-integration Timorese groups.

Two persons died during the brawl, one on each side. Afonso Henriques, 30, on the pro side, died. On the other side, Sebastiao Gomes, 16 years, died. His death was one of the sparks that led to the Santa Cruz incident on 12 November.

The five whose cases were forwarded on 2 April are all anti-integration supporters: Joao dos Santos, Jacob da Silva, Boby Xavier, Alexio da Silva and Bonifacio Bareto. They are all quite young, in their early twenties. Joao dos Santos was born in Bobonaro, 23 years ago.

They are being charged with an act of premeditated violence which led to one death. They are not being charged under the anti-subversion law and their trials will commence next Tuesday [21 April]. They face sentences of up to twenty years, said the prosecutor.

They were arrested on 28 October when the police raided Motael Church, which was suspected of being a base for anti-integration groups. They were officially arrested on 29 October for rioting. Three other key persons, Marcus dos Santos, Franselino and Manuel de Jesus, ran away and have not yet been apprehended.

The fighting between the two groups of youths actually began on 27 October around 11 p.m., at a time of tension about whether the Portuguese parliamentary mission's visit would or would not take place. The anti-integrationists led by Alexio da Siva alias Cobra, had gathered at the Church when suddenly a group of pro-integration youths challenged them to a fight. "Ayoh, come you, if you dare. If not, we will attack," said prosecutor Saul Lucas, mimicking the challenging words. Then they did indeed attack with an immediate response from the anti group in the church grounds.

After beating off the attack, Alexio planned a strategy in case of another attack. They set up guard round the Church, carrying weapons, stones, iron pipes, wooden clubs and knives. It was their determination "to kill, if any attacker was caught," according to the indictment prepared by Saul Lucas.

On 28 October, some ten pro-integration youths came again with a larger number of people, but before they could enter the church premises, they were met with a hail of stones. Afonso was hit and was very shaky. "He was chased and set upon by Franselino, Manuel de Jesus and Marcus dos Santos, the three who have not yet been caught," said Saul Lucas.

Franselino struck Afonso with a piece of iron piping and Marcus stabbed him in the waist. Afonso fell to the ground covered in blood. Dead. Meanwhile, the pro-integration group shot Sebastiao dead.

This time, it's the turn of the killers of Afonso. But surely whoever caused the death of Sebastiao will also be charged. [We'll believe that when it happens!]

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## EAST TIMORESE TRIED FOR FATAL BRAWL

*Jakarta Post, 20 April 1992*

An East Timorese on trial for murder during the 28 October incident at Motael Church has told the court he is innocent. Bobby Xavier said that another group of youths led by a man named Alfonso [who died during the 'mass brawl'] was responsible.

Boby Xavier said in a three-page defence statement that the indictment against him should be reviewed.

His lawyer, Artidjo Alkostar of the Legal Aid Institute- Indonesian Bar Association team (LBH-Ikadin) told the court his client had been pressured during questioning which "is against the law." The lawyer also said the mass brawl should be seen as a result of an extended conflict in East Timor.

Another East Timorese on trial in Dili, Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves said in a hand-written statement that the Indonesian government need not have been "uneasy" about what it calls the "clandestine movement."

He referred to Indonesia's Memorandum of Understanding with Portugal regarding the parliamentary visit scheduled for last year as "a reflection of Indonesia's tolerance." What had been done related to the status of East Timor. "The unclear status of East Timor to people abroad needs proper settlement."

A student testifying in the subversion trial of Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha said he believed East Timor still belongs to the Portuguese because the UN does not recognise East Timor's integration into Indonesia.

### Witnesses Cleared Despite Objections In East Timor Case

The Central Jakarta district court rule that the prosecution in a subversion trial can present the (written) testimonies of witnesses despite defence objections. The decision was made after the prosecutor said that three witnesses, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, Juvencio de Jesus Martin and Francisco Miranda Branco would not be able to attend the trial of Fernando de Araujo as they have to attend other trials in Dili.

Three other witnesses, Clemente Soares, Anton Santos Matos and Jose Pompeia, all in Bali, had not answered summonses to attend de Araujo's trial, the prosecutor said.

The defence lawyer, Luhut Pangaribuan rejected the prosecutor's earlier excuse for not presenting the six witnesses, (when he said) that it was too expensive to fly them to Jakarta. The lawyer said a witness may

only have his testimony read in court if he is too ill to attend or is abroad.

"Their presence is important, for us to hear and decide whether what they say is true or not," the lawyer said. [Jakarta Post, 21 April 1992]

### East Timorese Want UN (and) Embassy Officials To Testify

Defendant Fernando de Araujo, on trial for subversion in Jakarta will ask staff at the UN office and the Japanese and Dutch embassies to testify on his behalf. The defendant said the Dutch embassy was chosen because it represents Portugal's interests in Indonesia. He did not give reasons for asking for the others. [Araujo took refuge in the Japanese embassy in 1988; the Jakarta demonstration on 19 November was targeted primarily at the UN office in Jakarta.]

The presiding judge refused to call these witnesses and said the defence lawyer should arrange it. The lawyer, Amir Syamsuddin, said he was not sure the individuals in question would be willing to testify but he would urge them to do so.

Yesterday's session heard the written testimony of six witnesses from East Timor and Bali. The prosecutor said earlier he could not present them because travel expenses were too high. The defence lawyer complained that this meant they could not be cross-examined. [Jakarta Post, 23 April 1992].

### Prosecution wants 13 years for Camara

The prosecutor in the trial of Joao Freitas da Camara, in his summing up, asked the court to pass a sentence of 13 years.

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## ARAUJO IN THE WITNESS STAND

*Jakarta Post, 28 and 29 April 1992*

Fernando de Araujo, on charge for subversion in Jakarta, told the court, under questioning by his lawyer, that East Timor's integration into Indonesia was preceded by the presence of Indonesian troops which prevented the people from expressing their true wishes.

"If the process... had gone through democratic means under UN supervision, then I would have supported whatever decision the people made," he said.

He and his friends had set up RENETIL, the National Resistance of East Timor Students, on 20 July 1988 to fight for the right of the East Timorese to determine their own future; its goal is an independent East Timor, he said. The organisation is affiliated to the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM) led by Xanana Gusmao, and to the Executive Committee of the Clandestine Resistance, led by Constancio Pinto, he added.

He also spoke about money he had received from abroad, for instance, Rp500,000 a month from Alfredo Ferreira in Darwin and others, as well as medicines from the

East Timorese community in Melbourne. One box of medicines was sent to a church in Dili. [Jakarta Post, 28 April]

### PROSECUTION DEMANDS FOR THREE DEFENDANTS IN JAKARTA

The prosecution in the three trials of East Timorese students on trial for spreading hatred, have made their sentence demands. The sentence demand for Virgilio de Silva Guterres is three years, for Agapito Cardoso, one year, and for Dominggus Bareto, six months.

Dominggus apologised to the court for taking part in the demonstration on 19 November and signing the Declaration which likened Indonesia's invasion of East Timor to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. He asked the court to be lenient, saying he wanted to continue with his education. "My parents are poor, and they need my help," he told the court. [Jakarta Post, 29 April]

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## HEAVY SENTENCE DEMAND

Reuter, Jakarta, April 29 - Indonesian prosecutors have demanded a student be jailed for 15 years over protests against an army massacre of civilians in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

East Timorese Francisco de Araujo was guilty of subversion and of heading an organisation supporting a guerrilla movement trying to oust Indonesia from East Timor, Antara quoted state prosecutor Idris Daeng Macallos as saying.

De Araujo is accused of masterminding a protest in central Jakarta on November 19 against the massacre a week earlier in which Indonesian soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners in the East Timor capital Dili, killing up to 180 people.

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## CAMARA DEFENDS HIS PEOPLE

*Jakarta Post, 4 May 1992. Abridged.*

*We hope to give a fuller version of his statement, once the document reaches London. —TAPOL*

Joao Freitas da Camara, on trial for subversion in Jakarta, delivered his defence plea last week. Here are some points from his statement as reported in The Jakarta Post:

Only settlers from other areas of Indonesia benefit from development in Indonesia. There was much rhetoric about development successes in East Timor but few people admitted that this was enjoyed by the minority of newcomers.

The government had the objective of eradicating the native East Timorese population and giving their land to migrants. This elimination of the people is also accomplished by other means, including massacres.



“What is the meaning of physical development in a region if the rights of the natives are crushed,” he asked.

Da Camara said that development in East Timor was a token gesture by the Indonesian government to offset criticism from foreign governments. The Indonesian government had repressed the right of the East Timor to express their opinions and to establish independent organisations. He said that massacres had occurred in many places in the region since integration. “Some of my family members, including my father, were shot dead,” he told the court.

He said integration was not in accordance with the wishes of the East Timorese people because it was the will of the Indonesian government to annex the region. “This was clear by the attack of the Armed Forces on Dili, by air, land and sea units on December 7 1975,” he said, adding that, before this attack, Fretilin proclaimed the Democratic Republic of East Timor on 28 November 1975. Seventy-two UN members supported the proclamation, he said.

In an earlier court hearing, the prosecutor asked the court to find Camara guilty and sentence him to thirteen years.

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## U.S. EVENTS

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### REPORT ON VISIT OF ETAN/L.A. WITH STAFF OF U.S. SEN. ALAN CRANSTON

*Visit with Jim Kohlenberger, Los Angeles staff conducted by Joe Maizlish and Matthew Jardine, on April 17, 1992:*

The visitors made clear their concern with the **ongoing** situation in East Timor, and listed the five or so points suggested in the fact sheet. Jim explained the way he thought the aid issues would come up this spring/summer, namely via hearings on foreign aid appropriations. If, as the Fact Sheet we shared with Jim suggests, the aid would be passed via a continuing resolution, still whatever work had been done in the appropriations committee would likely be included in the resolution.

The appropriations work is done in committees in the Senate on which Sen. Cranston does not serve. These are the Senate Appropriations – Foreign Operations for the Senate, and the House Appropriations – Foreign Operations for the House. We asked about the possibility that the Senator might get to work with the member Senators and Jim said he thought it highly likely that Sen. Cranston was already doing that. Jim had made clear from the beginning of the visit that Sen. Cranston was interested in the matter, and showed us a resolution he had proposed in the E. Asia subcommittee, and a speech he had made in

the wake of the Nov. massacre. We inquired about relations with the staff of the Senators who were on the Appropriations. Comm., and Jim said that he thought it could be expected that Jennifer Cano would be doing that work.

As for which Senator on that Comm. might be of most help, Jim thought that Leahy (VT) would be very helpful, and that he probably shared Alan Cranston’s views.

Further conversation regarded the legislative process with such things, and what role independent civic groups like ETAN might have. Jim told us about the compromise process which went on in the Sen. Foreign Affairs Committee and generally, by which legislation underwent a moderating, trimming process even before introduced, and of course during committee treatment and possibly, though not usually, later on ‘the floor.’ Bills were often given in written proposal form by outside groups, and then reviewed and worked over by legislative staffers.

Visitors emphasized the U.S. role in Indonesia as both an opportunity to have a helpful role on behavior in E. Timor, and as a reason why a body like the Senate might be constrained from making much of that opportunity. The picture which emerged clearly from the visit, and was confirmed by Jim in discussion, is that the compromise position worked out in the committees would be a better one to the extent that the Senators perceived a shift of interests on the issue. The work of groups like ETAN could thus have an influence on the legislative outcomes, both through work with staff and in visits like the one we had conducted, and through our work on news media and public opinion.

#### PLEASE NOTE THIS FOR SPECIFIC ACTION:

Jim was eager to have us transmit at the earliest possible time the text of material which was to be or has been introduced in the House Appropriations Comm. on the subject of Indonesia/Timor and Aid. He suggested Jennifer Cano in Sen. Cranston’s D.C. office as the person to send it to. He said this would enable the staff to get their work with other Senators’ staffs going in specific wording terms much earlier than if they had to wait till something was nearing the end of its process in the House (appropriations actions constitutionally have to be done in the House first).

We requested that Jim ask Sen. Cranston to write an opinion-editorial piece on the subject for submission to California newspapers like the L.A. Times, and Jim said that he could offer no assurance that Alan would choose to spend time preparing something which might not be published, in view of the many things he is doing these last few months in office.

The visitors left the meeting feeling heard, and feeling believed, confident that the visit had improved the level of knowl-

edge Jim had, and that our visit would be reported. We had a few specific things to do in order to bring the issue again to Jim and Senator Cranston, and to the legislative process.

We also felt our energy and our way of prioritizing the issue could not be matched even by generally sympathetic people in positions related to the Senate. The Senate is the place of the oil considerations too, of the natural gas considerations, of considerations on the geopolitical alliance system of the U.S. During our talk Jim had manifested some puzzlement at why the recent administrations have been so weak on the human rights aspect, acting to favor and support repression, and thus in his opinion, against the interests of the United States. We suggested that there were various and contradictory interests of the United States, including interests that cared for resource extraction with little or no regard for human rights.

Personal comment of Joe Maizlish on ultimate impression from the visit, though it was a reinforcement of the views with which I entered: Our job, as ETANers and in our other work, is to change the priorities, to lead to a growing and greater weight in the balance for human rights and sustainable use of resources. This we do as political / environmental / cultural activists through political education, through lifestyle / consumption / boycott changes here in the U.S., through projects to make real to people in the U.S. the lives and fates of the Timorese and other people under attack – and the list is open.

– Joe Maizlish

#### ADDITIONAL COMMENTS FROM MATTHEW JARDINE:

In terms of the details of our visit, I really don’t have much to add to Joe M’s very thorough report. I do, however, have some very general comments.

On the positive side, we have established a contact with someone in an influential Senator’s office. My impression is that Jim K. found our presentation on East Timor to be credible and is sympathetic to both our perspective and our goals. I am confident that our concerns will be transmitted to His Majesty in D.C.

On the other hand, I must say that, overall, I felt frustrated when we departed from Cranston’s office. Despite Jim’s “we’re with you all the way,” it is clear, by his very actions (or lack thereof) that Cranston et al. don’t share our sense of outrage regarding Indonesian barbarity in East Timor.

On top of that, we have very different world views and this, of course, informs analyses of the problem(s) and the type of solutions and actions in terms of what we advocate. An example: Jim K., in trying to tell us some of the positive things in terms of human rights that are going on in the world, announced to us that Cranston is

jumping on board with Gorbachev to form some sort of international peace and human rights think tank; some of the other visionaries that have signed on include the president of IBM and international war criminal George Schultz! - not exactly an earth-shattering development. Nevertheless, this was one of Jim's examples of how Cranston is on our team.

Jim's frequent mentioning of the need to "compromise" in a "democracy" (and therefore take a cautious and step by step approach in trying to cut off aid to Indonesia) got tired after a while. Maybe we should suggest that the Indonesian Government cut their killing rate in half...

We departed from Cranston's office on friendly terms after having given Jim some articles on East Timor and some ETAN/LA press releases. While the visit served some obvious good simply in terms of setting up channels of communication, it reinforced my cynical (or realistic?) view of the pathetic nature of the U.S. political system. Nevertheless, legislative outreach needs to be an important component of ETAN's overall strategy.

Overall, the visit concretized my view of how difficult the task at hand is and will continue to be. ETAN needs to develop a variety of empowering strategies that will force the powers that be to reckon with our agenda and not simply pay lip service to human rights while, at the same time, sending checks and hardware to vicious murderers such as Suharto and company. (I don't mean to be preachy - I know that you're all aware of this.)

To close on a positive note, I very much enjoyed spending time with Joe M. working on this important issue. It's very important for us to know that there are many others concerned with and working on issues of peace and justice. I remain optimistic that time is on our side.

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### **HARVARD PROGRAM — MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR: A CASE STUDY IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**

Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government present an ARGO Forum event with Larry Dinger, US State Department Indonesia Desk Officer; Benedict Anderson, Aaron L. Binenkorb Professor of International Studies, Cornell University; Allan Nairn, *New Yorker* Magazine / Massacre survivor; Amy Goodman, Pacifica Radio news editor / Massacre survivor; Noam Chomsky, Institute Professor, MIT. Moderated by Henry Steiner, Director of Human Rights Program, Harvard Law. Smuggled video tape of the massacre will be shown. Portuguese Embassy Officials will be in attendance.

Tuesday, April 21, 1992, 8:15 p.m.  
Institute of Politics, 79 JFK Street,

Cambridge MA 02138. Free and open to the public.

Co-sponsored by: Harvard Radcliffe Undergraduate Council, Asian American Association, Harvard College Democrats, Radcliffe Union of Students, Democratic Socialists of America, Harvard Filipino Forum, Anthropology Club, Harvard Chapter of Amnesty International, East Timor Action Network/ Rhode Island, Portuguese American, Portuguese Continental Union, Human Rights Program at Harvard Law School.

### **REPORTS ON HARVARD FORUM:**

Excellent forum. About 500 people. Ben Anderson talked about the prospects for East Timor in very optimistic terms, analyzing army responses and reaction in Indonesia to it. Larry Dinger (state dept.) read Kenneth Quinn's testimony. Chomsky followed. Dinger looked foolish. Audience including me, grilled him. Questions were cut off due to "lack of time" after three questions. I think we were purposely cut off. Dinger stayed around and was supremely hassled by a lot of students and others! It was good. I think I may have convinced him that this issue wouldn't die and if Indonesia didn't want this to be the sole focus of international attention on their country they'd better address it.

— Loren Ryter

A this time I am going to try to report what happened in a debate on Timor that took place yesterday, the 21st. The opinions expressed are the exclusive responsibility of this reporter.

In the first place, I was utterly astonished by the number of people (more than 200) who crowded in to watch the debate.

After showing clips from the CBS Evening News, with pictures of the massacre, and a brief historical introduction, the two journalists present at the massacre gave accounts of the events, and of the contribution of the U.S. to the massacre. Later, an unfortunate representative of the U.S. State Department addressed the assembly, trying to defend American diplomacy. His intervention was completely devoid of any sense, and the argumentation used was the most idiotic imaginable. I don't even think the Indonesians would have been convinced by it.

Finally, Prof. Chomsky (in my view, by far the best of the participants) gave North American politics a brave thrashing.

But the best of the evening was yet to come. A representative of our (Portuguese) Embassy in Washington got up at this point to make a brief intervention. But Mr. So-and-So (1) did not know how to speak fluent English, and (2) in spite of this, decided to make a series of impromptu remarks. He nearly destroyed the whole debate, which up until then had been very interesting and had captivated everyone present. After all,

and despite my indignation at the sorry figure of our illustrious diplomat, I concluded by acknowledging that here was a typical example which perfectly illustrates the negligent and detached way in which our beloved government continues to deal with Timor.

In the discussion period, nearly everyone jumped on the State Department representative who, in each of his turns, sunk further into ridicule.

Curiously, on the way out, I had occasion to observe that our Washington diplomat was engaged in an informal and affable chat with the man from the State Department (going into the arrangements for a dinner in Washington on a date to be agreed upon!), but that he did not do the same with any of the other members of the panel.

The moral of the story: as long as we continue to have the hypocritical diplomats and politicians that we have, Indonesia will certainly continue in Timor; if you want to organize a debate about Timor, avoid inviting representatives of Portuguese diplomacy.

— Pedro Saraiva

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### **SEATTLE PROGRAM — EAST TIMOR: A TEST OF CONSCIENCE**

Presented by the Seattle Coalition for Human Rights in East Timor and Amnesty International.

Thursday, April 23, 7 p.m. 205 Smith Hall, University of Washington (Seattle)

Eyewitness video and discussion on the massacre of the East Timorese moderated by Daniel Lev, Professor of Southeast Asia Studies, Political Science Dept., University of Washington.

For more information contact: Jose F Magalhaes, email: ze@milton.u.washington.edu (206) 525-4056

### **REPORT:**

A little more than 100 people attended the conference (in the beginning we counted 98, but some people joined later). I believe this can be considered a success. The majority was in some way related to the University of Washington (students and professors). I would explain this based on an aggressive publicity effort (we spent some money announcing it in the student paper, we contacted a lot of people through mail, email and telephone) and also on the fact that Prof. Dan Lev announced the event to his students and colleagues. Unfortunately we were not able to gain the attention of the regular press.

The conference started with a short introduction by a member of the Amnesty International, followed by an historical perspective by a Portuguese graduate student, Ana Barros, covering the period from the

middle of the sixteenth century to 1974. The emphasis was that not only before but also during the Portuguese colonial rule the East Timorese were a distinct cultural group. My intervention was short and centered on the feelings of Portuguese today. I finished reading a letter sent to me by young East Timorese supporting this conference when they heard about it. Prof. Lev followed, covering the period after 1974 to now. It was a remarkable speech. (I will forward to you soon the transcript, so that you can post it in Peace-net if you want). We watched the ITN tape, followed by the testimony of Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn at Cornell University. An interesting period of discussion followed.

What was surprising was the strong presence of Indonesian students. They had been contacted through the Indonesian Student Association and by Prof. Lev. The general impression was that they were surprised, outraged and confused. Some asked for a copy of the tape, others were afraid that further publicity would turn the American opinion against them, others could not understand that Portugal interest in this issue could be other than neo-colonialist and the fear of a communist East Timor was always brought up. I believe it is very important to work closely with this group. However I am aware that although their curiosity is strong, the fear of their own government repression if they engage in any kind of political/human rights activity is stronger (one of the Indonesian students that asked a lot of questions during the discussion period was afraid that the recording of this conference fall in the wrong hands).

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### TIMOR MEETING IN BERKELEY, CA:

From: Henry Gunawan  
<henryg@garnet.berkeley.EDU>

There will be a discussion on Timor Timur at UC Berkeley campus next week. It will be conducted on Tuesday, April 28, 7:00 p.m. at 105 Northgate Hall, near Hearst and Euclid. The presentation will include a talk by two UC Berkeley students who recently returned from Timor. They will also show two videos, one showing footage of the Nov. 12 massacre.

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### NYC PUBLIC FORUM TO MARK SIX MONTHS AFTER EAST TIMOR MASSACRE

From ETAN/U.S. April 16, 1992

A public meeting entitled Witness to Struggle: Massacre in East Timor will be organized by the New York branch of the East Timor Action Network (ETAN/US) on Tuesday, May 12, 1992, at 7:00 p.m. The program will take place in the chapel of St.

Bartholomew's Church, Park Avenue at 50th Street, Manhattan. The public is invited to attend, and a \$5.00 donation is suggested.

The panel will include:

- José Ramos Horta, spokesman for the National Council of Maubere Resistance, the principal coalition of Timorese nationalist groups.
- Right Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., retired Episcopal Bishop of New York, who visited East Timor in 1990 and has spoken widely on the human rights situation there.
- Amy Goodman, News Director of WBAL/Pacifica Radio, has been in East Timor twice and was severely beaten during the November 12, 1991 massacre.
- Allan Nairn, correspondent for the New Yorker magazine, had his skull fractured by the Indonesian army on November 12, 1991 in East Timor on his second visit.
- Lorne Rider, Brown University student who went on the February 1992 Peace Boat to East Timor.
- Anthony Pereira, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the New School for Social Research, will moderate the program.

In addition to the above, representatives of the Indonesian and Portuguese governments have been invited, as well as several Congresspeople and United Nations Ambassadors.

The event marks the half-year anniversary of the massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, where the Indonesian army methodically fired its U.S.-supplied M-16's into a peaceful, unarmed, memorial procession. They killed over 150 people, adding to the over 200,000 East Timorese who have been killed by the Indonesian military since they invaded the tiny half-island in 1975. The U.S. continues to provide weapons, military training, economic aid, and diplomatic support for the Indonesian military regime.

The East Timor Action Network/U.S. was formed last December following the Santa Cruz massacre. It has chapters in a number of U.S. cities, and has organized several public meetings and demonstrations, as well as educational and lobbying information. The May 12 event is ETAN's first public program in New York City.

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### PLEASE CALL NIGHTLINE ABOUT TIMOR

From Richard Koch, ETAN/US

José Ramos Horta, the external representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, a coalition of Timorese groups, will be in the US from May 7 to May 17. Please call Nightline and demand

that they put him on the air. Info for Nightline is as follows:

"Nightline," ABC News, 47 W. 66th Street, New York, NY 10023.

212-456-7777, fax 212-456-2795.

"Nightline," Ted Koppel, ABC News, 1717 DeSales NW, Washington, DC 20036. 212-887-4995, 202/887-7364 (Koppel), 202-887-7364 (Jeff Greenfield), 202-887-4995 (Jacqueline Judd), 202-887-7360 (Forrest Sawyer), 212-887-4995 (senior producer Mark Nelson).

Here is my letter to Nightline. If you think it's good you can use it to write your own letters.

Matt Cheselka  
Tucson, Arizona  
1 May 1992

Dear Sirs,

I am writing you today to strongly request that you consider inviting José Ramos Horta to be on your show, *Nightline*.

I am a member of a rapidly growing national network and coalition called the East Timor Action Network - US (ETAN/US). Enclosed in this letter is a congressional action fact sheet that very briefly describes the situation in East Timor and also what the US congress has (or has not) been doing about it and what citizens of the United States should do about it. We in the ETAN are trying very hard to spread the word on what has been happening in East Timor since the Indonesian government's invasion on 7 December 1975. We feel very strongly that the United States and the International Community is purposely ignoring Timorese people's need for freedom and democracy.

The ETAN feels very strongly that what has been happening in East Timor since the invasion (including the massacre of 200,000 people since 1975) is unconscionable. The very sad thing is that there has been no strong or consistent outcry from the United States or really any nation, although many United Nations resolutions have been passed condemning the actions of the Indonesian government and military. It is clear, though, that the majority of the arms used by Indonesian troops are made and provided by the United States. The most recent event came on 12 November 1991 when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a large crowd of peaceful demonstrators in Dili with M-16 machine guns. 200 people were estimated to be killed. There has been no US or international response to this, although it is obvious that these kinds of actions by the Indonesian government is a blatant circumvention of International Law. In a time where there is supposedly a "New World Order" these terrible actions go unnoticed.

José Ramos Horta is an external representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, a coalition of Timorese groups. He will be in the US from May 7th to May 17th. Again I strongly request that

you ask him to come on your show and allow him to tell the American people about what has been happening in East Timor.

Sincerely,  
Matt Cheselka

## EAST TIMOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION FACT SHEET

By East Timor Action Network / U.S.

(This fact sheet is also available on a single sheet of paper.)

April 15, 1992

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia invaded the tiny half-island of East Timor on December 7, 1975, the day after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger left Jakarta. Many of the 200,000 Timorese (one-third of the populations) killed since died from the use of U.S.-supplied weapons.

Yet, in spite of numerous U.N. and Congressional resolutions, the U.S. administration continues to support and sell weapons to the Jakarta regime. In 1990 alone, more than \$200,000,000 worth of arms deliveries from the U.S. to Indonesia was allowed by Congress. In the wake of the November 12, 1991 massacre, when U.S.-supplied M-16's were used to slaughter over 100 unarmed civilians in a memorial procession, the Administration proposes to increase military training for the murderous Indonesian Army.

The U.S. government has supported the Suharto regime militarily and financially since the army killed at least a half million suspected leftists after taking power in 1965. Washington was grateful for the overthrow of the actively non-aligned President Sukarno – the escalating war in Vietnam was keeping Lyndon Johnson busy enough in Southeast Asia. This support continues 27 years later.

The East Timor Action Network/U.S. hopes this guide will give you some ideas about how to reduce the U.S. government's and our individual complicity in Indonesia's ongoing genocidal occupation of East Timor. We do not necessarily endorse all the suggestions below, but offer them in the spirit of casting a wide net. We welcome your feedback, suggestions, and contributions.

### WHAT TO ASK FOR WHEN TALKING AND WRITING TO SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

Here are some ways the U.S. government could improve human rights and advance self-determination for East Timor, as well as the likely arguments against each action.

- **Security Assistance:** Indonesia receives \$1.8 million a year from the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. The Pentagon wants to increase

this to \$2.3 million for 1992. Congress is currently considering foreign aid appropriations. Ask that IMET be terminated. The amount of money is small but it sends a message. IMET supporters claim that it professionalizes security forces to improve their respect for human rights, but there is little evidence that it has ever had this effect anywhere. In El Salvador, army units that received US military training were responsible for well-documented massacres. Political killings in El Salvador were reduced (not eliminated) only after Congress was on the verge of cutting off military aid.

- **Bilateral Economic Assistance:** Indonesia currently receives approximately \$50 million in economic assistance. Many in the East Timor Action Network want this to stop. This could be criticized as hurting the poor in Indonesia, but we feel that most US economic assistance programs do little to benefit those most in need, and sometimes make them worse off (see for example Food First by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins). One approach is to ask for the cutoff of all economic assistance that does not serve genuine humanitarian purposes (this could potentially be used as a loophole). Economic isolation of South Africa was effective in pushing the minority government toward ending apartheid.
- **Arms Sales.** Under the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program, the US government acts as broker and banker between a foreign government and an arms exporter. In 1990 FMS deliveries to Indonesia were \$233,154,000. Pentagon sources expected FMS sales of \$30-45 million in 1991. A sale of \$500 million for surveillance planes has been approved by the US government but was postponed because Indonesia did not have the necessary funds. Other commercial arms sales must be licensed. 1990 commercial arms sales to Indonesia were worth \$15,219,000. US arms sales have been very important for Indonesia. OB-10 Bronco counter-insurgency aircraft from the US were essential to many deaths in East Timor. Ask that all arms sales be prohibited.
- **Multilateral Economic Assistance.** The Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), a coordinating body of government donors and multilateral development agencies pledged \$4.75 billion in economic assistance to Indonesia for 1992. Although most of this money comes from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and Japan, the U.S. promised \$113 million directly. Indonesia recently called for the dissolution of the IGGI, which had been chaired by the Netherlands, and re-

quested that it be replaced by a new body chaired by the World Bank. Indonesia accused the Netherlands of using development assistance as "a tool for threatening Indonesia" after the Netherlands placed some limits on aid following the November 12 massacre. Aid from the World Bank and Asian Development Bank continues. The US government could oppose multilateral assistance since it participates in the decision making. Calls for cutting off this aid are susceptible to the same kinds of criticisms discussed previously for economic assistance.

- **U.S. trade with Indonesia.** Indonesia receives preferential duties under the Generalized System of Preferences. These preferences could be suspended. Congress could also impose punitive duties or embargo trade. The US government also helps to provide financing for trade through the Export-Import Bank. These limited economic sanctions are susceptible to the same criticisms mentioned previously.
- **Support for Action at the United Nations.** In the most recent session of the UN Human Rights Commission, the US government and others successfully lobbied Portugal to withdraw a proposed resolution; in its place the Human Rights Commission made a consensus declaration, a weaker action. Congresspeople could request to President Bush that the United States sponsor and support resolutions in the UN Security Council, General Assembly and Human Rights Commission.
- **Prisoner Appeals.** Several Timorese are being placed on trial, some for subversion, for which they could face the death penalty. Hundreds of others are arrested and held for weeks without charges, or forced to undergo political indoctrination. Congresspeople could send appeals for release of the prisoners to President Suharto. Amnesty International publishes frequent alerts on Timorese political prisoners.

### RECENT ACTIONS TAKEN BY CONGRESS

In November 1991, the House and Senate each passed non-binding resolutions which urged Indonesia and President Bush to promote the resolution of the problem in East Timor. Senator Malcolm Wallop (R-WY) initiated a letter to President Bush (signed by 52 Senators) asking him to seek diplomatic opportunities to help achieve East Timorese self-determination.

On February 4, Representatives Frank Wolf (D-VA) and Tony Hall (D-OH) warned that Congress may cut off US aid and trade benefits to Indonesia if human rights abuses in East Timor do not cease. At a public forum at Brown University on

March 13 Rep. Ronald Machtley (R-RI) promised to introduce legislation to suspend all aid to Indonesia, and Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA) committed himself to see that similar legislation would be introduced.

Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, held hearings on East Timor on February 27 and March 6. On March 13, his office said that the Senator supports a requirement in the proposed foreign appropriations bill preventing IMET funds from being released until President Bush certifies that IMET will improve human rights in Indonesia. On March 16 Senator Pell supported provisions in the foreign appropriations bill requiring the President to notify Congress of any money to be spent in Indonesia.

### **SPECIFIC PENDING EAST TIMOR LEGISLATION**

As of mid-April, no new bills have been introduced to require that any of these actions be taken. Until bills are introduced, we need to ask Senators and Representatives to introduce them. Rep. Tony Hall and others are expected to act soon; if your Senator or Representative is interested they could speak to him. Senators and Representatives should be asked to cosponsor bills. Also ask that the foreign aid appropriation for Indonesia be reduced or eliminated. Congress did not pass a complete foreign aid bill this year, but adopted a stopgap measure to provide funding until October. There will be additional debate on foreign aid later this year.

### **RELEVANT LAWS ALREADY ON THE BOOKS**

- Foreign Assistance Act, Section 502B prohibits US security assistance to countries which violate human rights.
- Foreign Assistance Act, Section 116 prohibits economic aid on human rights grounds "unless such assistance will directly benefit the needy people in such country."
- International Financial Institutions Act, Section 701, requires US representatives to multilateral development banks to vote against loans of the banks on human rights grounds.
- International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act, prohibits commercial arms sales on human rights grounds.

All provisions apply to countries with a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights. Some of these have exceptions, e.g. the President can certify that there are "exceptional circumstances" that justify aid despite a poor human rights record, or that there have been "significant improvements" in a country's human rights record.

The US State Department claims that human rights conditions in East Timor have

been improving since the November 12 massacre. These claims are contradicted by reports from Amnesty International, Asia Watch, and every other credible source. The new military commander there has vowed to end all demonstrations, foreign journalists have again been excluded, and the Timorese people live in a renewed state of terror. The State Department frequently refuses to enforce human rights provisions. Congress has sometimes passed legislation specific to a particular country to accomplish similar objectives. This type of legislation has been more likely to be enforced, although it still encounters many of the same problems.

This legislation applies only to human rights abuses. ETAN not only wants respect for human rights, but also self-determination for the people of East Timor.

### **INTERNATIONAL LAW**

The Indonesian invasion of East Timor blatantly violated the United Nations Charter. The UN Security Council and General Assembly have passed many resolutions (still outstanding) calling for Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor. Respect for human rights is required by international human rights agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

### **KEY CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEES**

Although you should always approach your own Senators and Representative, there are key subcommittees whose members are especially important. All Senators can be written to at U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. Representatives are at U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. You can phone any of them by calling the Capitol switchboard at (202)224-3121. In each listing in the next column, Democrats in the first list for each committee, followed by Republicans. The Chair and Ranking Members of each subcommittee are listed first.

#### **Senate Foreign Relations - East Asian and Pacific Affairs**

Alan Cranston (CA), Joseph Biden (DE), Christopher Dodd (CT), John Kerry (MA), Charles Robb (VA)

Frank Murkowski (AK), Richard Lugar (IN), Mitch McConnell (KY), Hank Brown (CO)

#### **Senate Appropriations - Foreign Operations (foreign aid appropriations),**

Patrick Leahy (VT), Daniel Inouye (HI), J. Bennett Johnston (LA), Dennis DeConcini (AZ), Frank Lautenberg (NJ), Tom Harkin (IA), Barbara Mikulski (MD)

Robert Kasten (WI), Mark Hatfield (OR), Alfonse D'Amato (NY), Warren Rudman (NH), Arlen Specter (PA), Don Nickles (OK)

#### **House Foreign Affairs - Asian and Pacific Affairs**

Stephen Solarz (NY), Tom Lantos (CA), Robert Torricelli (NJ), Gary Ackerman (NY), Thomas Foglietta (PA)

Jim Leach (IA), Robert Lagomarsino (CA), Toby Roth (WI)

#### **House Foreign Affairs - Human Rights and International Organizations**

Gus Yatron (PA), Wayne Owens (UT), Ted Weiss (NY), Eliot Engel (NY), Gerry Studds (MA), Frank McCloskey (IN)

Doug Bereuter (NE), Christopher Smith (NJ), Henry Hyde (IL), Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (FL)

#### **House Appropriations - Foreign Operations**

David Obey (WI), Sidney Yates (IL), Matthew McHugh (NY), William Lehman (FL), Charles Wilson (TX), Ronald Coleman (TX), Lawrence Smith (FL)

Mickey Edwards (OK), John Porter (IL), Bill Green (NY), Bob Livingston (LA)

East Timor Action Network/U.S.

PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.  
tel:(914)428-7299 fax:(914)428-7383  
email:cscheiner@igc.org

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## **NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR TO INDONESIA**

AP, Columbus Ohio, April 30 - President Bush said Thursday he will nominate Robert L. Barry, a career diplomat, to be ambassador to Indonesia.

Since 1989, Barry has been special adviser for East European assistance to Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. If confirmed by the Senate, Barry would succeed John Cameron Monjo.

The nomination was announced by Bush during a trip here for a speech and appearance at a GOP fund-raiser.

*A tad of info on Robert Barry. He is former US Ambassador to Bulgaria. His current job is Special Advisor for East European Assistance to Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger. Barry's office is in the State Department on the 7th floor (where the big wheels turn). His direct line is 202-647-0695.*

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## **PELL, BOREN, CHENEY VISIT INDONESIA; SENATORS REFUSED ENTRY TO EAST TIMOR**

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### **HIGH LEVEL OFFICIAL U.S. VISITS**

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, April 19 - Senior U.S. senators heading the

foreign relations and intelligence committees are due to arrive in Jakarta this week ahead of Defense Secretary Dick Cheney to assess the mood of the country as it approaches two crucial elections, diplomatic sources said on Sunday.

They will be preceded by Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, who picked Indonesia for his first trip abroad in his new job.

The sources said Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and David Boren, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, will arrive on Thursday, and Cheney at the end of April or start of May.

Cheney will be on the second leg of a tour that also takes him to Singapore and Australia, the sources said.

The U.S. embassy would not confirm the visits of the defence secretary or Pell and Boren.

Juwono Sudarsono, a prominent political analyst and professor at the University of Indonesia, said international attention was turning to Indonesia because of the parliamentary elections on June 9 and the presidential polls next March.

"We realise we are being watched by both the Americans and the Australians," he said.

Sudarsono said regional security would be a focus of the visitors from the United States and Australia.

The gradual withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Philippines and the setting up of a logistics unit in Singapore to handle U.S. navy ships are expected to figure high during Cheney's visit, the diplomatic sources said.

President Suharto, 71, is expected to seek another five year term and pick a vice-president who could be his successor when he retires.

Diplomats express concern over the transition and expectations of a powerful military that will insist on its own candidate succeeding Suharto, himself a general when he took power after crushing a 1965 communist coup that forced out president Sukarno.

"We have to assess the situation because it is the major power in the region and located beside some of the busiest sealanes," said a diplomat about the world's fourth most populous country.

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### REQUEST FROM U.S. SENATORS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR REJECTED

Jakarta, April 21 Kyodo - Indonesia has rejected a request from two U.S. senators to visit East Timor, where at least 50 pro-independence civilians were killed by government troops last November, State Secretary Murdiono said Tuesday.

Murdiono told reporters that Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and David Boren,

chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, were due to arrive here Thursday.

The two senators wanted to visit East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which was formally annexed by Indonesia in 1977.

Jakarta's official panel of inquiry said 50 Timorese civilians died and 90 were missing after soldiers fired on a crowd of mourners at a cemetery in the capital of Dili.

Private estimates, however, put the death toll in the incident at more than 100.

Murdiono said he informed the senators that East Timorese should not be agitated for the sake of the territory's development.

"To be direct, we do not accept" the request for such a visit, Murdiono said.

The state secretary said the government is considering allowing the two senators to meet with President Suharto.

Murdiono also said U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney will come to Indonesia and meet with Suharto in the near future. Diplomatic sources here said Cheney will arrive at the end of this month or in early May.

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UPI, Jakarta, April 21 - Indonesia Tuesday rejected a request by two U.S. senators to visit the country's troubled East Timor province, where some 50 pro-independence sympathizers were gunned down by state troops in November.

"If it's not necessary, why visit East Timor? Let the East Timorese people live in peace," said state secretary Murdiono.

Murdiono declined to explain further why the senators could not travel to the province.

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Reuter, Jakarta, April 21 - Indonesia said on Tuesday it had turned down a request from two senior U.S. senators to visit East Timor, where troops killed scores of civilians last November.

"It is unnecessary. Why visit East Timor? Let the people of East Timor remain calm and carry on with developing (their territory). They should not be disturbed," State Secretary Murdiono said.

Murdiono named only Pell but said another senator was accompanying him. A Western diplomatic source said the other senator was Boren.

The source said Pell had asked to visit East Timor, which was annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers.

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### ALATAS DISPARAGES SENATOR PELL

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, April 22 - Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Wednesday Indonesia's decision to bar two influential U.S. senators from East Timor, scene of an army massacre last

November, would not strain relations with Washington.

Claiborne Pell, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and David Boren, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, arrive on Thursday but a request to visit East Timor has been turned down.

The senators wanted to assess the situation after the massacre, diplomatic sources said.

"We look at the whole situation and we think that at this time it is not opportune to visit East Timor," Alatas told Reuters.

Alatas said Pell had already attacked Indonesia in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee over the shooting. He said this had not affected relations so there was no reason why the decision to exclude him from East Timor should.

"He made very disparaging remarks about Indonesia. We understand that it is part of the democratic system. But that does not mean U.S. relations with Indonesia will go down," he said.

Diplomats said Indonesia's relationship with the United States was on a firm footing. The country's dominance in Southeast Asia and its commitment to a free-market economy were respected.

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### TIMOR MARS INDONESIA - U.S. TIES

Reuter, Jakarta, Muklis Ali, April 23 - Two influential U.S. senators, barred by Indonesia from visiting East Timor to assess the situation after an army massacre there, said on Thursday that the issue was marring relations between the two countries.

Claiborne Pell, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and David Boren, head of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, arrived in Jakarta on Wednesday on a four-day trip.

"The generally good relationship that we have had with Indonesia is marred by the East Timor situation. We discussed this very frankly and very fully," Pell told reporters after meeting President Suharto.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told Reuters on Wednesday that Indonesia's decision to bar the senators from East Timor would not strain relations with Washington.

Diplomats in Jakarta agreed with Alatas' assessment. They said Indonesia's relationship with the United States was on a firm footing. Washington acknowledged Indonesia's dominance in southeast Asia and its commitment to a free-market economy, they added.

Pell said he had unsuccessfully sought from the president a plebiscite on East Timor.

"If you got to carry self determination to its conclusion, there should be some sort of plebiscite or general election in East Timor," he added.

The senators said they were told it was not an appropriate time to visit East Timor, which was annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after the departure of its Portuguese rulers.

A commission set up by Jakarta said 50 people were killed in the November 12 shooting, but witnesses put the death toll up to 180.

Boren said the commission's report and the government's subsequent punishment of the guilty from the military was an important first step towards reconciliation between Jakarta and the people of East Timor.

But he added: "We didn't come here to try to tell this government how to conduct itself, but to express the very strong concern of the American people that the people of East Timor will have a full opportunity to decide for themselves."

He urged Jakarta to work out a mechanism for a permanent solution that would avoid repetition of the November violence.

"We did share our honest thoughts with the president that this matter (East Timor) is not yet solved...that there is still very serious problems there.

"It was said in, I stress, friendship and mutual respect."

Boren also said the United States did not want to be solely responsible for ensuring peace around the world.

"That is certainly not our intention. We have provided protection for a long time at a very high cost...this has burdened us," Boren said, adding that the United Nations was a one world body that could now do the job.

Pell agreed, saying: "We have no desire to be the gendarmes of the world."

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### SENATOR PELL CALLS FOR PLEBISCITE

*Jakarta Post. 25 April 1992. Slightly abridged.*

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell plebiscite in East Timor during his meeting on Thursday with President Suharto, the US embassy said yesterday.

According to Senator Pell, the President raised the subject of self-determination himself as a general principle at the beginning of their conversation at the Bina Graha meeting. "And I sought to see that translated into a plebiscite on self-determination in East Timor," he added.

The US embassy was quoting transcripts of Pell's talk to reporters after Thursday's meeting. Apparently the local media only quoted parts of his statement.

Pell said he did not think the President agreed with that thought, but "if we are going to carry self-determination to conclusion, that would mean there should be some sort of plebiscite or general election in East Timor."

Senator Pell was also quoted by the embassy as saying he was concerned that trials

of East Timorese alleged to be involved in November's demonstration had begun, while none of the military personnel who shot civilians had yet been named, let alone tried. *[Paragraph re massacre omitted.]*

Pell also said he remained deeply disturbed by reports of human rights abuses in the province.

According to Senator Pell, the President suggested that he and Senator David Boren, who was with him at the meeting, go and see them for themselves. "I pointed out that we would like to go to East Timor to really see for themselves (sic) but that permission was not granted."

He also said he thought the situation in the province should be settled so that normal relations could be resumed between Indonesia and Portugal.

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### SENATOR PELL'S VISIT, A P.R. DISASTER

*Jakarta Post. 23, 24, 25 and 27 April 1992. TAPOL summarising four news reports.*

The Indonesian government has got itself in a twist about what happened when Senator Claiborne Pell, chair of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and Senator David Boren, chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, met President Suharto last week.

The two senators had been denied permission to visit East Timor during a visit to Indonesia. State Secretary Moerdiono explained the refusal: "The East Timorese should be left in peace. The senators had wanted to go there but I said let the East Timorese develop themselves without any interference. We did not agree with the plan." *[Jakarta Post, 23 April]*

The next day, JP reported, under a banner headline, "Reconciliation sought for East Timor," after the senators had met President Suharto, that they had urged Indonesia to continue the process of reconciliation in East Timor. The paper quoted Senator Pell as saying the relations between Indonesia and the US were gradually returning to normal due to the improvement in the situation in East Timor. Asked what kind of reconciliation he had in mind, Pell said the situation should be approached with a peaceful and wise leadership. "And I believe President Suharto is very capable of doing such a thing as can be seen in the way he handled the Dili incident.... The initiative he has taken has won our respect. The implementation of human rights in Indonesia, I think, has been done well." *[Jakarta Post, 24 April]*

The next day, under the heading "Plebiscite suggested for East Timorese," JP put out what can only be described as a correction by the UN embassy. It said:

"plebiscite in East Timor during his meeting with President Suharto, the US embassy said yesterday. According to

Senator Pell, the President raised the subject of self-determination at the beginning of their conversation. "And I sought to see that translated into a plebiscite in East Timor," he added. The US embassy was quoting transcripts of Pell's talk to reporters after Thursday's meeting. Apparently the local media only quoted parts of his statement.

*Jakarta Post, 25 April. More details of this JP report were posted earlier under the title, "Senator Pell calls for plebiscite."*

Not to be outdone, Foreign Minister Alatas then refuted this report. Two days later, under the headline, "US senators did not suggest plebiscite for East Timor," JP reported Alatas as denying that two US senators suggested a plebiscite in East Timor during their meeting with President Suharto, though he admitted "they did bring up the subject of a plebiscite in East Timor" during the meeting. "It isn't true. East Timor was only discussed briefly during the meeting," Alatas said. Returning to the reasons for refusing the senators permission to visit East Timor, Alatas said that East Timor had been visited by the National Inquiry Team, the Military Honorary Council, the UN Secretary-General's special envoy and many diplomatic representatives. "Give them a chance to breathe... Let the situation calm down," Alatas told reporters, adding that despite diplomatic overtures concerning the Dili incident, there were still many groups abroad who would not accept any explanations whatsoever. *[Jakarta Post, 27 April]*

*It seems that the authorities succeeded in highlighting their own embarrassment about what Senator Pell really wants more effectively than if this misquoted senator had actually visited East Timor. Yet another public relations disaster, it seems.*

*To further 'clarify' the botched-up reporting of Senators Pell and Boren's meeting with President Suharto, Jakarta Post published a 'rectification' notice on 28 April, which reads:*

"In our front-page stories, 'US Senators did not suggest plebiscite for E. Timor: Alatas' yesterday and 'Plebiscite suggested for East Timorese' on Saturday, we erroneously attributed statements by Senator Claiborne Pell as coming from the US embassy. The written statements came in fact from the senator. We apologise for any inconvenience caused by this error."

*[Could this be the end of the matter?]*

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### CHENEY: NO U.S. BASES IN INDONESIA

AP, Jakarta, April 29 - Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney said today that the United States will not seek alternative mili-

tary bases in the region after completing its withdrawal from the Philippines this year.

"We do not require traditional military bases as in the past in order to carry out our responsibility for peace and stability," he told reporters after meeting with President Suharto.

But Cheney said the U.S. withdrawal from Philippine bases will not create a vacuum.

He said the United States hopes to continue discussion on the possibility of using repair facilities in Indonesia for U.S. vessels on a commercial basis. The Indonesian government has offered its shipyard facility in East Java for the repair of U.S. warships.

Cheney's visit was aimed at reassuring the regional countries of U.S. continued commitment to security and peace in Southeast Asia, he said. He visited Singapore before his arrival in Indonesia today.

Cheney was scheduled to leave for Australia on Thursday.

#### Reuter, Jakarta, April 29 - U.S.

Defence Secretary Dick Cheney promised on Wednesday that Washington would not desert its friends in Southeast Asia despite its withdrawal from military bases in the Philippines.

"One of the reasons for my trip is to reassure friends in the region that the United States remains firmly committed to continuing our interest in the security of Asia and the Pacific," he told reporters after meeting President Suharto.

Cheney, who arrived in Indonesia from Singapore, said the United States sought cooperative relationships and not new bases to replace the ones it left in the Philippines.

"We are confident that through a system of cooperative relationships with our friends around the world and in this region, and given the mobility of our forces, that we can continue to play a constructive role in supporting those interested in peace and security," Cheney said.

He did not give details of his talks with Indonesian leaders but said Jakarta and Washington were discussing U.S. use of Indonesian ports for ship repairs.

"We have in the past worked with Indonesian armed forces and are eager to continue to do that in the future," Cheney said after talks with leaders including Defence Minister Benny Murdani, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno.

A military spokesman said Indonesia had already offered docking facilities at Surabaya port in the east.

Cheney leaves Jakarta on Thursday morning to spend five days in Australia for the 50th anniversary of the Battle of the Coral Sea, a turning point in World War Two.

## AUSTRALIAN P.M. VISITS INDONESIA

### "SECRET" AUSSIE MINISTERIAL VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

*Jakarta Post. 31 March 1992. News brief, in full.*

*Who were they keeping the secret from? Presumably the Timorese who might have taken it into their heads to waylay the Australian dignitary as they did in January 1990 when the US ambassador visited Dili. - TAPOL*

Australia's Minister of Development Kevin J. Strada was on a four-day "secret" visit to East Timor last week to meet local officials and assess the province's economic potential.

Sources at the provincial office told The Jakarta Post yesterday Strada arrived at Dili on March 22 and left on March 26 without prior announcement to avoid publication.

Strada reportedly met officials at the local Investment Coordinating Board (Bappeda) and the Provincial Legislative Council (DPRD). He also visited Lautem and Baucau.

The sources said Strada who was accompanied by an Indonesian businessman, was assessing the possibility of economic cooperation between Australia and East Timor.

### INFIGHT'S OPEN LETTER TO KEATING

*Original document, abridged. Original language: English.*

ON 14 APRIL 1992, INFIGHT, THE INDONESIAN FRONT FOR THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, SENT AN OPEN LETTER TO AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER, PAUL KEATING, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO INDONESIA

This marks the first visit by an Australian Prime Minister to Indonesia since Bob Hawke's visit in 1983. The Prime Minister has stated that his visit is aimed to strengthen ties with Indonesia. Considering Australia's role in Cambodia, Infight is convinced that Australia will want to prove its commitment to peace in the region by playing a similarly positive role in the resolution of conflicts within Indonesia.

*[After itemising a long list of massacres since 1966 and stating that many Indonesians and East Timorese remain in detention for their political beliefs and pointing to other human rights abuses, the letter continues:]*

Despite hefty sums of aid, 80 percent of Indonesians still live below the poverty line, 89.23 per cent have no access to safe

drinking waters, 80 per cent of the labour force consist of people who never go to school and the infant mortality rate is as high as 89/1000, highlighting gross economic mismanagement, while corruption is rife at all levels of the bureaucracy and most notably at the highest levels of government.

Considering the above, INFIGHT calls on the Australia government,

1. To halt all military aid to and cooperation with Indonesia, in particular the supply of military equipment, joint defence exercises and the training of Indonesian officers in Indonesian defence colleges. Australia has claimed its foreign policy is based on realpolitik and pragmatism. Nevertheless, considering the broad opposition within Indonesia towards the military regime and the current international climate which is proving unfavourable to the continued survival of authoritarian and totalitarian governments, Australian government policies which support the present government could be interpreted as unwise opportunism. Considering that the Indonesian government does not reflect the will of the people, it would be much more realistic and pragmatic of the Australian government to pursue policies which ensure the realisation of human rights within Indonesia, in particular and of peace in the region as a whole.
2. Take advantage of the demise of IGGI, of which Australia is a member, to make its economic aid to and cooperative projects with Indonesia contingent on the fulfillment of certain conditions, in particular the release of all political prisoners, the realisation of freedom of the press and of association, and of the clear delineation between executive, judicial and legislative bodies. Only then can the Australian government be sure that its aid is not being directed towards development projects which only disadvantage the poorest sectors of society. In the current international climate which favours the realisation of human rights through international solidarity, Australia's decision not to link human rights with its economic cooperation with Indonesia, rather than reflect an 'independent and robust' role, only works to undermine the image of regional responsibility it showed in its role in the resolution of the Cambodian conflict.
3. Withdraw from the Timor Gap Treaty, revoke its recognition of the Indonesian government's illegal occupation of Timor, and call on the Indonesian government to withdraw its troops from East Timor, to allow the people of East Timor to realise their right to self-determination. In a recent speech to the Asia-Australia Foundation, Mr Keating said that Australia's attempts to forge new links with Asia will be based on the guiding



principles of nationhood, democracy, fairness and personal liberty. But what is the meaning in democracy and liberty as Australia's guiding principles if he does not grant the East Timorese the same right? The Prime Minister's noble speeches will remain hollow as long as Australia remains a party to the Timor Gap Treaty that has prompted its recognition of Indonesia's illegal occupation of the territory, an occupation which has witnessed the violation of Mr Keating's noble principles of nationhood, democracy and personal liberty.

*T. Ganda, Coordinator.*

## HOW TO ELIMINATE THE INDONESIAN 'THREAT'

*Green Left Weekly, April 14, Brian Martin*

Many people believe that Australian military forces are necessary to defend against an invasion from Indonesia. But there's a much better way to eliminate the alleged Indonesian military threat: support people's opposition to the Indonesian government.

In regional terms, the Australian military is a powerful force. The Defence Department assesses that there are no "credible" threats to Australia's security in the next 15 years. Indonesia, for example, simply does not have the naval capacity to mount a major invasion, nor the firepower to back it up.

It is convenient, then, that many members of the public believe that Indonesia does pose a serious threat. One hundred eighty million people, most of them packed onto one small island. Surely they are desperate to occupy those vast lands of the Australian outback!

The Defence Department does not encourage this sort of thinking, but others do. It is certainly convenient for those who argue for higher military outlays.

The irony is that the Australian government's policies increase the Indonesian military threat. Indonesia's government is dominated by the military. It stifles dissent and wages war on groups that continue to seek autonomy, most obviously in West Irian and East Timor.

The Australian government provides support for the Indonesian regime in many ways, of which three are most important. First is diplomatic recognition. Acceptance of the legitimacy of the Indonesian government and its policies provides immeasurable support for it internationally and internally. Second is failure to support opposition groups within Indonesia. Third is support for business links.

The Timor Gap Treaty brings together these three types of support. It legitimises the Indonesian government, denies the significance of the opposition in East Timor

and was concluded to promote the interests of industry.

There are a number of other ways in which the Australian government supports the Indonesian regime, such as providing military aid, but the three ways mentioned are crucial. Other groups are implicated in this support too, including Australian businesses, workers and tourists.

The result is a neat reinforcement of current policies. Support is given to Indonesian military rulers. Indonesia is thought to pose a military threat to Australia. Therefore, strong military forces are needed to defend against the threat. (An added bonus is that Australian military power can, if necessary, be used by Indonesian rulers to justify their own militarisation and repression.)

There have been many critics of this process, such as supporters of East Timorese independence and critics of Australian military spending. Most of the energy has gone towards criticising Australian government policy. Unfortunately, this is the area where progress is least likely, because trying to change government policy means becoming one lobby group among many, without any way of acting directly.

A more promising avenue is to support non-violent, democratic opposition groups within Indonesia. The long-term aim should be a bloodless collapse of the regime, such as occurred throughout Eastern Europe in 1989.

The weakest link in any dictatorship is the people themselves. Few Indonesians want to come to Australia to live. Few would want to be in the army if there were decent alternatives. The Indonesian people want most of all a chance to live in peace and security in their own land.

There are many actual and potential oppositions: religious groups, workers' groups, students, professionals, not to mention nationalist movements in East Timor and elsewhere. The challenge is to help these groups wage a struggle for non-violent overthrow of the Indonesian regime and its replacement by a democratic, participatory system.

Why a non-violent struggle? Non-violent methods - strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, sit-ins - are ones in which all people can participate, and provide the best opportunity for forging a truly popular movement. Repression against non-violent opponents undermines the legitimacy of the regime. Non-violent opposition has a much better chance of winning over members of the army, whereas guerilla struggle tends to unify the military. Given that the regime has the overwhelming military power, it makes most sense to undermine loyalty rather than fight violence with violence.

Of course, Australians are hardly in a position to criticise guerilla struggles against Indonesian repression. The Indonesian people must make their own decisions about methods of struggle. But if Australians

decide to intervene in another society, they are on much safer ground if they support only non-violent methods of struggle - namely the methods of struggle which should be considered acceptable in any free society. Let it be only the governments and corporations that supply training and technology for killing, maiming and repressing dissent.

What can be done to support democratic opposition within Indonesia? Quite a lot.

- Symbolic support for opposition groups: articles, petitions, letters.
- Visits to groups in Indonesia; sponsoring of trips by Indonesians.
- Circulation of information on non-violent methods of struggle, by mail, leaflets, computer networks and radio.
- Promotion of "ethical tourism:" encourage people to refuse to visit a dictatorship.
- Workers' action against trade with Indonesia, especially trade in weapons or other technology aiding the regime.
- Boycotts of Indonesian goods.
- Action against Australian companies that do business with Indonesia, especially businesses that help to maintain the regime.

If the Australian government were involved in a campaign to promote non-violent transition to democracy in Indonesia, things would be much simpler. Radio broadcasts could be set up and statements made in international forums. It is even possible to imagine production of cheap short-wave radios and their distribution throughout Indonesia by "tourists" or even drops by airplanes. An act of war? Not exactly. It would be an act of non-violent offence.

Setting up communications is of crucial importance. There are two reasons why the November massacre in Dili generated such outrage internationally. First, those killed and injured were involved in non-violent protest. Use of violence by the protesters would have provided a convenient justification for the action by Indonesian troops, which is why those justifying the massacre alleged that there was violence from the protesters.

The second reason the massacre created headlines is that there were credible witnesses present, including television footage. The greater the communications links, the greater the opportunity for internal dissent without repression.

Even without government support, a campaign to support non-violent opposition in Indonesia could be quite effective. It would also have important spin-offs in Australia. It would provide many people with skills and experience which could be used in struggles against repression and inequity in Australia. It would build powerful links with many Indonesians who, consequently, would be willing to support demo-

cratic struggles in Australia. Finally, it would provide a convincing alternative to that perennial justification for Australian military strength: the alleged threat from Indonesia.

At some stage, the present Indonesian regime will be toppled, and current opposition groups will provide the country's leaders. These people are greatly alienated by present Australian government policies of appeasing repression. How much more sensible it is to build their trust by adopting the principled position of supporting democrats and opposing dictators. Since the Australian government refuses to do this, the Australian people must do it on their own.

*Brian Martin teaches in science and technology studies at the University of Wollongong and is author of Uprooting War.*

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## OZ AID TO TIMOR

Reuter, Sydney, April 15 - Australia has said the issue of East Timor will be discussed when Prime Minister Keating meets Indonesia's President Suharto.

In Canberra, government officials said Australia plans a direct multi-million dollar aid programme to East Timor.

The officials, quoted by the Australian Associated Press, said Keating will next week sign an agreement with the Indonesian government for the first major project.

The project, to cost about Australian \$11.5 million (US\$8.7 million) over five years, will improve water supplies and sanitation for about 100,000 people living in and around Dili, the provincial capital.

Until now most Australian aid to East Timor has been channeled through United Nations agencies.

Keating's visit to Indonesia will be his first overseas trip since becoming prime minister in December.

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## OPEN LETTER TO THE AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER

EAST TIMOR INDEPENDENCE COMMITTEE in Sydney issued an open letter on 17th April, 1992 to the Australian Prime Minister on the eve of his planned visit to Indonesia on 21st April 1992.

Ms Ines Almeida, spokesperson for the East Timorese community released the text of a letter forwarded to the Australian Prime Minister on the eve of his planned visit to Indonesia.

"For 16 years, our people have been forced to leave our homeland in East Timor - our people are now scattered across the world in exile from our beloved Homeland.

"We call upon the Australian people who we helped in their hour of need (in reference to the 40,000 East Timorese who died during Japanese Operations against

Australian forces during WW II) to hear our plea and deliver our people from the brutal repression they live under."

Dear Prime Minister,

I write on behalf of the East Timorese community in Australia and in the knowledge that our communities scattered across the world are anxiously aware of your impending talks with the Indonesian leaders.

Our communities are becoming increasingly firm about the need for the Australian Government to take credible steps to deliver our people from the brutal repression they have lived under for more than 16 years.

We note from Senator Evans' (the Australian foreign minister) letter of 15th January 1992 to his caucus colleagues and the Foreign Affairs summary attached thereto that your Government intends to foster economic and administrative integration of East Timor within the Indonesian Republic. The recent announcement of a significant Australian aid package is clearly part of this design. We are saddened that you would commit Australia to a bilateral pacification program. Whilst we welcome Australian financial support for our people, any aid program should be independently administered by an accountable Non-Governmental body. To our knowledge, no formal discussions took place between your government and East Timorese representatives in Australia or Dili prior to your recent announced proposal to collaborate with the Indonesian Government in extending administrative and economic control over the illegally occupied East Timor territory.

Should you have any doubt as to how the aid package will be employed, we implore you to speak directly with the Bishop of Dili Carlos Belo. The repression of our people has worsened since the November 12 massacre and a greater tragedy is starting to unfold - detentions have increased and our people are being actively goaded by Indonesian authorities into further armed response. We have no doubt that the Indonesian Military Command will manufacture an incident to justify an all-out campaign.

We are dismayed that your Government recently joined with the Indonesian U.N. representative to delete the following paragraphs from a draft U.N. Commission for Human Rights Resolution on the Dili massacre sponsored by the 12 Member States of the European communities and supported by a number of other countries notably those in Africa ;

"Further concerned at the fact that this incident has occurred in the context of a deteriorating human rights situation in East Timor, including extra-judicial executions, arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment, disappearances and political imprisonment" ;

"Recalling relevant United Nations resolutions concerning East Timor" ;

"Encourages the Secretary General to continue his good offices as mandated by

the General Assembly resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982, with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor, with full respect for the legitimate interests and aspirations of the East Timorese, in line with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter."

Our people will continue to seek international support for the followings;

1) A peace conference on East Timor to be held under the UN auspices within six (6) months;

2) An internationally supervised act of self-determination within twelve (12) months;

3) The release of all East Timorese political prisoners held by the Indonesian authorities and the cessation of all political trials;

4) Referral of the East Timor situation to the United Nations Working Group on Enforced Disappearances, the Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions, the Special Rapporteur on Torture and the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention;

5) Access to East Timor by Human Rights organisations

6) Cessation of Australian-Indonesian Military cooperation and the detention and trial pursuant to Australia's obligations under the Genocide Act of 1949 by Australia of identified Indonesian Military personnel not holding diplomatic immunity who have participated in acts of genocide;

7) The identification and prosecution of other persons including Australian Officials and Ministers who may have aided or contributed to acts of genocide within the meaning of the Genocide Act 1949.

My people are determined to bring to trial all those guilty of direct or indirect involvement in acts of genocide against our people. More than 200,000 East Timorese have been killed or have disappeared since 1975. Your Government is currently using the same procedures with respect to incidents which are said to have occurred during WW II - we will demand equal justice when Australian archives are opened.

*Ines Almeida; 17 April 1992*

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## CHAMBERLAIN (KEATING): PEACE IN OUR TIME

Reuter, Sydney, April 19 - Prime Minister Paul Keating is unlikely to put at serious risk Australia's relationship with Indonesia when he visits Jakarta this week despite calls for a stronger stance on human rights, political analysts say.

Australia's leading non-government overseas aid agency on Sunday urged Keating to make human rights the focus of his first overseas trip as prime minister, starting on Tuesday.

But political analysts say that while the situation in East Timor in particular would come up during Keating's talks with President Suharto, Keating is unlikely to jeopardise Australia's overall relationship with its big northern neighbour.

Keating has made Australia's economic integration into Asia the cornerstone of his foreign policy and has said he will seek Indonesian support for a regular regional economic summit.

Indonesia is the second largest recipient of Australia's overseas aid after Papua New Guinea, receiving about \$A100 million (\$76 million) a year.

Austrade, Australia's trade promotion agency, has described Indonesia as "one of the brightest spots on Australia's economic horizon." In the two years from 1989, the value of Australian exports have doubled to A\$1.4 billion (\$1.06 million) and Indonesia is now Australia's ninth biggest export market.

Australian investment in Indonesia is worth A\$1 billion (\$760 million) and involves about 130 Australian companies.

But the Australian Council For Overseas Aid (ACFOA), coordinating body for 95 non-government aid groups, said Keating's views that human rights and overseas aid should not be linked were out of date and out of step with the rest of the donor community.

Keating told parliament earlier this year that aid and human rights were not linked and should not be, and that he would not link the two during his Indonesian visit.

"We totally reject Mr Keating's view that there is no link between aid and human rights," ACFOA executive director Russell Rollason said in a statement on Sunday.

He said Keating's views were widely reported in Indonesia and welcomed by the Indonesian government and military.

"But they caused considerable distress to many Indonesia community development agencies who've been working for years to promote respect for human rights, particularly in situations where large development projects such as dams, freeways, logging operations and industrialisation have resulted in wholesale abuse of people's rights," Rollason said.

"Mr Keating has given the impression that Australia does not care about the human rights of ordinary Indonesians or the need for equitable development in Indonesia," he said.

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## PM KEATING ATTACKED ON AID TO JAKARTA

*Sydney Morning Herald 20/4/92.*

Canberra – On the eve of his first visit to Indonesia, the Prime Minister has come under attack from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) for his refusal to link Australia's aid program to Indonesia's recent human rights abuses.

Mr Keating's view on human rights in Indonesia was "narrow, ill informed, out of date and out of step with the rest of the donor community," the executive director of the ACFOA, Mr Russell Rollason, said yesterday.

Mr Rollason said that Mr Keating's views on the separation of aid and human rights were widely reported in Indonesia and had caused "considerable distress" to Indonesia's community development agencies while giving comfort to the Government and military.

Late last month, in a response to a question by Opposition Leader Dr. Hewson, Mr Keating ruled out tying Australian aid to Indonesia to an improvement on human rights in East Timor.

Mr Keating, who is due to discuss human rights issues when he visits Indonesia this week (sic), said at the time that the issue of aid to Indonesia had not been linked to human rights before and it would not be now.

Unlike Austria, Canada and the Netherlands, which have withdrawn aid in a gesture of condemnation of the Dili massacre, the Australian Government has not sought to link its considerable aid program to human rights in East Timor.

The overseas aid lobby was responding to Mr Keating's signals that he would not dwell on human rights during his visit.

"Mr Keating has given the impression that Australia does not care about the human rights of ordinary Australians or the need for equitable development in Indonesia," Mr Rollason said.

The way in which overseas aid money was used inextricably linked to the well being of the Indonesian people and the two issues could not be separated, he said.

Mr Rollason criticised Mr Keating for planning to announce \$11 million in Australian funding for a water purification project in East Timor while apparently not planning to pressure the Indonesians into including the Timorese resistance in peace talks.

"Australia should be saying that true development requires human rights as well as monetary aid," Mr Rollason said.

"The Prime Minister should be equally concerned with human rights."

The water purification project in East Timor is part of an allocation of \$25-\$30 million in Australian aid to East Timor over the next five years, part of Australia's total aid allocation of \$114 million this year.

Indonesia is the second largest recipient of Australian aid after Papua New Guinea.

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## OZ STAKE IN INDONESIA

IPS, Sydney, April 20 - Prime Minister Paul Keating leaves today for Indonesia, his first overseas trip since taking office four months ago and one which, analysts say, will show the seriousness of his intentions of making Australia more Asia-oriented.

Keating's visit will be the first to Jakarta by an Australian prime minister in almost a decade. His predecessor, Bob Hawke, was scheduled to go in February. But Hawke deplored the East Timor massacre in November and put conditions on his visit. Jakarta withdrew the invitation.

Keating has since picked up the invitation and quietly dropped the conditions. He is expected to raise the human rights issue in East Timor with Indonesian officials. But the theme will be to seek reconciliation, much like the Australian government approach with its own Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island population.

To soothe any bad feelings this could create, Canberra will offer up to \$23 million over the next five years for development aid to East Timor. This includes an \$8.5 million water purification project.

Indonesia is the second largest recipient of Australian aid, accounting for over \$103 million in 1990-1991.

According to the prime minister's office, the main objective of Keating's visit is to explore ways of improving ties between the two countries and with partners in the Asia-Pacific region.

Since February, Keating has argued in and out of parliament that Australia needed to look more to the Asia-Pacific rather than Europe for its economic and political moorings.

He told the Australia-Asia Institute in Sydney early this month that he spent much of the last decade as treasurer reforming the economy so that Australia could hold its own in Asia. He added that Australia now faced the much more difficult task of cultural reform.

In Jakarta, Keating and Suharto will sign three bilateral agreements – on fisheries, extradition and double taxation. Special clauses will be inserted into the extradition treaty exempting political offenders to protect East Timorese living in Australia.

Keating will also open two Australian trade offices, an indication of Indonesia's growing economic importance to Australia.

"Indonesia is emerging as one of the most exciting and promising export markets for Australia," says Barbara Higgs, senior Australian trade commissioner in Jakarta.

In 1990-1991, exports to Indonesia reached \$1.1 billion, making Indonesia Australia's ninth largest export market. Australian exports have more than doubled in the last three years, but most of these are still accounted for by just six commodities – wheat, cotton, crude petroleum, iron/steel, zinc and aluminum.

Canberra is also urging Australian companies to invest in the rapidly liberalizing Indonesian economy. A government-commissioned report last year said Australian companies have been too slow in cashing in on business opportunities there.

Australian investments in Indonesia, especially in mining, are slowly picking up. The mining giant BHP has established two

major coal operations in Kalimantan with combined reserves of 225 million metric tons. The company will also be prospecting in Irian Jaya.

Australian and Indonesian companies have recently signed the first batch of contracts for the joint exploration of vast offshore oil resources in the Timorese waters dividing the two countries.

These contracts are governed by the so-called Timor Gap treaty which Canberra clearly considers the "most substantial bilateral agreement" between the two countries.

Keen to improve bilateral ties further, Canberra is reluctant to bring up sensitive human rights issues in a manner that will upset Jakarta. Asked if he will link Australian aid to Indonesia's human rights record, Keating replied that "it (aid) is not linked, has not been linked and will not be linked during the visit."

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### KEATING WARMLY WELCOMED

Reuter, April 21, Jakarta - Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating arrived in Indonesia on Tuesday to a warm welcome.

"This visit brings new momentum to strengthen relations between the two countries," State Secretary Murdiono told reporters at the palace where Keating was welcomed by President Suharto at the start of a four-day visit, his first as prime minister.

Keating meets Suharto on Wednesday for talks.

Political analysts say Keating will not let the East Timor issue jeopardise his country's overall relationship with its populous northern neighbour, whose cooperation will be a key factor in Australian attempts at economic integration into Asia.

Australian ambassador to Indonesia Philip Flood has said the visit will focus on promoting trade.

Austrade, Australia's trade promotion agency, has described Indonesia as "one of the brightest spots on Australia's economic horizon." In the two years from 1989, the value of Australian exports have doubled to A\$1.4 billion (\$1.06 million) and Indonesia is now Australia's ninth biggest export market.

Australian investment in Indonesia, involving about 130 Australian companies, is worth A\$1 billion (\$760 million).

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### SOEHARTO WARNS THE WORLD

Reuter, Jakarta, Muklis Ali, April 21 - President Suharto warned in a banquet speech for visiting Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating on Tuesday that any attempt to impose alien values on Indonesia would be regarded as a violation of its sovereignty.

The unusually tough speech was apparently aimed at bitter criticism from the Australian public over an army massacre of civilians in the East Timor capital of Dili last November.

Keating arrived in Indonesia on Tuesday for a four-day visit during which he is expected to try to maintain a balance between smoothing ties with Jakarta and conveying concern over human rights.

Suharto said in his speech: "No nation can adopt alien values of life...If (alien values) are sought to be forced on us, it is the same as violating the sovereign rights of a country."

He pledged that Indonesia's dignity would not be compromised and that it already had a national ideology based on human rights.

"We will accept suggestions even criticism put forward in a spirit of brotherhood. But criticism that only exaggerates the backwardness of our national development effort and interferes in domestic affairs is a different matter," he added.

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### SLICK WILLIE (KEATING) OF OZ

UPI, Jakarta, Sukini Harisumarto, April 22 - Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating made a bid for reconciliation Wednesday with Indonesia, promising increased cooperation and ruling out a connection between financial aid and the East Timor massacre.

Keating visited for two hours with President Suharto in the capital and told a news conference afterward he discussed the November killings in East Timor and felt the government has made a "credible" effort to handle its aftermath.

The new Australian leader, in a meeting designed to soothe anger in both countries over the killings and previous sources of friction, reserved his only major criticism to suggest Indonesia stop arresting people involved in peaceful protests.

"I also expressed the concerns of Australia about the rights of political demonstrators, non-violent political demonstrators," Keating told reporters.

He said he told Suharto he believed no one should be detained by police on the basis of non-violent political activity and said such incidents should not be handled as criminal matters.

Keating said he told Suharto the action by the troops who fired upon and killed scores of unarmed civilians in Dili was tragic, but said he regarded the government's follow-up to be "credible."

Keating said despite the angry reaction to the incident in his country, he realized the killings were not the result of government policy and said he therefore could not cite them to justify a suspension in financial aid.

He said future Indonesia-Australia ties would be helped greatly if the government

of Indonesia and Indonesians in general could achieve reconciliation with the people of East Timor.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Keating's visit marked a "very powerful, very important" confirmation of a new era of cooperation and mutual understanding between their countries.

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, April 22 - Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating praised Indonesian President Suharto on Wednesday for giving the region stability but said his armed forces were too strong and "uncompromising."

Keating, on the second day of a four-day trip to Indonesia, told a news conference he and Suharto had discussed the army's massacre of civilians in East Timor and ways to promote the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference (APEC).

"Australia regards President Suharto's government as one of the significant and beneficial events in its strategic history," said Keating, on his first visit to Indonesia as prime minister.

"(It) has provided regional stability and held an archipelago together as a nation for a quarter of a century. That is why I am here. I am not here because of APEC or Timor," he added.

Keating said he had told Suharto and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas that measures aimed at bringing about a reconciliation between the East Timorese and the Indonesian government would enhance relations with Canberra.

Keating said he also expressed Australia's concern over the criminal prosecution of people involved in political protests.

Keating said the government's swift action in punishing the guilty soldiers and officers was a credible response.

"Probably in the first time in our memory we have seen not just implied but express criticism of what happened by the military in East Timor by the president. I think that is credible," he said.

Keating criticised the Indonesian military, which plays a powerful political role: "Basically, (the armed forces) have been too strong and at times too uncompromising."

He said Australia would not tie aid to Indonesia to human rights.

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### AUSTRALIA SEEKS TO ENHANCE ASIAN ECONOMIC TIES

IPS, Sydney, May 1 - Australia has launched a new drive to enhance economic ties with Asian countries, and has picked nearby Indonesia as the country to start. Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating was in Indonesia on a four-day visit.

"For far too long we have measured the strength of our society, the level of sophistication, the worth of our achievements against Britain and Europe," said Keating in

an official dinner hosted by Indonesian President Suharto in Jakarta.

Hal Hill, head of the Indonesia project at the Australian National University in Canberra, explained the importance of Indonesia in Australia's plans with Asia: "It's the largest country in the dynamic region of South-East Asia and our relations with South-East Asia will be shaped by our relationship with Indonesia."

Noted Hill: "In the past some elements of the Australian community have adopted a lecturing, almost confrontational view on human rights issues, which has offended our Asian neighbors. If we try to push Indonesia and other countries to a corner, they will completely ignore us."

As commodity trading nations facing a potentially hostile trading system with the imminent failure of the GATT talks, both Australia and Indonesia have been restructuring their economies in almost identical fashion.

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## **TIMORESE CROSSES IN CANBERRA**

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### **TIMORESE MAKE A POINT WITH CROSSES**

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH MIRROR, April 18.*

East Timorese demonstrators returned 124 crosses protesting against the Dili massacre to the lawn outside Canberra's Indonesian embassy yesterday.

And they called on Prime Minister Keating to push East Timorese independence during his visit to Indonesia next week.

The crosses' return follows a Federal Court ruling that the Federal Government regulation forcing their removal was invalid.

About 50 men, women and children chanted the rosary in Portuguese as they re-laid the crosses and lit a remembrance candle.

Most had come from Sydney and Melbourne, and some had relatives killed in the November 12 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

They had died when soldiers opened fire on mourners.

Witnesses put the death toll at more than 100, but an official Indonesian inquiry said it was 50.

The crosses were first erected outside the embassy on January 26 under the Federal Government regulation.

The other followed a largely peaceful vigil marred only by a scuffle which saw an Indonesian car windscreen smashed and a protester's arm broken.

East Timorese spokeswoman Ines Almeida said yesterday the protesters were

peaceful and just wanted to make their point.

Ms Almeida said 200,000 Timorese had been killed by the Indonesian Government since it invaded their country in 1975.

Mr Keating leaves for Indonesia and Papua New Guinea on Tuesday.

*The article includes a big picture of East Timorese carrying crosses, with red paint splashed over crosses.*

### **EMBASSY PROTEST REPLACES CROSSES**

*THE AUSTRALIAN, April 18*

A GROUP of 50 East Timorese protesters replaced 121 crosses outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra yesterday and accused the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, "collaborating" with the Indonesian Government over the occupation of East Timor.

The East Timorese planted the crosses, representing the number of East Timorese the demonstrators said were killed by Indonesian soldiers at the Dili massacre in November last year, after the Federal Court ruled on Thursday that a Federal Government directive to remove the crosses was invalid.

The protesters, almost outnumbered by a throng of media and police outside the Indonesian Embassy, marched slowly with the crosses from the East Timor Liberation Centre trailer.

East Timorese community leader Ms Ines Almeida read an open letter to the Prime Minister, which accuses the Government of taking part in a "pacification program" of East Timor.

The officer in charge of police operations at the embassy, Acting superintendent Stewart Yorston, said the protesters were permitted to put up the crosses "because there is no longer any legal impediment."

But a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday that it was considering its position.

"We are confident that we have the authority to remove the crosses under the new regulations," he said.

### **CROSSES PUT BACK OUTSIDE THE INDONESIAN EMBASSY**

*THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, April 18*

CANBERRA: East Timorese protesters yesterday put back 124 crosses outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra that were forcibly removed by police in late January after the embassy claimed its dignity had been affronted.

The crosses, in memory of East Timorese killed by Indonesian troops during the November 12 Dili massacre, are being watched over by about 20 East Timorese who plan to maintain an around-the-clock vigil at the embassy.

The return of the crosses comes at a delicate time. The Prime Minister, Keating, is due to leave on Tuesday for Indonesia and will raise Australia's human rights concerns over Indonesia's treatment of the East Timorese people (sic).

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade said foreign affairs officers met embassy staff after the crosses were erected at 1 p.m. yesterday. He said the Indonesian embassy was told the Australian Government considered it had the power to order the crosses removed despite Thursday's Federal Court ruling that invalidated a regulation used in January to remove the crosses.

The spokesman said: "We approached the embassy after the crosses went in to inform them that the Government, under amended regulations, has the power to remove the crosses if it so decides. The Government is considering the situation."

About 60 East Timorese people put back the crosses, many marked with the names and ages of men and women killed in the Dili massacre, in a simple ceremony marked with the saying of the rosary and the singing of the East Timorese hymn Guide Us to Freedom.

Federal Police looked on as the 124 crosses were hammered into grass at the front of the embassy. A candle was lit for the and a metal plaque put in place which read: "In memory of the brave young and women who died for the liberation of their country, East Timor, on the 12 November 1991, at Santa Cruz cemetery."

Some estimates put the death toll after the massacre at more than 200. The Indonesian Government's inquiry into the killings has admitted that 90 were killed.

Justice Olney ruled on Thursday that the regulation used by the Government to require police to remove the crosses 2 1/2 months ago was not a valid exercise of power and "cut down" the rights of individuals to express themselves.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs Senator Evans, had pushed through the regulation, amending the Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities Act, after pressure from Indonesia, which said the dignity of its embassy had been impaired by the crosses, erected a week after the massacre.

Asked if the embassy had again requested the crosses be removed, the Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Trade spokesman said last night: "We are considering the position and they (the embassy) appear to be quite happy with that."

The protesters distributed copies of a letter sent yesterday to Mr Keating in which they said the repression of the East Timorese people at the hand of Indonesia had worsened since the massacre.

The letter said the East Timor Independence Committee in Australia would seek international support to end Australia's military cooperation with Indonesia and seek to invoke Australia's

obligation under the Genocide Act to charge Indonesian military personnel in Australia implicated in the killing of East Timorese people.

The committee's solicitor, Mr Bernard Collaery, said it would go back to court to challenge any decision taken by the Government to again remove the crosses.

He said the Government's new regulation was an "attempt to shift the goal posts after the event."

(The article includes a picture of Melissa Syri, 4 holding one of the 124 crosses that were hammered into the ground during the protest outside the Indonesian Embassy.

## COURT REBUKES OZ FM ON CROSSES

UPI, Canberra, April 17 - East Timorese demonstrators, protesting last year's massacre in Dili, returned to the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra Friday and replanted 124 white crosses in an adjacent park.

The crosses, in memory of mourners killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on a funeral procession at a cemetery in the East Timorese capital in November, were originally erected in December by protesters.

The return of the crosses, many bearing the names of those killed in Dili, followed a federal court ruling that the government's regulation forcing their removal in January was invalid.

Foreign Minister Sen. Gareth Evans introduced the regulation after pressure from Indonesia, which claimed the dignity of its embassy had been affronted.

However, the court ruled the regulation was not a valid exercise of power and reduced the rights of individuals to express themselves.

About 60 protesters replanted the crosses and later distributed copies of a letter sent to Prime Minister Paul Keating, calling on him to end military cooperation with Indonesia and to push for East Timorese independence when he visits Jakarta next week.

A government spokesman said the Indonesian embassy was told the government still considers it has the power to remove the crosses and was considering the situation. He would not say if the Indonesian government had requested the crosses to be removed.

## EAST TIMORESE CROSSES UP AGAIN AS COURT RULES GOV'T REMOVAL INVALID

*Canberra Times 17/4/92, Front page.*

*A full report to be written by the East Timor Independence Committee, summarising the "battle of the crosses" erected after the Dili massacre and their subsequent removal by the Australian Government, through the proclamation of a special regulations will be posted soon.*

*Reported by David Sibley*

The Federal Court has ruled invalid a Federal Government regulation used to remove 124 East Timorese protest crosses from outside the Indonesian Embassy.

The East Timorese community hailed the ruling as a victory and immediately announced that at 1pm today the crosses would be put back in front of the embassy in Yarralumla, 2 1/2 months after the Australian Federal Police removed them.

A spokeswoman for the NSW East Timorese community and plaintiff in the action, Ines Almeida, said the decision showed that "our plight will prevail over the authoritarian policies of [Foreign Minister] Gareth Evans."

"Above all, it is a major victory for the Australian people, that is, the right of freedom of expression," she said.

She agreed the return of the crosses would embarrass the Australian Government just before the visit of the Prime Minister, Paul Keating, to Indonesia next week.

"Well, if that is the case, we think of the human rights, we have been suffering, we cannot live in our own country, if it is embarrassing let it be," she said. "..... the Prime Minister should push for President Soeharto to talk to the people of East Timor, to find a peaceful solution for our cause.

"This only shows that our determination to show to the world the plight of our people for the past 16 years and the continuing plight. We will push for negotiations. If the peace negotiations work for the Cambodian people, they will definitely work for the people of East Timor."

However, the Federal Government has said the ruling is irrelevant because new regulations amending the original regulation still give it the power to remove the crosses.

In Melbourne yesterday, Justice Olney ruled that the regulations amending the Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities Act, promulgated by Senator Evans on January 16, were "clearly inconsistent with the Act."

Senator Evans pushed the regulations through after pressure from the Indonesian Government which said that the dignity of the Embassy had been impaired by the crosses, erected on November 19, a week after the Dili massacre.

Justice Olney said the regulations were not a valid exercise of power and found that they "cut down the rights of individuals to express themselves."

However, he reserved judgment on whether the crosses should be replaced.

A spokesman for Senator Evans was not concerned last night by the ruling, saying that there was a "possible technical defect" in the original regulation.

The amended regulation had come into force on February 10.

"That is why we acted to correct it," the spokesman said. "There is no doubt that if someone should move to replace the crosses or to take similar action, then the government now has the necessary legal authority to act within the terms of the new regulation to remove it."

Former Residents Rally leader and solicitor Bernard Collaery, who acted for Ms Almeida and the other plaintiff, Geraldo Magno, said there would be a "full blown clash" between Senator Evans, the judiciary, and Parliament if the crosses were removed after the East Timorese replaced them.

Mr Collaery accused the Government of "moving the goal posts after the event" and said he was confident of beating the new regulation which was basically the same as the original.

The ACT Attorney-General, Terry Connolly, welcomed the decision and said he wondered what the Federal Government's legal basis would be for removing the crosses as they would be on "sovereign" ACT (Australian Capital Territory) land.

## THREAT OF CHARGES FOR WAR CRIMES

*Canberra Times, 20 April 1992. Unabridged.*

*There was also a 230x200mm big photo, with the heading "Timor memorial crosses returned to embassy lawns," showing an East Timorese replacing one of the wooden crosses on the lawn outside the Indonesian Embassy in Yarralumla April 20.*

The East Timorese Independence Committee is threatening to pursue Indonesian and Australian officials, including "the highest in the land," for war crimes and genocide committed against East Timorese.

A spokeswoman, Ines Almeida, said yesterday, "My people are determined to bring to trial all those guilty of direct or indirect involvements in acts of genocide against our people."

Ms Almeida was speaking on the footpath outside the Indonesian Embassy, where protesters had replaced their 124 crosses after court action had overturned in the Federal Court on Thursday the regulation under which they had been removed.

Quoting from a letter she had faxed to the Prime Minister, Ms Almeida said the recent announcement of a \$30 million Australian aid package would be used to help "integrate" East Timorese into Indonesia.

"We are saddened that you would commit Australia to a bilateral pacification program," she said. "Whilst we would welcome Australian financial support for our people, any aid program should be independently administered by an accountable non-government body."

Later she said Indonesian commanders who had operated in East Timor would be pursued for "war crimes."

"We have their names," she said. "We have identified Indonesian personnel who have come here for training and who will go back to East Timor to hunt down our people."

The group's solicitor, Bernard Collaery, said Australian officials and ministers "including the highest in the land" had also been put on notice that they might have aided or contributed to acts of genocide within the meaning of the Genocide Act.

However, Mr Collaery declined to name the officials or ministers.

"I don't want to contribute to the law industry," he said, "but the law of the land applies to everyone and that includes the Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, and the Prime Minister."

Mr Keating will go to Indonesia for talks with President Suharto and other ministers next week.

About 60 East Timorese protesters gathered about 50m from the Indonesian Embassy in Darwin Avenue, Yarralumla, at 12.50pm yesterday. The crosses were distributed among them and they walked slowly toward a metal candle-holder on the footpath, chanting prayers.

"We have left a space," Ms Almeida said. "When they kill more people, we will put more crosses."

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## TIMORESE CROSSES AND EASTER CANDLE REMOVED AGAIN

3 May, 1992

*Apparently Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister issued the certificate for removal of crosses outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra a few days ago, and the Australian Federal Police removed the crosses and the candle post late Sunday (3/5/92) afternoon.*

*Following is the press release put out by the Sydney based East Timor Independence Committee immediately after the removal. So far, there has been a brief mention on at least one media outlet, SBS TV, on its Sunday night news.*

The East Timor Independence Committee deeply regrets the latest moves

by Senator Gareth Evans to stifle freedom of expression in Australia.

Christian crosses and an Easter candle erected in memory of the victims of the Dili massacre by the East Timorese community on public land outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra have again been ordered removed by Senator Gareth Evans late this afternoon.

"Although we thought a compromised had been reached in a meeting between us and the Foreign Affairs Minister on 25th April, Senator Evans made the order before the community could meet. We understood then that he would withhold action on the removal until the community could make a decision. Although he knew we were meeting on Friday night, May 1st, Senator Evans issued the certificate requiring the Federal Police to remove all crosses and the candle - this provocative act may please the Indonesian Government, but it will not draw us into conflict with police."

"We are convinced that Senator Evans wants to show the Indonesian Government that he has as much muscle as the military commanders in Dili, who have been brutally preventing our people the freedom of expression."

"We are now receiving the same repression at the hands of Australia's Foreign Minister Gareth Evans as our people are suffering in East Timor."

Ines Almeida, spokesperson for the East Timorese community also said, "The Australian Government's policy of appeasement towards Jakarta's Generals will do great damage to Australia's future. Senator Evans' grovelling with his latest act will earn him even greater respect in Jakarta. Australia is already losing its reputation in the eyes of many Governments throughout the world which continue to support our struggle for self-determination, justice and liberty."

"The genocide committed against us will continue. The Indonesian Military Regime can feel confident that it will attract no further criticism from the 'boot lickers' in Canberra," added Ms Almeida.

For news editors' note.

She also said, "Senator Evans has also decided to appeal our successful court action. Our legal advisers will be seeking further directions from the Federal Court to determine whether Senator Evans has behaved properly in acting as he has while his own appeal is outstanding. "Apparently, he thinks he is above the courts as well."

*This later part is in reference to the Federal Court ruling invalid a previous certificate issued by the Foreign Minister in January removing the crosses.*

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## PROTESTERS VOW TO FIGHT FOR CROSSES

Reuter, Canberra, May 4 - East Timorese protesters vowed on Monday to fight the

Australian government's removal of more than 100 commemorative crosses from outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra.

The crosses, smeared with red paint and bearing the names of some of those killed when Indonesian soldiers fired on mourners in East Timor on November 12, were removed on Sunday.

The crosses originally erected outside the embassy were first removed in January following protests to the Australian government by Indonesian diplomats.

They were re-erected in April after the federal court overturned the government order. But Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans last week amended a regulation which cleared the way for them to be removed again.

The protesters had been given ample opportunity to relocate the crosses across the road from the embassy, a government spokesman said on Monday.

"It allows a balance to be reached between Australia's obligation under the Geneva Convention allowing the dignity of the embassy not to be impaired while also recognising the right to protest," he said.

East Timor Independence Committee lawyers said on Monday they would challenge government lawyers when they appear in court on Tuesday.

"Our view is that Evans has no power to make the regulations and that is what the court said. It's dirty tricks and we'll be saying that in court," a committee lawyer said.

"We want to be able to put the crosses up again when we win the inevitable over Evans. There is no doubt we will win this again," he said.

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## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HEARING ON EAST TIMOR

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### TIMOR AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

#### SIMONE VEIL TO VISIT LISBON

*Diario de Noticias. 8 April 1992.*

*[Simone Veil is a leading member of the European Parliament. Until recently, she was president of the Parliament.]*

The recently appointed chair of the European Parliament Inter-Group on East Timor will be visiting Lisbon in May. During her visit, Simone Veil will be received by (President) Mario Soares and plans to have meetings with the Special Commission on East Timor of the Assembly of the Republic and with officials of the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Yesterday, the French deputy (of the United Democratic Party) and a delegation of Portuguese parliamentarians held a

meeting in Strasbourg with Portugal's Foreign Minister, Joao de Deus Pinheiro as a declaration of principles was being circulated to recruit members of the Inter-Group.

During the meeting, members of the Inter-Group discussed with the Foreign Minister the hearing on East Timor which will take place in Brussels on 23 April.

After the meeting, Deus Pinheiro gave an assurance that the Portuguese presidency (which lasts until 1 July 1992) would not neglect Timor and said that the signing of a new accord with the ASEAN countries would include respect for human rights. The European Parliament deputies regard the creation of the Inter-Group as essential to coordinate the Parliament's intervention in this case of genocide.

The Inter-Group will seek more information about the actual situation in East Timor, will organise discussions and contact international personalities about the gravity of the situation in the territory, and emphasis the need to implement an act of self-determination for the people of East Timor.

## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT CONDUCTS HEARING ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

*TAPOL report, 27 April 1992*

On Thursday, 23 April 1992, the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security held a one-day hearing on 'Respect for Human Rights in East Timor.' The Hearing was addressed by five East Timorese witnesses, one Indonesian, an eye-witness of the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili on 12 November 1991, a historian and writer on East Timor and the executive director of the New York-based Asia Watch. An ambassador and two East Timorese also spoke on behalf of the Indonesian government, while an official of ambassadorial rank spoke for Portugal.

Opening the Hearing was **Dr. John TAYLOR**, author of "Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor," who traced the history of East Timor since the Indonesian invasion in December 1975. The brutality during 16 years of Indonesia's illegal occupation had alienated the population. The invasion occurred during the Cold War and was implicitly condoned by most major powers. Many states had closed their eyes, expecting that there would be little resistance to Indonesia's takeover. Others like the US had remained silent for strategic reasons. But with the end of the Cold War, the chances for a resolution of the issue had greatly improved. The main problem was Indonesia's recalcitrance, its refusal to listen to reason. He believed that Indonesia's refusal to negotiate was governed by its fear of having thereby to admit that it had made a terrible mistake. The continuation of

Indonesian rule in East Timor was closely connected with the army's pride in maintaining its hold, and a fear that moves towards self-determination in East Timor could trigger separatist moves in various parts of Indonesia.

Asked to elaborate on East Timor's economic viability, Dr. Taylor said the country has abundant oil resources, a favourable agricultural base and good prospects for tourism. A strategy based on these factors would be far more viable than the present economic strategy under Indonesian rule.

On the attitude of various western powers, Dr. Taylor strongly condemned Australia for having granted de jure recognition of integration, partly to gain access to East Timor's oil and partly in pursuance of Canberra's aspirations to become more involved in the economy of South East Asia. Washington had avoided granted de jure recognition but remained passive on the issue; it was significant however that a growing number of members of Congress were deeply critical of the Indonesian occupation.

**Sidney JONES**, Executive Director of Asia Watch, who recently visited East Timor, described the changing pattern of killings in East Timor. Early on, they were directed at liquidating armed resistance, terrorising supportive local populations and punishing rebels and their sympathisers. The Santa Cruz massacre was different in that it was not part of a counter-insurgency operation. Many demonstrations had occurred in East Timor since 1989 without a shot being fired. Nothing President Suharto had done since the massacre had answered the fundamental questions: which battalions opened fired, how many people were really killed and what happened to their bodies. Whilst very public trials of East Timorese were now under way in Dili and Jakarta, nothing was yet known about the eight soldiers due to be indicted, what the charges were and the names of the men.

On the pattern of arrests, Sidney Jones said in the early period, the policy was to arrest as many as possible to break up support for the rebels, detain them anywhere and use any means, including torture, to extract information. Since 1984, trials had been held for the first time, giving the impression that Indonesia respects the rule of law and deflecting attention from ongoing military operations outside Dili. But holding scores of convicted prisoners made it hard to deny that there was widespread resistance to Indonesian rule. The pattern of arrests shifted again, holding people for brief periods, long enough to be tortured and intimidated but not long enough for the world to raise an outcry. Visits to the territory became the occasion for round-ups and brief detentions. There were no more trials until Santa Cruz.

While the pattern of arrests has changed over the years, the use of torture has remained constant.

There is strict surveillance and control, aimed primarily and eliminating any ability to exercise the freedoms of expression, association and assembly. Since the massacre, control on the outflow of information had become much tighter and a ban had been imposed on 26 February against visits by foreign journalists and Indonesian journalists working for foreign agencies.

Finally, she listed actions which the European Community could take:

With the creation of a new World Bank-led donor consortium after Indonesia cut aid links with the Netherlands for being too strident about human rights, all donor countries should state publicly their commitment to linking aid to human rights observance. If the European Community fails to affirm its adherence to this principle, Indonesia will be seen to have successfully called the European bluff.

With Suharto's rule reaching its final years, East Timor faces a critical period. It needs more journalists and visitors of all kinds, and governments should loudly protest if their nationals are denied access.

Embassies in Jakarta should press for access by observers to the ongoing political trials as well as press for access to the military trials, when and if they begin.

Every meeting of ASEAN and European Community foreign ministers should be used to review the human rights situation, not only in East Timor but also in Aceh and other parts of Indonesia proper.

If questions about the 12 November massacre still remain unanswered by the time the World Bank-led consortium meets on 16 July in Paris, there should be a very close look at how development aid is allocated to Indonesia.

Answering questions, Sidney Jones said that although Japan had shown signs of interest - sending two diplomats to East Timor after the massacre and sending observers to the trials in Jakarta - it could be expected to avoid making any linkage between aid and human rights.

She agreed that Indonesia had committed crimes against humanity especially during the early stages of the war.

Asked whether there was any chance of a UN commission of inquiry going to East Timor, she said this was becoming increasingly unlikely but the UN special rapporteur on disappearances could undertake a mission, to achieve a similar purpose. She felt strongly that the European Parliament should press hard for permission to send a mission to East Timor.

**Russell ANDERSON**, an Australian journalist who witnessed the 12 November massacre summarised the testimony presented on numerous occasions by himself and the other eye-witnesses. He strongly



denied there had been any physical provocation by the crowd which was utterly defenceless and posed no threat to the troops. "It is a downright lie that Indonesian soldiers lives or their weapons were threatened, as reported by the Indonesian investigation team."

He insisted there was nothing spontaneous about the killings; plain clothed officers had systematically searched the cemetery and the shooting, beating and stabbing continued for at least half an hour.

He quoted East Timorese eye-witnesses and listed unconfirmed reports about killings in East Timor after 12 November. Before leaving, East Timorese had begged him to tell the world about their suffering; they were convinced that only an international monitoring team could protect them.

He pointed to the worsening situation in East Timor, summarised by the few foreign visitors and journalists who had visited East Timor in the past month or two. To understand what is happening now, one only needs to read the words of the new commander, General Syafei: "If something similar to the 12 November event were to take place under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher." [Editor, 14 March 1992] Even Australia's Foreign Affairs minister, Senator Gareth Evans, accepts that the majority of East Timorese do not accept Indonesian rule.

Asked about responses to the massacre in Australia, Anderson said there is a wide gap between the government's response and the deep sense of public outrage. He confirmed that all witnesses agreed there had been no provocation. Asked whether he thought there could be more massacres, he said indeed there could; Bishop Belo warned that a new massacre could occur if foreigners visited but added that a massacre could happen even if no foreigners came.

East Timorese refugee, **Donaciano GOMES**, spoke of the role of the Church in East Timor. The destruction of churches and seminaries had followed in the wake of the invasion and many priests had fled to the bush with the armed resistance. The church has provided protection against persecution and defended the fundamental rights of the people. Adherents to the Catholic religion had risen from 30 per cent at the time of the invasion to more than 90 per cent.

**Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes** who took over as Apostolic Administrator in 1977 had frequently denounced genocide, leading to his replacement in 1983 by the present bishop, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo. The new incumbent did not stay silent for long and in February 1989 he told the UN secretary general in a letter that his people had never been consulted and that others had spoken in their name. He asked the UN to conduct a referendum. Many young Timorese wrote in September that year to

the UN secretary general in support of Bishop Belo's letter.

Gomes had been involved in a demonstration during the October 1989 visit of the Pope when banners were unfurled, pleading with the Holy Father to save the East Timorese from Indonesian barbarity. After the Pope's departure, many of the young demonstrators had been rounded up; many had taken refuge in the Bishop's residence. He and others had been arrested by red-beret commandos, after they threatened the Bishop. He described the torture inflicted. More round-ups took place in 1990 after the US ambassador's visit in January and the 50th anniversary of the diocese in September.

Following the murder on 28 October of Sebastiao Gomes at Motael Church, the authorities had accused the church again of giving protection to anti-Indonesian youths, saying they would investigate the link between the church and Fretilin. As a result, Bishop Belo refused to attend the annual conference of the Indonesian Conference of Bishops, in protest "at the arrogance of the Indonesian army."

After speaking of the impact of the 12 November massacre, Gomes said a new generation of East Timorese has emerged, demanding independence as their right.

Another young East Timorese refugee, **Jose Evaristo MADEIRA SOARES**, who left Indonesia earlier this year spoke about repression and the types of torture which have become the everyday experience of East Timorese. He also described how the Indonesian forces of occupation have tried to indoctrinate people to accept integration.

**Mrs. Sebastiana SALDANHA** spoke in particular about disappearances and the problem of family reunification. She also dwelt on the crimes perpetrated against women. She left East Timor with her family in 1986, leaving behind a son who was studying in Bali and a daughter who remained in Dili to be with her husband.

Many women who fell into the clutches of the Indonesian troops were violated, sometimes by a whole platoon. Even pregnant women were raped and many rape victims were later killed. Our sons and daughters have no security, death strikes people of all ages. Many small children have been carried off by officers, never to return to their families.

No credibility could be attached to the findings of the Indonesian inquiry commission. Far more people had disappeared than they said. Figures reaching abroad suggested that more than 200 people had disappeared whereas the death toll during the massacre was in the region of 250. To this day, the families of these victims have had no official responses to their inquiries.

She spoke of her son, Jose Maria Pompeia Saldanha Ribeiro, who was arrested in Bali along with other East Timorese students, after the Santa Cruz massacre. He was later conditionally re-

leased. In 1986, he had opted to stay in Indonesia when the rest of the family left for Portugal, in order to complete his studies. After his latest difficulties, the family had been told by the International Red Cross that he could not now be re-united with the family in Portugal based on his decision not to leave in 1986. Even though her son was now released, it was impossible to be in contact with him either by phone or by letter.

Another East Timorese refugee whose testimony was heard later in the afternoon was **Joao Antonio AMORIM DIAS**, who arrived in Europe in April 1992 from Jakarta. He spoke in particular about the students' demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November, following which he and altogether 70 East Timorese were arrested. He described how intelligence officers had sought to persuade the 21 students who remained in detention after 49 - including himself - were released in November 1991, to apologise for the demonstration and pledge allegiance to Indonesia.

Asked about the extent of the resistance in East Timor, Gomes said virtually everyone supports it. On the political ideology of the resistance, he said it may have been pro-communist in the early years but today the overriding factor was a determination to be free. Asked about who sells weapons to Indonesia, Evaristo said there was very little information about that inside East Timor. Members of the European Parliament were surely in a better position to know this than they were. Only recently, it was announced that Japan would sell Indonesia a radar system. Indonesia gets everything it wants, he said, but our people get nothing.

Although the day's programme had been initially devoted to testimonies by eight persons, raised to nine with the recent arrival in Europe of **Amorim Dias**, two hours were given over at the last moment to official presentations by Indonesia and Portugal. This followed a demand by the Indonesian embassy in Brussels, on the day before the Hearing, that it be allowed to make three presentations, lasting altogether 45 minutes; this meant giving Portugal equal time. In the event, the first Indonesian presentation by the ambassador led to some heated exchanges and questions, with the result that the time allotted was extended by 15 minutes, taking yet more time away from the remaining witnesses.

Indonesia's ambassador to the European Community, **SURYO ATMONO**, said human rights principles are written in the state philosophy and Indonesia's constitution. It is for the state to guarantee these, though he recognised that other countries do show concern. The UN places human rights in the context of international cooperation and gave no country or countries the right to act as judge and jury against others. The forthcoming Non-Aligned Movement

summit in Jakarta would provide the opportunity for the movement to express an opinion on this question.

He argued that the position of human rights is different in developed and developing countries. As a developing country, Indonesia's three objectives were: stability, development and finally equitable distribution of wealth.

The ambassador's presentation caused several MEPs to protest that he had spoken as if nothing was happening in East Timor. How did he justify genocide, the 12 November massacre, gross human rights abuses and the refusal to allow US senators to visit East Timor? While a Dutch MEP said that no-one could set themselves up as judge of Indonesia, a Greek MEP criticised the ambassador for being vague and unhelpful. While it was true that Indonesia's experience was different from ours in Europe this did not give it the right to practice genocide. He also asked whether it was Indonesia's policy to transform the composition of the population of East Timor.

The ambassador did not answer these questions; he said that if members submitted questions in writing, the embassy would reply in writing. This led to some members complaining that the Indonesians were "wasting our time."

After further interventions from MEPs, the ambassador asked **LOPEZ DA CRUZ**, member of the Supreme Advisory Council and vice-governor of East Timor from 1976 to 1982, to speak. Da Cruz said that self-determination was a non-issue in East Timor as the people had taken part in several general elections. After saying that no moral weight could be attached to the UN General Assembly resolution of 1982 because the voting was 50 to 46 against, he then spoke about significant improvements in East Timor which is now self-sufficient in food and has hundreds of schools. There has been a five-fold increase in the number of churches. He also said that instigating young people to demonstrate was against democratic principles.

This statement led one MEP to say that if the Indonesian representatives did not deny the many accusations made since the start of the Hearing, it stands to reason that these accusations have been shown to be correct.

A British MEP asked for specific answers to specific questions: how many people were shot dead on 12 November, why had the troops opened fire, who gave the order, what action had been taken to discipline the troops and where were the bodies of the victims? A Portuguese MEP asked: do you recognise the right to self-determination, do you accept that the 12 November massacre was not an isolated event, and how many people do you believe have died since 1975. Also, do you deny that torture is practised and that people

who oppose integration are treated very harshly?

It was then the turn of **Clementino DOS REIS AMARAL**, member of the Indonesian Parliament and member of the National Inquiry Commission, to speak. He said that there had been much misinformation about the 12 November incident. The demonstration was not peaceful or orderly and had been held to raise tensions. He then repeated the findings of the National Inquiry Commission's preliminary report. But before he could finish his statement, the one hour allotted to Indonesia ran out.

Speaking for the Portuguese government, Ambassador **Rui QUARTIN SANTOS** commended the European Parliament for its many resolutions on East Timor; the comprehensive resolution adopted in September 1988 was still applicable and a correct account of the situation. It was important for the European Parliament to press ahead with the idea of sending a mission to East Timor.

Now that there had been so many changes on the world arena, the situation in East Timor was an anomaly. In the past few months, the human rights situation had further deteriorated, making the solution to the basic issue of self-determination even more pressing. The issue can no longer be ignored. Indonesia had in the past complained that accusations of human rights abuses were a calumny but the Santa Cruz massacre had proven that this was false. The Santa Cruz incident was by no means closed.

The UN Human Rights Commission had agreed on a consensus statement to which Indonesia had subscribed; it was now essential to ensure that it carried out its undertakings. Reports from inside showed this was not happening. The behaviour of the troops in East Timor was incompatible with the consensus statement.

It was essential to recognise that the Santa Cruz massacre was just one of a series of atrocities. There should now be new talks at the UN which should include representatives of the East Timorese people.

Responding to questions, Quartin Santos said that there could be no solution to the human rights problems if the question of self-determination was not resolved. After Indonesia announced its decision to cut aid links with the Netherlands, Portugal had expressed its views to The Twelve, believing that the European Community should adopt a common position. Answering one MEP who felt that the attitude displayed by the Indonesians here would suggest there were no grounds for negotiations, he said the illegal occupation did not mean that negotiations were impossible. He said moves to send a European Parliamentary mission should be carefully prepared, taking note of the conditions worked out for the Portuguese parliamentary mission.

The external spokesperson of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, **Jose RAMOS-HORTA**, said that despite the enormous sufferings of his people during 16 years of occupation, the resistance movement was still determined to extend a hand to the Indonesians, for negotiations without pre-conditions and under UN auspices. He recalled that, during a trip to Jakarta in 1974, before the invasion, he had been given assurances by the foreign minister, Adam Malik, about East Timor's right to independence.

He then outlined proposals for a three-stage move towards a solution.

In the first stage, to last five years, there would be a cease-fire, all political prisoners would be released, all Indonesian troops withdrawn as well as some of the Indonesian administrators. The International Committee of the Red Cross would have unhindered access and a human rights commission, headed by Bishop Belo, would be set up. Schools with teaching in Portuguese and Tetum would be restarted.

In the second stage, relations between Portugal and Indonesia would be normalised, the Portuguese would have a presence in the territory and all remaining Indonesian administrative staff would withdraw.

During the third stage, an act of self-determination would take place. If the people opted for independence, East Timor would apply for membership of ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum.

Following Ramos-Horta, **LIEM Soei Liong** of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, and the Front Demokrasi Indonesia, said that at the time of the invasion, he still held an Indonesian passport but was one of the first Indonesians to speak out against it. After speaking at a Tribunal in 1981, he was blacklisted by the Indonesian authorities, and is not now allowed to visit the country.

He spoke about the growing consciousness in Indonesia of the illegality of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. From being an obscure issue, East Timor had now become headline news. The Santa Cruz massacre had increased awareness in Indonesia about the true situation in East Timor, and there had been many protests. Many in Indonesia had been shocked by the Yorkshire film on the massacre, copies of which had been smuggled into the country.

He described the depoliticisation policy of the Suharto regime and the role of non-governmental organisations in political activities and human rights work. After the increased flow of information from East Timor since 1989, this information, reaching the outside world, had been channeled to Indonesia, creating a new awareness among NGOs and the younger generation of activists. During the Gulf War, protesters in Indonesia had drawn analogies between Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. The massacre last

November had been denounced by many student groups.

Human rights organisations had planned to send an investigation team to Dili in November but were prevented from doing so. Instead, their activists were summoned for interrogation by the army. He ended on a note of optimism about the development of a pro-democracy movement in Indonesia, with growing support for the people of East Timor. "It is not the Indonesian people who are at war with the people of East Timor but the regime and the army."

In his concluding remarks, **Ken Coates**, chair of the Human Rights Sub-Committee of the European Parliament said everyone present had been profoundly shocked at the scale of East Timor's tragedy revealed during the Hearing. While it was not the task of the sub-committee to involve itself in the diplomatic problems - the complexity of which had been revealed during today's discussions - it would continue to monitor the human rights situation closely. He paid tribute to the proposals made here by Jose Ramos-Horta which have been made in a spirit of generosity to the Indonesian government.

The fact that the Indonesian government had wanted to participate in the Hearing was a mark of the impact of international pressure on Jakarta.

He said it was now the task of the sub-committee to ponder its next moves; East Timor would be on the agenda of its next meeting to be held in Lisbon in May. He asked those who have been advising the sub-committee and providing it with information to continue to do so. Special attention would be paid to making preparations for a mission to East Timor.

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### STATEMENT BY SIDNEY JONES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ASIA WATCH

*The following is a transcription of her oral statement and her answers to questions.*

The massacre in Dili on November 12 was in a sense part of a long-established pattern of human rights abuses by the Indonesian military but in another sense, it was an anomaly and many of the fundamental questions about why it happened remain unanswered. There certainly has been no shortage of mass killings in East Timor over the 16-year history of the Indonesian occupation but there have been none of this magnitude since 1984. All previous killings of ten people or more in East Timor have taken place in the context of counter-insurgency operations against an active armed opposition and the civilian population supporting it.

Whether in East Timor, in Aceh which is an area on the northern tip of Sumatra, or in Irian Jaya, such killings have been carried

out in an effort to liquidate the armed resistance, to terrorise the surrounding population into ceasing their support for it, to punish rebels and rebel sympathisers for their actions for all of the above.

The November 12 killings did not fit this pattern. There have been other mass killings in Indonesia which have occurred in the context of political demonstrations, the most notable being a march led by Muslims in Tanjung Priok, the port area of Jakarta, in September 1984. There the official death toll after the army opened fire on the marchers was thirty while independent observers put the full figure at close to one hundred. There was never any investigation, though witnesses reported that, as in Dili, the soldiers fired directly into the crowd.

Other political demonstrations have taken place in Dili since 1989 without a shot being fired and, unlike the Tanjung Priok march which turned into a full-scale riot, the march from the Motael Church was noisy but peaceful. Finally there have been mass killings for attacks on Indonesian officers. In Kraras, Viqueque, East Timor in August, 1983, Indonesian troops killed up to 200 villagers after 16 soldiers were attacked and killed. In Lampung, in South Sumatra in early 1989, Indonesian troops stormed a religious school where a radical Muslim leader had taken two Indonesian officers hostage and killed them. In the attack on the school, the Indonesian troops apparently went on the rampage in the surrounding village and local observers again put the death toll at close to one hundred.

But in November 1991 in Dili, no Indonesian officer was killed. There were two military men, one an Indonesian intelligence officer, one an East Timorese soldier, who were apparently stabbed but their injuries were not serious. Many accounts of the massacre suggest that other soldiers, hearing a rumour over the walkie-talkies that the Indonesians had been killed, rushed to the scene and started firing, but nothing I have heard suggests that the attack on the officers was the primary reason for the shooting.

The only thing that we can say unequivocally is that none of the measures taken by President Suharto after November 12, from dismissing key generals to setting up a national commission of inquiry, to appointing an honorary military council to recommend disciplinary proceedings against individual soldiers, has answered the fundamental questions: which battalions opened fire and why, how many people were really killed and what happened to their bodies?

To date, even after the commission raised the death toll to a figure of about fifty which most people believe is still far too low, only 19 graves have been found. What happened to the truckloads of bodies taken from Santa Cruz and from the Wira Husada Military Hospital? It would indeed be a major breakthrough if a serious independent

inquiry had been conducted into the massacre, with the results made public and those responsible prosecuted.

No Indonesian soldier has ever been convicted for a human rights offence against a political suspect. But despite the announcement last February that eight soldiers had been indicted, today, we do not know either their names or the charges against them. And the full reports of the Commission and the Honorary Military Council have not been made public. At the same time that the military prosecutions remain a mystery, a series of very public trials of East Timorese is under way in Dili and Jakarta.

I'd like to say a word about the pattern of arrest and trials in East Timor over the years. In the early years, the Indonesian army acted as it has in every counter-insurgency campaign, before or since: arrest as many people as possible to break up support for the rebels, detain them in any building, public or private, available and use any method that is necessary, including torture, to get information.

For the first six years after the invasion, the International Committee of the Red Cross was not permitted to visit any place of detention in East Timor, and for the first eight years after the invasion, there were no trials or judicial proceedings against detainees of any kind. At the beginning of 1983 [sic, this should be 1984], Fretilin supporters began to be put on trial in Dili. The trials were taken by many governments as evidence that the human rights situation was improving. And indeed, at least it was possible to determine the whereabouts for the first time of the prisoners concerned.

But these trials coming as they did only two years after the remaining suspected communist supporters had been released from the penal colony in Buru Island, also indicated the beginning of a more sophisticated policy of control on the part of the Indonesian government. Holding political prisoners for long periods of time without charge or trial had become a serious public relations problem for a country concerned about its international image. Putting the East Timorese on trial at once gave the impression that Indonesia respected the rule of law and deflected international attention from ongoing military operations outside Dili, which were resulting in more deaths, disappearances and arrests. The problem was that once people have been tried and sentenced, they could become the focus of international attention as individuals.

It's difficult to pretend that there is no resistance to Indonesian rule when 200 people have been convicted by one's own courts for supporting it, and I hardly need add that these trials were in no way fair. No international observers were present and everyone pleaded guilty.

But because of this recognition that even having convicted prisoners was a problem, the pattern shifted again. Increasingly in the

1980s, people were held for relatively brief periods and then released, still long enough to be tortured but not long enough for the world to raise an outcry. The pattern began to be one of prevention and retribution. Any time a visitor came to East Timor who might spark a show of resistance or see or hear something undesirable, the Indonesian authorities would round up potential trouble-makers and detain them till after the visit. This happened with President Suharto's visit in 1988 where an estimated 3,000 people were briefly detained, with the Pope's visit in 1989 and with most important visits thereafter up to and including Amos Wako's visit, the UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali's special envoy, who visited Dili this past February.

Any expression of anti-government sentiment could also spark a wave of arrests as punishment after the fact, but few people were held longer than a few weeks and almost none were brought to trial until the massacre of November 12. The people most likely to be rounded up either in the preventive or retributive sweeps were former detainees, who by virtue of having been arbitrarily arrested once, became easy targets the next time round.

Intimidation was and is constant. People are warned of dire consequences if they talk to foreigners or, when important visits take place and if they are still considered potential dangers and are arrested, they are warned against talking of their experiences after their release. Because of this systematic harassment, it's difficult to assess the true extent of political imprisonment in East Timor.

With the massacre, the pattern has shifted again and we are seeing a return to trial and probably long-term detention. There is clearly no point after the massacre in trying to hide the fact that resistance is widespread. And from the Indonesian perspective, it may be more important to have the people they identify as ring-leaders out of circulation than to pretend that the hearts and minds campaign of the Indonesian army has worked.

If the pattern of arrest changed before and after the massacre, torture did not. It's one of the constants of Indonesian military behaviour... (tape switch). During the early years of the occupation, we heard of private houses and warehouses being used for torture. The practice continues. A military residence complex ... in Dili is still used on occasion as an interrogation centre where suspects are tortured. But when UN special rapporteur on torture, Pieter Kooijmans, asked to see it last November, all he saw was an ordinary house, not a torture chamber. But torture can take place anywhere, in any kind of building. In addition to safe houses used by Kopassus, the Indonesia special forces, torture after arrest appears to be the rule rather than the exception, and (carried out by) district and sub-district

military commanders throughout East Timor and in police stations.

There are also extensive practices of surveillance and control. Let me mention just a few - but the important point about these is that the effect is to eliminate any ability to exercise basic freedoms of expression, association or assembly.

The Indonesian government maintains strict control over information but since 1989 when travel back and forth to East Timor became possible, more information has reached the outside world than ever before. After the massacre, however, the surveillance became much more difficult and the control on information much tighter. A ban was imposed on February 26 of this year on foreign journalists and Indonesian journalists working for foreign newspapers, and the few who tried to get into the territory without a travel permit and without official press credentials were quickly deported.

There has been a stepped up military presence in East Timor. More troops were brought in just prior to the massacre but after a new hard-line military commander, General Syafei, was put in place, that military presence has increased still further. Ostensibly in the name of development, thirty or forty soldiers will be put in each village as a way of helping East Timorese. But the purpose is not development, it is control.

Let me conclude by listing a few things that I think it's important for the European Community to undertake.

I think the international community has to use every opportunity to press for answers to the unanswered questions about the massacre. One opportunity for exerting this pressure comes with the formation of the new World Bank-led donor consortium which has been set up in the wake of the Indonesian government's dissolution of the Inter-Government Group on Indonesia or IGGI, led by the Netherlands government, on the grounds that the Netherlands had been too strident in linking development aid to human rights questions. All donors represented in the new consortium should, at a very minimum, state publicly their commitment to ensuring that development aid is conditioned on Indonesian protection of human rights.

The European Community countries have repeatedly stressed their commitment to that linkage. If a public statement is not forthcoming, Indonesia will be seen to have successfully called the European bluff.

The donor communities could also request that full information on the massacre in Dili and on prosecutions of the military be made public before the new consortium meets on July 16.

East Timor is entering a critical period, particularly as Suharto enters his final years as president and different groups try to manipulate the situation for domestic political ends. East Timor needs more journalists, more visitors, more people who can

independently track what is happening there and in doing so, provide a form of protection. Journalists should be encouraged to apply for travel permits, even knowing they will be turned down, and European governments, all governments should be prepared to protest loudly if one of its nationals is denied access.

Embassies in Jakarta should press for access by international observers and human rights organisations to East Timor, particularly now that trials are under way. They should also press for access to the military trials, when and if they begin.

Finally the meeting of ASEAN and European Community foreign ministers should be used as an opportunity to review the human rights situation, not only in East Timor but in Aceh and other areas of Indonesia proper.

If questions on the massacre are still unanswered by the time that meeting takes place, there should be a very close look at how development aid is allocated to Indonesia.

Thank you.

#### Answers to questions:

1. First of all, on whether there have been any precedents for the kind of violence in East Timor, I think unfortunately, the answer is that in Asia, there have been many other situations, Cambodia being the most obvious, where there have been very severe crimes against humanity and I would say that what happened in East Timor, especially during the first years after the invasion, does constitute crimes against humanity. But I would also point out that in places like Sri Lanka, Punjab and Kashmir which we think of as countries run by democratic governments, the carnage there has been far worse than in East Timor in recent years.

2. In terms of the comparison with Tiananmen Square, the one major difference is that in some ways the Chinese government had been provoked by the students for weeks on end, being out on the square and preventing even President Gorbachev from entering the Great Hall of the People. There was no provocation for troops to fire on demonstrations in the case of East Timor. I don't think the situations are comparable at all.

3. In terms of Japan's approach, Japan is extremely important partly because it's the largest donor to Indonesia and it's Indonesia's most important trading partner. The Japanese reaction after the massacre was interesting in that, for the first time it sent two diplomats to East Timor immediately and they came back with inconclusive results. One foreign ministry official made noises about reviewing Japanese development assistance, ODA, but in fact that review in fact never took place. Japan for the first time has sent observers to the trials of East Timorese going on in Jakarta. There are now policy guidelines for looking at human

rights in allocating ODA in Japan but thus far there are no clear criteria for how those guidelines will be applied.

I was in Tokyo two weeks ago and it was right after the Indonesians had dissolved the IGGI. The Japanese reaction was, 'You see, this is what happens if we offend Indonesia. We can't speak loudly, we can't criticise Indonesia because if we do, the same might happen to us that happened to the Dutch.' So I wouldn't look to the Japanese at this stage for very strong statements on human rights issues.

4. In terms of the policies of President Suharto, I hope this will be covered by speakers later in the afternoon. I would just say that the policies that have been perceived as democratisation in fact are really not policies of democratisation. If there's been any openness in Indonesia at all over the last two years, it has reflected more a weakening of President Suharto position vis-a-vis the army than a conscious effort to open up the political system. In terms of the causes of the massacre, I think that it is very much a mystery, but there may be in fact domestic, political reasons involved. Some people have suggested, in fact governor Carrascalao has said, that there were agents provocateurs taking part in the demonstration, working in conjunction with middle-ranking Indonesian officers. It's not clear what their objective was but one objective may have been to get rid of General Warouw, the local commander, who in fact had been cleaning up the army in East Timor of various corrupt practices. It also may have been to try and provoke the president into instituting a more hard-line policy in East Timor.

We should wait for some of the other speakers to give a better analysis than that, but one thing is clear and that is that President Suharto has very effectively used the aftermath of the massacre to further divide the army which was increasingly looking like it might put up a show of opposition to him in 1992, this year when elections are scheduled to take place.

5. In terms of ASEAN, let me reiterate. I think that at every meeting between ASEAN and the European Community on whatever forum, it is critically important to raise human rights issues, and I would agree that it is important to raise not only the issue of East Timor but also the issues of Irian Jaya and Aceh. We don't have enough time to go into those situations but let me just say that in Aceh, there have been more than a thousand people killed since mid 1989 on both sides, but most villagers in areas where Indonesian troops went in to try and smoke out the remaining guerrillas of the Aceh Merdeka movement. Not only have no soldiers been prosecuted for those killings, but in January there was a group of officers promoted for the success of that operation. I think it is very important that attention continue to be placed on Aceh as well.

6. In terms of the position of other countries after the exclusion of Dutch aid, I think it is important for other countries to raise the issue of maintaining the link between development aid and human rights, and I do think that the policy was directed not only against the Dutch but against every donor. It was a way of saying, "Don't interfere in our domestic affairs." I think it is critically important that that message not be allowed to stay. I think that human rights aren't a matter of domestic affairs. They are an international issue and that message must be given to the Indonesian government publicly and it must be given by all donors.

7. In terms of visits, the Indonesian government has said that East Timor will remain open, but in fact there has been a crackdown on visits to East Timor by outsiders. I think that if Senator Claiborne Pell had pressed harder on going to East Timor, he may have been allowed in. One of the reasons that he did not press it may have been that neither governor Carrascalao or Bishop Belo were going to be in Dili at the time he was planning to be there. But I think it's very important that the pressure and requests for visits continue to be made. I don't think the Indonesian government will permit an impartial UN inquiry at this stage but one thing I think is crucial is that the UN working group on disappearances be invited to Indonesia to look into the question of disappearances not only in East Timor - because I think we should consider all the missing bodies as disappearances at this stage - but also the question of disappearances in Aceh. There is a precedent now. Professor Kooijmans has been there. Amos Wako, the UN Secretary-General's special envoy has been there. I think it is time for other agencies to be invited in. Maybe without calling it an impartial inquiry into the massacre in East Timor, the same purpose can be accomplished.

8. I don't know for sure what China's position is on East Timor. My guess is that because Indonesia has normalised relations with China and China is very eager to have friends in the region, that the Chinese would now take a position in support of Indonesia. Also with the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Chinese are terrified of any nationality issue emerging on their borders, not only in Tibet but in Inner Mongolia and elsewhere, and the last thing they would want to do would be to encourage other nationalist movements in Asia in any shape or form.

9. Regarding the European Parliament delegation, I think it is very important that the European Parliament continue to press for a visit and make arrangements to do so, and if there is any way I can help, I'd be more than willing.

## STATEMENT BY LIEM SOEI LIONG, TAPOL AND FDI

**Tapol: the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign; FDI: Front Demokrasi Indonesia.**

Mr. Chairman and honourable members of the Parliament,

I am most grateful for the opportunity to address this committee. I have been following events in East Timor closely since 1974, prior to the Indonesian invasion. I belong to the very few Indonesians who took a strong position against the invasion. At the time of the invasion I still carried an Indonesian passport. In 1981 I testified against the Indonesian government at the People's Permanent Tribunal on East Timor in Lisbon. From that moment I entered the blacklist of the Indonesian government, joining the other 17,000 people who aren't allowed to enter or leave Indonesia. My blacklist number is Cekal no. F4-IL-01-03-565, 31.08.81, Security. I am now a Dutch passport holder.

I am proud to report that the situation in Indonesia regarding East Timor has changed considerably. From an obscure political issue, East Timor has now become a central issue in Indonesia. From obscure reporting in the Indonesian press, it now catches the headlines. From unawareness, the people in Indonesia now realise something very wrong is happening in East Timor. Regrettably the lives of approximately 200 East Timorese created this change. The Yorkshire Film 'Cold Blood' has been smuggled inside Indonesia and shown clandestinely to many circles. The pictures that shocked so many around the world have also shocked many in Indonesia.

Much has changed among the young generation in Indonesia. They have grown up in a stifling, authoritarian political atmosphere where no real political parties, mass organisations, trade unions or student unions are allowed. The only outlet for social and political activities is non-governmental organisations or NGO's, from which human rights groups have emerged. And it is from these groups, that awareness about East Timor has grown.

Mr. Chairman and honourable members, The Indonesian regime is one of the oldest surviving dictatorships on this globe.

Usually an authoritarian regime is either a right-wing dictatorship or a Stalinist kind of left-wing regime. The Suharto regime is neither. The main enemies of the regime in Jakarta are the extreme right and the extreme left, or in their terms, fundamentalism and communism. It goes even further: liberalism has also been declared an enemy. Over the years the jails in Indonesia have been filled by members of the communist party and fundamentalist Muslims. Liberal oriented political parties like the modernist Muslim party Masyumi and the social-democratic PSI have been banned as well as PKI, the

Communist party. Suharto and his cohorts don't like any politics. The overall strategy for the last 25 years has been : depoliticisation.

In 1966 all the important mass organisations and trade unions were banned. In the early seventies, after curtailing the remaining political parties the concept of : floating mass was introduced, which bans politics from district level down to the villages. Hence about 70% of the rural population are not allowed to be involved in politics, not even in the emasculated parties.

Just imagine how difficult it is for the young Indonesians , in this political vacuum, to develop political activism of any kind. But fortunately nothing is static. The many contradictions in Indonesian society have created a whole new generation of Indonesian democrats, social and economic workers, human rights activists and environmentalists.

East Timor has only become an issue in the last three years. In 1989 President Suharto took the risk of opening East Timor to foreign investments and tourism. There have been no foreign investments because of the unstable situation but the amount of visitors to East Timor grew rapidly, creating a new phenomena : from being a closed territory, almost overnight foreigners could now see the real situation for themselves. Many reports confirmed that life for the East Timorese is full of misery under Indonesian colonialism. These foreign reports, published abroad, entered Indonesia and created a new awareness among the active young Indonesians. Things have moved fast in the world today, also in Indonesia. From an obscure issue, East Timor grew in importance in the consciousness of Indonesian activists. Demonstrators in Yogyakarta students started to carry banners on East Timor. In 1990 Bandung students on trial made strong statements on human rights violations and mass killings in East Timor in their defence pleas.

During the Gulf war many anti-war demonstrators protested in front of the US embassy drawing an analogy between the invasion of Kuwait the invasion of East Timor. I can speak from my own experience. At the end of 1990 I entered Indonesia illegally and met several groups in different cities. The right of self-determination for the East Timorese had the support of Indonesian activists groups I met.

The Santa Cruz massacre gave added proof of this. In several cities student groups denounced the killings and demanded a referendum for the East Timorese. Major Indonesian human rights organisations like Infight, the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) and the League for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM) have done everything possible to support the Timorese with legal aid, campaigning, writing letters and by channelling information abroad.

A week after the massacre, these organisations were due to send an investigation team to Dili but were prevented from doing so by the military. Instead, activists from Infight and LPHAM were summoned for daily interrogation for almost a month. Their offices were constantly watched by agents, forcing them to close for a time and move to different premises. The LPHAM director, Haji J.C. Princen, was named in the subversion trial of Joao Freitas da Camara, because he gave Camara financial support. Testifying in court last week, Princen said his only regret was that he was unable to give Camara more money. He told the court he had repeatedly written to armed forces commander General Try Sutrisno over the years, asking him to check information about human rights abuses in East Timor. I know it to be true that not one of Princen's letters was answered.

For months after Santa Cruz, Indonesian newspapers were full of reports about East Timor. The most remarkable coverage appeared in a popular weekly, Jakarta, Jakarta which published Timorese eyewitness accounts of the massacre in January. Rebuked by the army, the journal was only able to keep its licence by sacking three senior journalists.

Mr. Chairman and honourable delegates, I want to end with a view of the future. Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the Timorese resistance has stated that the solution of the East Timor problem will be a political one, not a military one. I share this view and we can all contribute to this peace process. The Indonesian people are not at war with the Timorese; the Indonesian regime and the Indonesian army are to blame.

The war in Vietnam was not only fought in Vietnam, the wars in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique were not only fought in Africa. The anti-war movement in the US and worldwide, the anti- fascist movement in Portugal exerted the political pressure needed to end these unjust wars. I am optimistic that the Indonesian people will take a position against the war in East Timor. They will oppose the senseless killings of East Timorese and Indonesian colonialism in East Timor. The presence of Timorese students and workers in many Indonesian cities has contributed to a proper understanding of East Timor. The courage of Timorese students in openly defying Indonesian rule has won admiration from Indonesians and helped their own political practice. The struggle for democracy in Indonesia will pave the way for a just solution for the East Timorese; this will increasingly be the role of Indonesian democrats.

Thank you.

## STATEMENT BY JOSE RAMOS-HORTA, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MAUBERE RESISTANCE

Mr Chairman, Honorable Deputies,

I am honoured and grateful for the invitation kindly extended to me to address the Human Rights Sub-Committee at this time.

The premeditated massacre of unarmed civilians at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, on 12 November 1991, by Indonesian armed forces was only the latest in a 16-year history of gross and systematic human rights violations perpetrated by the Indonesian armed forces against the people of East Timor. Mass killings, summary executions, imprisonment, all forms of torture, are carried out by members of the occupying forces as a matter of routine.

The 12 November massacre was not an aberration. It fits into an ideology of violence very much ingrained in the Indonesian military culture in which force is an instrument of policy and violence is a means to extract loyalty and obedience. This is the guiding doctrine and normal conduct of the Indonesian military who came into being in 1965 following one of the world's worst episodes of carnage when an estimated half a million to a million peasants and workers and innocent Chinese merchants were massacred over a period of six months.

It is in this context and against this background that one has to view the 12 November massacre. The subsequent outrage from the international community at the massacre forced President Suharto to set up the so-called National Commission of Inquiry - led by chief justice Djaelani, a former high-ranking military officer. Amnesty International and Asia Watch, the International Commission of Jurists and the World Council of Churches among others, have rightly called for an impartial international investigation.

However, we are told by some that we have to accept this so-called Indonesian investigation as proof of the good faith of the Indonesian military.

Mr Chairman, would it make sense if the eminent Mr Pol Pot were to be invited to head a Commission to investigate the genocide of the Cambodian people perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge? How would the world react if Mrs. Imelda Marcos were to be appointed head of a commission to investigate allegations of corruption in the shoe industry in the Philippines? Sure, we would all laugh. Then, why are we being told by some quarters that we should applaud the Indonesian Commission of Investigation? The EC Ministers of Foreign Affairs were full of praise for the Indonesian military authorities following the announcement of the conclusions of the Djaelani Commission.

The efforts of the Indonesian Government to present the 12 November massacre in Dili as an isolated incident is contradicted by all the available evidence. I know of orders given by the Indonesian Armed Forces Chief, General Try Sutrisno, to the Dili operational commander to use force on 12 November 1991. These orders were issued three weeks prior to 12 November and reissued three times 24 hours before the tragic event.

In the days immediately following the Santa Cruz massacre several other massacres took place. On 15 November, 80 people were arrested, blindfolded, their arms tied behind their backs and taken in trucks to a site on the outskirts of Dili where they were shot and bulldozed into a previously dug pit. On 17 November, another ten people were killed by Indonesian soldiers, and on 18 November a further seven people were murdered in cold blood. These included five women, a five-year old, and a one-year-old baby.

The 12 November massacre exposes the fallacy of Indonesia's claim that the people of East Timor are now happy Indonesians after 500 years of colonial servitude under the Portuguese. Indonesia rules East Timor by force and repression, and yet the culture of violence has not produced the results it wanted. Another way must be found. These points were conceded by the former Prime Minister of Australia, Bob Hawke, who, following the massacre, described East Timor as a "running sore" and stated that a military solution is no solution, and called on Indonesia to talk to the East Timorese, including the resistance.

Mr Chairman, Honorable Deputies,

The right of the people of East Timor to self-determination is beyond any question. The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have affirmed this right in several important resolutions and East Timor remains on the General Assembly's list of "Non-Self-Governing Territories."

Indonesia never raised any claims over East Timor between 1945 and 1975. According to its founding fathers, it was the successor state only to the so-called Dutch East Indies. Hence it invaded and annexed West New Guinea even though the people of this territory have absolutely nothing in common with the people of Java. If Indonesia arguably had any legitimate claim over West New Guinea by virtue of the fact that this territory was part of the so-called Dutch East Indies, when the Indonesian leaders invaded East Timor in 1975, they destroyed the very foundation of the legal and historical arguments that sustained their claims over the whole of the Dutch East Indies - a geographical expression as artificial as what was the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Indonesian leaders must be aware of the vulnerability of states that were born out of the European empires and that only a scrupulous observance of the sanctity of the colonial boundaries can

guarantee the territorial integrity of each state. By invading East Timor in 1975, Indonesia set a danger precedent and opened the "Pandora Box" of secession in the archipelago.

In June 1974, following the Portuguese Carnation Revolution, on behalf of the East Timorese Social Democratic Party, of which I was a founding member and Secretary for Foreign Affairs, I travelled to Indonesia and met with Foreign Minister Adam Malik and several senior Indonesian officials. Following my conversations with Mr Malik, I was given a letter in which the following points were made:

"The independence of every country is the right of every nation, with no exception for the people of (East) Timor;

"(...)whoever will govern in Timor in the future after independence can be assured that the Government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations, friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both countries."

In the course of the discussions, I conveyed to Mr Malik our desire to develop close relations with Indonesia and our intention to apply for membership of ASEAN. This, in our view, was a clear assurance on our part that an independent East Timor would be an element of peace, security and cooperation in the region.

My apparently successful visit to Indonesia in June 1974 raised hopes in East Timor that Indonesia was blessing the birth of an independent East Timor. In the following months, I held more meetings with senior Indonesian officials, including General Moertopo, President Suharto's right-hand man. I was reassured that Indonesia would not interfere in, and would never use force against, East Timor.

Yet, Mr Chairman, one thing I learned. The word of an Indonesian official is given and broken just as easily. On 7 December 1975, pretence and lies were no longer enough. If as Clausewitz said, war is the continuation of politics by other means, the Indonesian military did carry out this maxim in the extreme - it invaded East Timor.

The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council condemned the invasion and called upon Indonesia to withdraw its forces from East Timor and reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. I would note that Security Council Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975 was unanimous, a rare event at the time of East-West tensions. Yet, Indonesia defied the world and pursued a policy of aggression that by 1980 had resulted in the annihilation of 200,000 people.

The tragic event of 12 November 1991 marks, however, a turning point in the 16-year-old conflict. East Timor is now an international issue which touches the conscience of millions of people around the world. In Indonesia itself, voices of mod-

eration and reason are being heard. There is a realisation that the invasion and annexation of East Timor and the policies of the past 16 years were colossal mistakes. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas himself has publicly acknowledged that the East Timor problem is limiting Indonesia's capacity to intervene more constructively in world affairs, is costly, and a solution must be found.

Mistakes are inherent in the human condition. Indonesian leaders must have the vision and courage of great men who can accept mistakes and propose new directions for their country's policies towards East Timor and, in fact, towards their own society in general.

On the other hand, East Timorese political leaders must also have the vision and courage to meet the Indonesians half-way and reassure them that the people of East Timor wish to find a "modus vivendi" with them and to begin a new chapter in the relationship.

In spite of the untold sufferings inflicted upon us, we continue to extend an olive branch to those who see us as their enemy.

Negotiations without pre-conditions under United Nations auspices

Xanana Gusmao, the Resistance Leader of East Timor, proposed and remains ready to enter into a process of dialogue with the Indonesian authorities, under the auspices of the United Nations, without pre-conditions, to explore all possible options towards a comprehensive settlement of the problem of East Timor. The peace proposal put forward by Mr Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the Resistance, reflects the stand of all sections of East Timorese society inside East Timor and abroad, as well as the Catholic Church.

The Portuguese government has endorsed this peace proposal and handed it over to the UN Secretary-General in January. Allow me, Mr Chairman and Honorable members of the European Parliament, to elaborate a bit on how I see the unfolding of the peace process. This would involve three phases.

#### PHASE ONE - ONE TO TWO YEARS

"The Portuguese authorities and the Indonesians should commence talks at once, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General. This does not necessitate East Timor's direct involvement."

For the first stage, we are proposing a modified version of the "proximity talks" followed in the Afghanistan case where in the face of Pakistan's refusal to sit face-to-face with the Kabul government, the UN acted as "go-between." This should overcome Indonesia's present stance in refusing to talk directly to the East Timorese.

This phase of the talks must focus on achieving:

- An immediate end to all armed activities in East Timor;
- immediate and unconditional release of all East Timorese political prisoners;

- Reduction of Indonesian military personnel in East Timor from its current estimated strength of 20,000 - 30,000 to 1,000 within a six-month period;
- The removal from East Timor of all heavy weapons, tanks, helicopters, combat aircraft, long-range artillery pieces;
- reduction by 50 per cent of Indonesian civil servants in East Timor;
- expanding the presence and activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) into every district of East Timor and in strict observance of the Geneva Conventions;
- Access to the territory by UN Specialised Agencies such as UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, FAO etc, for the purpose of carrying out, within their respective fields of competence, a comprehensive programme on:
  - Restoration and protection of the environment;
  - Voluntary resettlement of the tens of thousands of displaced East Timorese in their ancestral lands;
  - Development projects in every district;
  - Proper care for women and children;
  - Immunization campaign.
- A comprehensive census of the population to be undertaken by the competent UN bodies, a pre-condition for all the above projects to be carried out effectively;
- A Human Rights Commission to be set up in Dili, headed by the Bishop, comprising a number of East Timorese of his choice and with the assistance of reputed Indonesian human rights organisations and the UN Human Rights Centre in Geneva. This Commission would report directly to the Indonesian Head of State and the Portuguese Government, with copies to the UN Secretary-General, the UN Human Rights Centre in Geneva which would circulate it to the UN Human Rights Commission on Human Rights. These reports may be made available to other institutions and the public;
- Lifting of press censorship;
- Freedom of political activities and assembly;
- Removal of restrictions on, and expansion of, the teaching of Portuguese and Portuguese schools;
- The UN Secretary-General appoints a Resident Representative who is responsible for all UN activities in East Timor, including reporting on the implementation of the accords.

### PHASE TWO - FIVE YEARS

The first stage is indispensable for a gradual normalisation of the situation and for PHASE TWO to be effected.

At the end of Phase One,

- Portugal and Indonesia to normalise relations;
- Political parties are legalised;
- Portugal to be represented in East Timor by a legation of the European Community with a resident Portuguese official;
- A Portuguese Cultural Institute is set up with funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation, Fundacao Oriente and the EC;
- Elections to be held for a local Assembly. The election process and procedures must conform with universally-accepted democratic norms. The UN to provide technical support and supervision of the election;
- Only East Timorese identified as such may vote and be eligible;
- The democratically-elected Assembly elects a Governor of the Territory who has to be an East Timorese;
- The Assembly and Governor have a 5-year mandate;
- The Territory may enter into trade relations with foreign countries, promulgate all its laws affecting investment, land ownership, property, etc;
- Remaining Indonesian troops are withdrawn within three months. The Territory will have no army. A Territorial police force is organised by the UN and is placed under the command of the elected Governor;
- The Territory will have its own immigration laws;
- Further reduction of Indonesian civil servants.

### PHASE THREE – SELF-DETERMINATION

Phase Two may be extended by mutual consent. A 2/3 vote of the Assembly in support of extending Phase Two is needed before the proposal is put to a referendum.

If a referendum rejects extension of Phase Two, Phase Three commences.

If the Assembly fails to adopt a recommendation for the extension of Phase Two, it would continue to function for up to three years while negotiations with the Government in Indonesia take place.

If a referendum votes for the extension of Phase Two, elections are held within three months for a new Assembly and Governor.

At the end of Phase Two or the second regime of Phase Two, whatever the case, Phase Three covers:

- Preparations for a referendum on self-determination followed by general elections for a Constituent Assembly being undertaken within a period of one year;

- Transfer of power to the elected government takes place;
- East Timorese political leaders form a government of National Unity;
- East Timor is declared a Zone of Peace and of Neutrality to be guaranteed by the Permanent Members of the Security Council and ASEAN;
- East Timor joins ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum;
- East Timor accedes to, and ratifies, all international human rights instruments.

These are some of the ideas to be explored further when Indonesian leaders decide to come to terms with the reality that their 16-year occupation of East Timor has been an utter failure. I am prepared to fly to Indonesia or anywhere, at any time, to meet with senior Indonesian officials to commence the dialogue.

It was with an open mind, optimism and hope that in June 1974 I travelled to Indonesia and met with Foreign Minister Adam Malik to discuss the future of East Timor. The same spirit inspires me today.

In a world where dialogue has for the most part replaced confrontation, the continuing use of force by Indonesia to resolve an issue which is eminently political must be rejected by the international community. The largest army in the world was not able to prevent the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet empire. Dictators all over the world have been overthrown or are being phased out. Has anyone forgotten the Shah of Iran, Somoza of Nicaragua, Duvalier of Haiti, Idi Amin of Uganda, Mengistu of Ethiopia, Stroessner of Paraguay, Pinochet of Chile, Marcos of the Philippines and Ceaucescu of Romania?

No matter the overwhelming force used against us, our will to be free will prevail. Our dream will never die. We will reach the mountain top.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

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### PUBLIC HEARING KEEPS EC'S ATTENTION ON INDONESIA

Brussels, Apr. 23 (ips) – A public enquiry into human rights abuses in East Timor, Thursday, heard participants call for a stronger European community (EC) stance against Indonesia for its role in the Dili massacre in East Timor in November 1991.

At the hearing, organised by the European Parliament's sub-committee on human rights, Euro-MP's also urged the EC to stimulate dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal through the United Nations and negotiate self-determination for the East Timorese people.

Meanwhile, the European parliament is considering the sending its own delegation to East Timor to investigate rights abuses and talk with the East Timorese themselves on their future wishes.



Indonesia officially admits that fifty people were killed by their troops in Dili on Nov. 12 in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Independent groups put the number of dead as twice this figure.

The EC strongly condemned the Dili killings and called for an independent investigation of the events, a demand not yet met, said Portuguese government representative Rui Santos at the Thursday hearing.

But EC states stopped short of collective sanctions against Indonesia pending an independent international inquiry.

The Dutch government alone froze its extensive bilateral aid programme, which led to Indonesia's rejection of the world bank's donor consortium for Indonesia, then presided by Dutch development minister, Jan Pronk. A new consortium will meet in July.

Sidney Jones, director of the new York based human rights group 'Asia watch,' said the official figure of only 50 deaths was "far too low." It was also just one event in a long line of human rights abuses by the Indonesian government in East Timor, although the worst since 1984.

She called on the EC to use all its means to get answers to "unanswered questions." The EC should also back up its grand statements on linking development aid to human rights, otherwise its reaction to Indonesia would be seen as the "European bluff."

Jones urged foreign journalists to apply for travel permits to East Timor, and for foreign governments to press the Indonesian government to allow foreign observers to attend the trials of those responsible for the Dili massacre.

Another speaker, John Taylor, lecturer in development studies at London's South Bank Polytechnic, said Australia had been "the worst" over the Dili massacre, tempering its reaction for fear of losing oil concessions off East Timor's southern coast.

On the contrary, western governments should now take a stronger stance with Indonesia, said Taylor.

He said that with the end of the cold war, the US no longer depended on Indonesia's influence in the area. This should allow the west to take a tougher position and win a negotiated settlement for the East Timorese.

"The main barrier is the recalcitrance of the Indonesian government," he said. Hanging on to East Timor was a "matter of military pride for the government," he added.

But Lopez Da Cruz, representative of the Indonesian government at the hearing, made it clear that they believed that the territory's integration into Indonesia was "irreversible."

"The future of East Timor is the future of Indonesia," he emphasised. The elections of Jun. 9 1992 in which the East Timorese will participate were confirmation of this, he said.

And Indonesia's ambassador to the EC, Atmono Suryo, defended his country against charges of violation of human rights and emphasised Indonesia's attachment to its basic principles.

### EC BACKSLIDING ON RIGHTS?

IPS, Brussels, May 5 - European Community officials have been asked to establish the "fairness" of the EC's policy of setting conditions on human rights before development aid is provided to Third World countries.

Officials from the EC's European Commission will be drafting a report on the subject following after a debate on the EC policy of linking aid and human rights, as enshrined in a resolution agreed by the EC's 12 Development Ministers last November.

However, when the ministers met again yesterday, at a session chaired by Portugal's Secretary of State for Development, Durao Barros, the resolution came under review.

The November resolution said that "negative" steps like the freezing of development aid, should be taken against countries with poor human rights records, whereas countries attempting to build democracies, should be eligible for funds to transform their political systems.

Barros declined to give specific examples to journalists of an inequitable EC policy, but said that the case of Indonesia had been raised during yesterday's meeting.

Throughout its six month term as holder of the rotating presidency of the EC, which ends in June, Portugal has been lobbying in EC circles for EC measures against the Indonesian government.

So far, all EC member states have been prepared to do, is to request an international independent inquiry into the incident.

Barros told journalists that the EC study was necessary as some Asian countries whose economic progress was faster and greater than that of some African countries "should be the first to implement political reform."

"There can be no development without respect for human rights; the right to life, self expression and other rights," Barros told journalists, adding that the EC's credibility was at stake in the application of an impartial policy.

The Portuguese Minister added that the United Kingdom, which takes over the EC presidency on July 1, would fully debate the issue.

Barros declined to say whether the Portuguese government would continue to press for EC sanctions against Indonesia during the remaining weeks of its presidency.

## INDONESIA AND THE AID, IGGI CARD

### JAPAN TO CONTINUE SENDING DEVELOPMENT AID

Jakarta ANTARA in English, 27 Mar 92

Tokyo, Mar 27 (ANTARA)-The Japanese Government will continue providing aid to Indonesia in accordance with bilateral relations and international cooperation.

"Japan will not change its mind in providing economic aid to Indonesia," Japanese Foreign Affairs Ministry's General Information Deputy Chairman Sadaaki Numata told ANTARA here Thursday.

His statement came following Indonesia's decision to reject Dutch aid, including those provided through the IGGI [Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia], chaired by the Dutch Government.

A reason expressed by Indonesia for rejecting the aid is the Dutch Government's frequent actions of intimidating and threatening as well as linking its assistance to certain conditions unacceptable to a sovereign country.

"We're committed to help improve the economy and social welfare of Southeast Asia, and this effort includes providing aid to Indonesia," he said.

Asked about a proposal for a new forum called consultative forum of the World Bank to replace the IGGI, he disclosed that Japan will hold a consultative meeting with all concerned countries, including the United States, the Netherlands, the World Bank, and other international financial institutions.

"We hope we can negotiate this with those countries and international institutions," he noted.

The Japanese Foreign Ministry's spokesman pointed out that he could understand why the Indonesia-Netherlands bilateral relations were getting worse. The Dutch Government has always linked its aid to human rights and recently with the Dili incident.

But the Japanese Government had stated that it respected all the measures taken by the Indonesian Government to tackle consequences of the incident.

S. Nakajima, a Japanese businessman-cum-adviser, said: "I agree with the idea on the consultative forum, which means that aid to Indonesia will always be referred to the United Nations."

The senior adviser of the ASEAN centre said, however, that it should be discussed carefully in order not to harm Indonesia's interest.

## AUSTRIA DENIES REPORTS OF AID SUSPENSION

Jakarta ANTARA in English 1 April 92

Jakarta, Apr. 1 (OANA-ANTARA)-Recent press reports quoting [Austrian] junior minister Peter Jankowitsch that Austria has suspended technical cooperation with Indonesia are grossly incorrect.

The Austrian Embassy here Wednesday announced in a statement that the Austrian Government has never contemplated such a move or discussed [it] with the Indonesian Government.

There is no change whatsoever in the policy of the Austrian Government clearly expressed during the official visit to Indonesia of Foreign Minister Alois Mock from February 11 to 12.

As of Monday, it said Mr. Jankowitsch is no longer a member of the Austrian Government.

He has been replaced by Mrs. Brigitte Ederer who will be sworn in as the new junior minister in charge of bilateral development cooperation, it said.

### ALATAS: AUSTRIA TO CONTINUE AID

ANTARA in English 1 April 92  
Jakarta, April 1 (OANA/ANTARA)-Foreign Affairs Minister Ali Alatas said that the Austrian Government never halted its policy on aid to Indonesia and it was only the press that said it had been stopped.

"After we checked the matter with the Indonesian Embassy in Vienna, the report on the statement by the former Austrian junior minister (for bilateral development cooperation) never came up at all in Austria," Alatas told newsmen here on Wednesday.

Alatas asserted the press report carried by the French news agency AFP was based on a telephone interview with Peter Jankowitsch, in which the former junior minister said that Austria had called off its technical assistance to Indonesia.

In the interview, Alatas added, Jankowitsch was reported to have only said that all project assistance to Indonesia will always be studied carefully.

Austrian Foreign Affairs Ministry high-ranking officials, according to Alatas, have said that Jankowitsch's statement on the issue was by no means a policy of the Austrian Government.

"Therefore, I expect that the report be corrected, and the Indonesian Government will not unnecessarily and hastily give comments on it," Alatas pointed out.

Meanwhile, the Austrian Embassy in Jakarta in a press statement on Wednesday said that the report was "grossly incorrect."

There is no change whatsoever in the policy of the Austrian Government, as clearly "expressed during the official visit to Indonesia of Foreign Minister Dr. Alois Mock last February, the statement said.

Since last Monday Jankowitsch is no longer a member of the Austrian Government; his post has been taken over by Mrs. Brigitte Ederer.

Austria's commitment in the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) aid package for the 1991/92 fiscal year was 8.0 million U.S. dollars, or 0.2 percent of the total 4.755 billion U.S. dollars.

The Indonesian Government has requested the Netherlands not to convene meetings of the IGGI anymore, which automatically means the dissolution of the 24 year-old consortium.

The Netherlands was the chairman of the group.

### AUSTRIAN ENVOY REAFFIRMS CONTINUATION OF AID

ANTARA in English 3 April 92

[Excerpts] Jakarta, April 3 (OANA/ANTARA)-The Austrian ambassador to Indonesia, Dr. Herbert Kroll, confirmed here Friday that Austria's aid activities in Indonesia are continuing normally, saying that he believed a unilateral aid suspension is not the right way.

Technical assistance or financial aid is based on bilateral agreements and, therefore, you have to discuss things first with the other side and one should not decide the suspension of a bilateral agreement without prior consultations with the other party, he told ANTARA. [passage omitted]

Dr. Kroll further said that during the official visit of the Austrian foreign minister to Indonesia, an IGGI soft loan agreement was signed between Bank Austria and the Indonesian Ministry of Finance in the amount of 40 million U.S. dollars for the supply, staff training, and installation of 16 regional stations of the RRI [Radio Republik Indonesia] national radio network.

This project is going on and I just came back from Irian Jaya where I have been visiting the radio stations in Biak and Serui which will be refurbished, he said.

That 58 Indonesian teachers will soon be leaving for Austria for a special 3 to 4 month training course also reflects the fact that there is no aid stoppage, he said.

Indonesia, however, has requested the Netherlands to stop convening meetings of the IGGI and demand dissolution of the 24-year-old aid consortium for reasons that the Netherlands has frequently used its aid as an instrument of political intimidation.

On other Austrian cooperation projects in Indonesia, Dr. Kroll said they included the setting up of a technical center at the Engineering Faculty at the Semarang-based Diponegoro University which will start operation in September, and similar ones in other universities and senior technical high schools.

Dr. Kroll also mentioned about a preparatory project for the protection of the tropical forest on Seram Island in cooperation with Ambon's Pattimura University.

I am now waiting for the green light of the Pattimura University to be able to send an Austrian forest expert to Ambon, he said.

## EC-ASEAN AGREEMENT DEBATE

EP SESSION NEWS PRESS RELEASE, APRIL 9, 1992

### TRADE RELATIONS WITH ASEAN (A3-119/92 - VISSER)

Thursday, 9 April - Ben Visser (NL, Soc) reported to the House on the prospects for a new trade and cooperation agreement with the ASEAN countries, i.e. Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand as the current one dating from 1980 had expired last October. The EC is ASEAN's third largest trading partner after Japan and the US, said Mr Visser.

He felt the new agreement should be broadly based and cover not just economic, trade and industrial cooperation but also investment, research and development, financial services, the protection of intellectual property, the environment and respect for human rights. The protection of tropical rain forests was another key concern, he added.

Other speakers in the debate, including Peter Beazley (Bedfordshire South, ED), stressed the need for the inclusion of a human rights clause in the agreement. Some mentioned the situation in East Timor and Rui Amaral (P, LDR) insisted that normal relations with Indonesia should only be resumed when it ceased its repression in East Timor.

Commissioner Abel Matutes informed the House that he hoped the new agreement would be signed in October this year. He agreed that human rights was a key issue.

## DUTCH-INDONESIA ROW A BOOST TO TOKYO'S PRAGMATIC AID POLICY

Tokyo, Apr. 10 (ips/Suvendrini Kakuchi) - Indonesia's rejection of all aid from the Netherlands because of the latter's attempts to link assistance to human rights has only served to boost Japan's low-profile policy in this area, aid experts here said.

"If the world expects Japan to take up the crusade for protecting human rights, forget it. Rather, Jakarta's stance has given the Japanese government the confidence it needs to continue its hypocritical stance on human rights," said Yoshinori Murai, an expert on official development aid (ODA).

The Japanese government has indicated the Dutch-Indonesian quarrel will not affect its dealings with Jakarta.

Tokyo maintains that support for Indonesian president Suharto is important

for the benefit of the majority of Indonesians.

"The nation's economic recovery under Suharto has been significant. If Japan pulls out now, they will be affected badly," argued a foreign ministry official.

Indonesia severed in late March economic ties with its former colonial ruler and disbanded the inter-governmental group on Indonesia (IGGI), the 24-group aid consortium chaired by the Netherlands which provides cheap grants and loans to Jakarta.

With the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, Japan contributes more than 80 percent of IGGI aid.

Tokyo's slow reaction to condemn the killings of East Timorese by the Indonesian army last November has been a source of conflict with other international aid donors, non-governmental organisations (NGO's) monitoring Japanese ODA and aid experts.

Japan included last year human rights protection as one of the guiding principles in the disbursement of its massive ODA budget.

But its reluctance to impose sanctions on human rights abusers, except in a few instances, indicates that its commitment to the issue is "largely lip service," said an NGO member.

The Japanese government has explained that its policy linking human rights to aid is to be considered on a case-by-case basis and not as a general principle.

"It's not that Japan does not want to see that human rights are respected around the world. We are pursuing the matter with Indonesia even now," said the foreign ministry official.

With the Netherlands being told off by Jakarta, analysts say Japan will feel its policy is justified.

Tokyo also scored on its policy of preferring to support official projects rather than non-governmental organisations which was the favoured method with the Dutch.

NGO's operating in Indonesia are strongly dependent on Dutch aid. These organisations will now be silenced and their activities adversely affected by the Dutch aid pull-out, Murai said.

ODA analysts point out that Japanese international assistance is closely linked to the national interest and is the main reason why Indonesia has been spared sanctions from Japan.

Japanese companies maintain close business contacts with top Indonesians. Japan's war compensation payments to Indonesia, the first country to be repaid after World War II, is known to have gone into the pockets of influential politicians and businessmen.

Analysts say this is not the case with Burma which is under international criticism for its repression of the opposition, democracy activists and minorities.

Japan has not suspended aid to Burma though it has been critical of Rangoon's persecution of its Muslim minorities.

"Japan will find it easier to withdraw aid from Burma if there is an international consensus on the issue. This is what happened with China after the Tiananmen Square incident," said Murai.

U.S. pressure also plays a big part on formulating Japanese opinion on human rights abusers, analysts say.

"If Washington slaps a ban on Burma soon, Japan is bound to follow," said Reiko Inoue of the Pacific Asian Resources Centre.

The reason why prime minister Kiichi Miyazawa brought up the subject of Beijing's poor human rights record with visiting Chinese Communist Party general secretary Jiang Zemin this week was mainly to placate Washington, analysts say.

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## WORLD BANK TO CHAIR NEW INDONESIA AID FORUM

### NEW AID GROUP TO MEET IN PARIS

*Financial Times. 10 April 1992. By William Keeling.*

(Jakarta) – The World Bank has agreed to Indonesia's request that it set up a donor consultative forum. The request was made after Indonesia dissolved the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, the previous forum, in March.

Indonesia had accused the Netherlands, which chaired the IGGI, of using aid as a political tool to interfere in its internal affairs.

The decision to set up a new forum was made after consulting "the traditional members of Indonesia's donor community" from whom the bank "received broad support," the World Bank said in a letter to the Indonesian government.

The first meeting of the new forum will take place in Paris on July 16 and 17, only one month after the cancelled annual meeting of the IGGI. Indonesia received \$4.75bn in donor commitments at the last IGGI meeting and officials say they are confident of a similar response in July.

The meeting is likely to be a test of how far donors regard Indonesia as having moved on the issue of human rights. Many donors have expressed concern at the killing of civilians by security forces in East Timor last November, but have since welcomed a government report criticising the role of the armed forces in the event.

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## PORTUGAL PRESSURING NETHERLANDS TO RAISE ISSUE OF AID REJECTION

### NAM SUMMIT TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS

*Jakarta Post. 9 April 1992. Abridged.*

Portugal, the chairman of the European Community, has attempted to influence the Netherlands to bring the issue of Dutch development aid to the attention of the EC says Atmono Suryo, Indonesia's ambassador to the European Community. However, the Netherlands objected on the grounds that the matter was a bilateral issue and it seems likely the EC will also treat it in the same way.

Speaking after a talk with President Suharto, Atmono said: "President Suharto explained that the problem had nothing to do with human rights but with foreign aid used as a tool of intimidation." The President told Atmono that Indonesia's Constitution guaranteed individual rights and the rights and responsibilities of all members of society.

"Of course, our views on human rights are not the same as Europe's," said Atmono and recalled a meeting between ASEAN and EC ministers in Luxembourg where both parties had greatly differing views on human rights.

### NAM SUMMIT

Atmono said the Non-Aligned Movement summit meeting to be held here (in Jakarta) in September will formulate its own concept on human rights. "The concept will certainly differ from that of the West, including the European Community," he said.

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## TAPOL BRIEFING PAPER ON DISSOLUTION OF IGGI

*On 16 April, 1992, TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Briefing Paper on Indonesia's decision to end aid relations with the Netherlands and dissolve the IGGI:*

The decision announced by the Indonesian government on 25 March to end its aid relationship with Holland and disband IGGI, the international donors' conference on Indonesia, was front-page news for many days in both countries. Reporting in other countries was very limited which is why this briefing paper has been prepared.

The decision to stop accepting aid from Holland was taken at the highest level in Jakarta, by President Suharto himself. Indonesian press reports reveal that the president starting planning his counter-move against Holland when he was in Mexico on 18 November. This was when Suharto heard that Holland was freezing new projects to

Indonesia in response to the Santa Cruz massacre.

Suharto's overseas tour, organised to celebrate the fact that Indonesia would be hosting the 1992 meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), was a major disappointment. From Mexico City to Dakar, Suharto was haunted by the spectre of the Santa Cruz killings. Everywhere, probing questions were asked and on several occasions Suharto lost his temper.

As soon as he arrived back in Jakarta, several ministers were assigned to assess the 'damage' which would be inflicted if Indonesia rejected Dutch aid. The first concrete step was to make adjustments to the 1992/1993 annual budget. The draft budget announced in January showed a slight fall in foreign aid dependency. As we now know, Suharto was already preparing his counter-offensive specifically against Holland.

Nobody in the Indonesian government had expected the huge international outcry over the Santa Cruz massacre. In the eighties there were killings in many different parts of the Indonesian archipelago but the international response was muted. Suharto and his ministers were taken by surprise. Moreover, the gathering international consensus to link human rights to development aid upset them deeply. Suharto and his inner-core ministers took several months to prepare their counter-offensive.

The report of the KPN, the National Inquiry Commission, was the first move to dampen international criticism but it had little impact. The demand for an independent international inquiry continued to reverberate. The Ali Alatas tour of Europe and North America was also largely a failure. Foreign criticism could only be curbed if Jakarta produced real results.

The release of the report of the DKM (Dewan Kehormatan Militer, Honourary Military Council) was a different matter. For the first time since the Orde Baru (Suharto's New Order) took control, two generals were removed from their posts and four high-ranking officers were removed from active duty, resulting in a major overhaul of the military command in East Timor. In addition, it was announced that five lower-ranking soldiers would go on trial (though no trials have yet been held). Even seasoned Jakarta-watchers were surprised by the move. Although the DKM investigation was conducted and the final report was written by senior generals, its conclusions were formulated in close consultation with President Suharto.

The DKM report served several purposes for Suharto. It led many foreign diplomats and governments to believe that Jakarta was seriously intent on improving the human rights situation in East Timor. But a careful reading of the report shows that Suharto was furious with the officers in charge in Dili not because they killed so many Timorese but because they had allowed the demonstration to go ahead. In

Suharto's view, prevention is by far the best way to control the population. The military were punished for letting the demonstration happen, despite the many signals from intelligence that the Timorese were preparing a demonstration.

In April another major reshuffle took place. The entire leadership of BAIS (Badan Intelijen Strategis, one of the major intelligence bodies) was replaced; although officially denied, it is clear that this overhaul was also a consequence of the Santa Cruz massacre.

Much has changed in Jakarta since the 12 November bloodbath. The regime has undergone profound changes. In particular Suharto has been forced to take one measure after another, balancing one decision against another while at the same time coping with international issues and simmering domestic problems. The decision to 'punish' Holland serves a number of objectives.

Firstly, the Suharto Government has made it clear that it rejects any linkage between human rights and aid. However, the EC Resolution of 28 November (adopted during the Dutch presidency) is forthright on the need for such a linkage. By cutting the aid tie with Holland, Suharto has told the outside world, and in particular Europe, that Indonesia vehemently opposes any such linkage. The Indonesian ambassador to the EC, Atmono Suryo, recently quoted Suharto as saying that Indonesia, as chair of NAM, would encourage the movement at its summit in September to advocate its own version of human rights. Atmono said: "The (NAM) concept will certainly differ from that of the West, including the European Community."

Secondly, Suharto wants to put new life into the sagging fortunes of the non-aligned movement, whose *raison d'être* has largely evaporated with the end of the Cold War. By showing a fist to Holland, a typical western industrial power, Suharto hopes to make the debt problem a key issue on the agenda of NAM. Suharto, now seeking in his twilight years to emerge as a world statesman, wants to appear on the international arena as the champion of the South.

Thirdly, the move helped to deflect attention at home from a looming domestic crisis. Criticism of the monopolistic activities of his family is growing in intensity. It is standard practice for rulers to use international diversions to boost national fervor. Suharto is determined to rule for a sixth term; targeting Indonesia's former colonial power was the move of an astute politician.

Another of Suharto's aims was to punish Minister Jan Pronk, the Dutch ODA Minister and chair of IGGI. Jan Pronk is a high-profile politician who, with majority support in Parliament, has often criticised Indonesia's woeful human rights record. As chair of IGGI, he visited Indonesia every year to oversee IGGI projects and invariably used the opportunity to meet dissidents and opposition figures. President

Suharto felt offended by this and chose to teach this Dutch social democrat a lesson.

Before announcing the decision on 25 March, Suharto took care to assess the possible damage of cutting Dutch aid. Approaches were made to the US, Japan, the UK, Germany, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to make sure their portion of ODA was safe. Dutch aid accounts for only 2% of IGGI aid. (In 1991, IGGI aid amounted to US \$ 4.7 billion).

In response to Jakarta's proposal, a new-style IGGI has been formed under the auspices of the World Bank, called the Consultative Group on Indonesia. This follows the pattern of several Paris donor clubs for other third world countries. Indonesia's Paris Club will hold its first meeting in Paris on 16 and 17 July.

### Conclusions and Suggestions

1. Suharto's gambit is very risky. His annual budget is still 20% dependent on foreign aid. Indonesia's trade balance deteriorated this year because the three major non-oil exports, plywood, rubber and garments, are not doing well. Although Indonesia is the major oil exporter in Asia and world's biggest liquefied natural gas exporter, world market prices remain sluggish.
2. Up to now, Suharto has been lucky. None of Holland's EC partners has come to the defence of The Hague. Partly this is because the Dutch have sought to treat the dispute as a bilateral affair between Holland and Indonesia. European companies are eager for business in Indonesia and are therefore unwilling to get involved. But in the longer term Suharto could encounter resistance on the international arena, if there is growing international consensus on linking aid to human rights.
3. An early test will come when the EC negotiates its new treaty on economic co-operation with ASEAN countries later this year. Conditionality has been adopted as EC policy and Portugal has made it known that it will insist on the inclusion of a strongly-worded human rights clause because of the situation in East Timor. The hearing on East Timor being held on 23 April by the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee could not have come at a more opportune moment. A great deal of pressure will be needed to persuade other EC member-states to support the Portuguese position and challenge Indonesia on its rejection of aid conditionality.
4. The linkage between ODA and human rights should be constantly stressed. If countries like Iraq, Libya or Malawi are being punished with sanctions, the US, the UK and Japan in particular should be pressed to apply these criteria consistently. The World Bank and the IMF should not be allowed to escape from

linking human rights and the environment to aid. By sticking his neck out, Suharto has made himself vulnerable. It is up to human rights activists to make Suharto pay for this.

5. Holland should be criticised for treating the Suharto decision as a bilateral affair. Dutch companies which handle ODA projects in Indonesia will lose a great deal of business, along with about 250 Dutch consultants and ODA workers who will lose their jobs. University projects with Indonesian universities will end and Indonesian NGOs will lose counterpart financing. This is why the Dutch government has taken such a cautious approach. In so doing, Suharto is made to appear to have the upper hand. Other EC governments as well as IGGI members like Canada, the US, Australia, Sweden, Austria and Norway, should be urged not to accept Indonesia's position.
6. The implicit message, conveyed in the letter sent by the Indonesian government to the Dutch government on 25 March, is: "Yes, we do violate human rights but we regard this as a domestic matter. Any country such as Holland that criticises us will have to bear the consequences." This must not be tolerated. Upholding human rights is a universal principle which even Indonesia has acknowledged by its acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
7. The dissolution of IGGI is a matter for celebration by all human rights NGOs. The consortium always supported the Suharto regime politically and economically. It was never possible to press the question of human rights abuses during IGGI meetings. Human rights was never accepted as an item on the agenda. Now that the World Bank has agreed to chair a new-style IGGI, it should be roundly condemned for submitting to Indonesian arrogance. Although human rights have never been high on the Bank's list of priorities, NGOs and solidarity groups must make sure that the Bank will live to regret its decision.

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## GINANJAR DEFENDS FOREIGN LOANS

### FOREIGN AID SAID NO PROBLEM IF UNDER CONTROL

Jakarta ANTARA in English 13 April 92

Jakarta, April 13 (OANA/ANTARA) - Minister of Mines and Energy Ginanjar Kartasasmita has said that foreign aid for development projects will not become a national problem as the aid is not binding and is still under control.

In his address at the opening of a working meeting of the Ministry of Mines and Energy here on Monday, Minister Ginanjar

further pointed out that due to limited government funds foreign loans were still necessary.

I believe that the use of foreign loans for our national development will not downgrade the national dignity as the aid is still under our control and not accepted with political strings, he stressed.

He went on to say that not only the mining sector, but also the electricity sector which would become a basic requirement in the future, were in big need of foreign loans. The development in the electricity sector had even necessitated the involvement of the private sector, including the foreign private sector, he said.

This was also the case in the [word indistinct] of technology, which until now still depended on foreign know-how, but which gradually should decrease, he said.

To decrease dependence on foreign technology, the mining and energy sectors should be able to obtain self-reliance through giving priority to the development of human resources.

According to Ginanjar, in the current world situation with its stiff competition, relying on natural resources alone would no longer be sufficient, particularly in connection with the ever-increasing progress made in technological development.

Only through the ability to compete would enable a nation to make progress and harden themselves in a world which obviously becomes gradually smaller and even more open as a consequence of technological progress, Ginanjar asserted. [sentence as received]

Meanwhile, the secretary general of the Ministry of Mines and Energy, T.B. Silalahi, told reporters that the ministry's three-day working meeting would also discuss the continuation of a number of projects under the auspices of the ministry which so far had received aid from the Netherlands.

"We have made an inventory of the projects which received aid from the Netherlands pursuant to directives of the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas). But I believe there will be no difficulties, because Dutch aid in the mining and electricity sectors was very small," Silalahi said.

The working meeting was attended by officials of the Ministry of Mines and Energy, the chairmen of the boards of directors, the supervisory boards, and boards of management of state-owned enterprises under the auspices of the Ministry of Mines and Energy.

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## BELGIUM BACKS CGI

*Remark: This 'Pacific Rim News Network' April story is actually an identical copy of an Antara English service despatch dated April 16. The Antara version appears in FBIS Daily Report, East Asia, No. 75, 17 April 1992.*

Pacific Rim News Network, Brussels, April 21 - Belgium supports the establishment of a 'Consultative Group for Indonesia' (CGI) by the World Bank to collect funds to finance Indonesia's development, replacing the defunct Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI).

The Belgian support has been conveyed by top officials of the Belgian Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Trade at meetings with the Indonesian ambassador to Belgium, Zahairsjah.

Ambassador Zahairsjah told ANTARA on Wednesday that immediately after the Indonesian Government's decision to reject Dutch development aid and requesting that country to stop holding IGGI meetings, he held meetings with several Belgian top officials to discuss the problem of development aid, among others with Finance Minister Philippe Maystadt, Vice Minister for Development Cooperation Edward De Rijcke and Minister of Foreign Trade R. Urban.

The World Bank had agreed to the Indonesian request for the establishment of a Consultative Group for Indonesia and according to schedule the group would hold its first meeting in Paris on July 16-17, 1992, the ambassador informed.

In a series of meetings since March 30, the Belgian top officials explained to Ambassador Zahairsjah that there was no change in the Belgian policy on development cooperation and that the Belgian Government would uphold its aid commitment to Indonesia.

Belgium also welcomed the World Bank's readiness to establish a Consultative Group for Indonesia (CGI) to replace the IGGI as requested by Indonesia.

On Belgian aid this year, Zahairsjah said that it was still not known, because the Belgian draft budget would be submitted to parliament by the end of April.

But most probably there will be a cut in the Belgian development aid because of a reduction in the country's budget due to this country joining the European Monetary Union (EMU), he added.

Prerequisites for all member countries of the European Community to join the EMU were among others deficit free budgets and small state debts, the ambassador explained.

Meanwhile the head of the economic section of the Indonesian Embassy in Brussels, Roni Hidayat Gastina, told ANTARA that since 1983, Indonesia had been grouped by Belgium as a developing country with an improved economy, so that the Belgian aid (to Indonesia) was in the

form of mixed credits, consisting of 30 per cent of soft loans and 70 per cent of export credits.

Belgian soft loans covered a reimbursement period of 30 years with a grace period of ten years without interest.

In the last three years, Belgian loans to Indonesia had been increasing, amounting on July 19, 1989, including the balance of the previous years, to 383.36 million Belgian francs of which 380 million had been used.

Of the loan amounting to 465 million Belgian francs, agreed on May 16, 1991, 193.8 million had been used.

Of the loan agreement, signed on June 20, 1991, amounting to 585 million Belgian francs, 270.32 million had been used.

The Belgian Government has also expressed satisfaction on the cooperation and its fruitful consultations with Indonesian officials, Roni Hidayat Gastina said.

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## ENVOY: JAPAN NOT TO LINK AID TO HUMAN RIGHTS

*Jakarta ANTARA in English, 18 April 92*

Tokyo, April 18 (OANA-ANTARA)-The Japanese Government will not at all link its economic aid to Indonesia and other countries to the human rights implementation.

"Although Japan cannot shy away from implementing human rights which at present has the full attention of the world, Japanese economic aid to other countries will not be linked to the implementation of human rights," Indonesian Ambassador to Japan, Puji Kuntarso, told newsmen when he explained the results of the meeting between Vice President Sudharmono and Japanese Deputy Prime Minister Michio Watanabe here on Friday night.

Watanabe, who was concurrently Japanese foreign minister, pointed this problem out to Indonesian Vice President Sudharmono because of Japan's role as one of the biggest aid donors to Indonesia, the ambassador said.

In 1991, Japan's aid to Indonesia through the IGGI [Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia] amounted to 1.3 billion U.S. dollars.

The Tokyo government's position was also conveyed to Vice President Sudharmono by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa at their meeting on Friday noon, which was also attended by the Indonesian ministers of agriculture and public works, Wardoyo and Radinal Mokhtar respectively.

Meanwhile the expert staffer of the State Secretariat, Sumadi, who flanked Ambassador Puji Kuntarso, said that at the meetings the Indonesian Government's decision of March 24 about the Indonesian rejection of Dutch aid was also discussed.

Sumadi further explained that the Japanese Government was of the view that the rejection of Dutch aid belonged to

Indonesian-Dutch bilateral relations and Japan would therefore not interfere in that problem.

Japanese development aid to Indonesia would, therefore, be continued and Tokyo would also join the Consultative Group for Indonesia, Sumadi said, quoting Watanabe.

In response to the Miyazawa and Watanabe statements, Vice President Sudharmono expressed the Indonesian Government's appreciation about the firm stand of the Japanese Government.

Sudharmono made it clear that Indonesia rejected the Dutch development aid because so far the Dutch loans had often been used as a means of intimidation.

Despite the Indonesian rejection of Dutch development aid, cooperation in the political, social, and cultural fields between the two countries would be continued, Sumadi said, quoting Vice President Sudharmono's response to Miyazawa and Watanabe.

At the meeting with Watanabe, the Japanese deputy prime minister also touched upon the Dili incident of November 12, 1991. Japan regretted this incident and the loss of lives of 50 people, Sumadi quoted Watanabe.

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## SINGAPORE SUPPORTS FORMATION OF AID GROUP

*Jakarta Radio Republik Indonesia Network in Indonesian, 19 April 92*

Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong has pledged his support for the World Bank's efforts to establish the Consultative Group on Indonesia [CGI to replace the IGGI [Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia] which was dissolved following Indonesia's rejection of Netherlands aid announced on 25 March 1992. Minister and State Secretary Murdiono told reporters yesterday following tete-a-tete talks between President Suharto and the Singapore prime minister in the Batamindo industrial estate that Goh Chok Tong expressed his support after he was notified by President Suharto that Indonesia had proposed the CGI to replace the IGGI. The talks between the two heads of government took place following the inauguration of the Batamindo industrial estate. The estate, which is a joint venture between Indonesian businessmen and their Singapore partners, is specifically meant for the development of the electronics industry and other industries using sophisticated technology.

In addition, Murdiono said that President Suharto and Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong were satisfied with the results of current bilateral cooperation. They believed that this cooperation should be enhanced in the future, especially cooperation in the development of Singapore, Johor, and Riau.

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## WORLD BANK PLEDGES AID

Reuter, Jakarta, April 29 - The World Bank said it would remain a major source of aid to Indonesia but warned Jakarta not to assume the amounts would be as high as in the past.

The pledge follows quickly on the heels of assurances by the Bank and the International Monetary Fund that poor countries would not be forgotten in the rush to help the former Soviet republics.

"We expect to continue to provide significant assistance to Indonesia in terms of bank loans in the coming years," Gautam Kaji, the Bank's vice-president for East Asia and the Pacific told reporters after meeting President Suharto.

The World Bank is the largest aid donor to Indonesia after Japan, last year pledging \$1.88 billion.

"What I wish to caution...is the ability of any aid coordination exercise has to be looked at in the context of that country's needs...as opposed to any historical comparison," Kaji said.

"That is not to say we will not see that needs in the coming year will be of a comparable level to last year."

The Bank will host Indonesia's annual aid donor meeting in Paris in July. Jakarta last month rejected the Netherlands as the host saying it used aid to interfere in domestic affairs.

Total aid pledges last year were just over \$5 billion but Indonesian economic ministers have repeatedly warned that as the demand for a limited amount of world aid grows so the country must learn to depend less on outside help.

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## INDONESIA AND NETHERLANDS: DIFFICULT TIMES

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### INDONESIAN TRADE MINISTER ON REFUSAL OF DUTCH AID

*Excerpts from Radio Republik Indonesia in Indonesian 30 and 31 Mar 92. Monitored by BBC, broadcast April 2, 1992.*

Indonesia hopes that the Netherlands will not incite other countries to stop providing aid to it following its rejection of Netherlands aid. Speaking to reporters in Jakarta last night [30th March], Trade Minister Arifin Siregar said that the Indonesian decision was partly attributed to the behaviour of J.P. Pronk, a Dutch minister and concurrently chairman of the IGGI [Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia]. According to Minister Arifin Siregar, the

majority of Netherlands officials are in fact sympathetic to Indonesia. Nevertheless, Indonesia hopes that trade and economic relations with the Netherlands will continue to proceed smoothly despite the rejection of the Netherlands aid.

Trade Minister Arifin Siregar has stressed that the Indonesian government's decision not to accept any more economic aid from the Netherlands will not affect bilateral trade relations between the two countries. Trade relations between the two countries will be further upgraded and Rotterdam will be one of the gateway cities in Europe for Indonesian export commodities to the European region. Trade Minister Arifin Siregar said this after attending a fast-breaking session with reporters in Jakarta this evening [30th March]. He also said an Indonesian promotional trading and distribution centre would be officially opened on 24th April in Rotterdam...

The minister predicted brighter bilateral trade between Indonesia and the Netherlands in the future even though Indonesia had decided decision not to accept any more economic aid from the country. Minister Arifin Siregar also stated that the Netherlands ranks as Indonesia's sixth major trading partner with investments in the country.

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### 250 DUTCH EXPERTS TO LEAVE BY END OF APRIL

Jakarta, March 31 (AFP) - Indonesia has decided to order 250 Dutch experts working in the country on projects financed by The Netherlands to complete their work by April 23, a Dutch Embassy spokeswoman said Tuesday.

The 250 will not be forced to leave the country immediately, however, Valerie Sluyter said.

The order "does not mean they will take a plane the next day," she explained. There will be "some leniency. If they have personal problems such as school for their children or selling their car, the Indonesian authorities are ready to ease things, and give them the possibility of staying longer."

Sluyter added that "If another donor country wants to take over the financing of a project and would like to keep the Dutch expert on the project, then Indonesia will not object to that."

The Indonesian Government last week announced its intention of no longer accepting financial aid from The Netherlands, accusing the former colonial power of linking its assistance with unacceptable political conditions, particularly demands for improved human rights in Indonesia.

If all the experts and their families depart, it will mean the departure of up to 700 people, or almost one-quarter of the 2,900 Dutch citizens registered in Indonesia at the end of 1991, Sluyter said.

Around 75 teams of Dutch experts, many of them employed by engineering advisory companies or development consultants, are working on projects in Indonesia financed by the Dutch Government.

Indonesia has also requested that the Inter Governmental Group on Indonesia, the country's major Western aid donor consortium which has been chaired by the Netherlands since 1968, be replaced by another group chaired by the World Bank.

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### EMBASSY PREPARES DUTCH WORKERS TO FACE POSSIBILITY OF LEAVING INDONESIA

*Abridged from AFP, April 2, 1992.*

(Jakarta) - The Dutch embassy on Thursday briefed its citizens here to prepare them for the possibility of having to leave Indonesia should Jakarta terminate Dutch-funded development projects.

"It is a briefing for Dutch development project workers on what has happened. Some people would have to leave Indonesia and they worry about their contracts, their children, personal belongings and other things," Dutch embassy spokeswoman Valerie Sluyter said shortly before the briefing was held.

About 100 Dutch workers attended the briefing, closed to the press.

Embassy officials have said there were around 250 Dutch experts working in various development projects in Indonesia financed by the Netherlands who might have to leave the country.

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### DUTCH FAMILY PLANNING PROJECTS TO CONTINUE

*ANTARA in English 2 April 92*

Jakarta, April 2 (OANA/ANTARA)- Vice President Sudharmono here Thursday asked the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN) to make a list of national family planning projects receiving Dutch aid so that they could be continued according to plans.

The vice president said the list should be made as carefully as possible as the government is very committed to its development programs, including those in the sector of family planning, BKKBN Chief Haryono Suyono told the press after paying a call on the vice president at the latter's office.

The government last week announced that it would refuse the Netherlands' development aid as it had been frequently used as an instrument to politically intimidate Indonesia,

When meeting Vice President Sudharmono, Haryono also reported the completion of the formulation of a bill on population growth, prosperous family norms, and family planning programs.

Haryono quoted the vice president as saying that the list of Dutch-funded projects was needed for further implementation of family planning program so that the government's rejection of Dutch aid would bring no significant effects on the implementation of family planning projects.

The Dutch-funded projects included the quality improvement of family planning officials in Aceh Province, the income enhancement of family planning participants in the areas of Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi popularly known with the Indonesian acronym Jabotabek, and the procurement of Dutch-made contraceptives.

Haryono further said the Dutch aid given to Indonesia in the framework of Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) totalled 10 million US dollars.

The aid was given to Indonesia four years ago, he added.

To the vice president, Haryono also reported the planned visit of the Indonesian family planning official team to Vietnam.

He said the team would also present 5,760,000 condoms, 10,000 injection needles, 10,000 IUDs [intrauterine devices] and 10,000 pills.

All of the aid given to Vietnam were the sample of locally made products, said Haryono, who will lead the team.

Such contraceptives, he added, could be bought by Vietnam from Indonesia in the years to come, either through direct trade or counterpurchase systems.

After visiting Vietnam, part of the team would continue their journey to Cairo to convey the invitation of Mme Tien Suharto to the Egyptian first lady to visit Indonesia.

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### PRONK STRIKES BACK

IPS, Amsterdam, April 2 - It would take at least five years before development relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia could be restored, Dutch Development Cooperation Minister Jan Pronk said here Wednesday.

Pronk stopped short of suggesting that a new Indonesian government was necessary before development ties could be resumed, saying instead that "a new political generation," which usually lasts five to seven years, might be needed.

The basis for this conclusion was the "toughness" of the words used by Jakarta when it broke off its development relations with The Hague last week.

Speaking at a press conference here, Pronk said the colonial past remains a dominant factor in Indonesia's relations with the Netherlands, which colonized the South-East Asian nation for three centuries.

"It is deeply rooted in Indonesia and that brings me to the conclusion that you need a new political generation which can look over it," he said, adding that the climate "needs to be cleared" before relations could be restored.

The Liberal Party (VVD) and the Christian Democratic Party (CDA) - the coalition partner of Pronk's Social Democratic Party (PVDA) - criticized Pronk's remarks, saying they could have a negative impact on Dutch trade and industry in Indonesia.

"Pronk should not disqualify the present (political) generation in Indonesia," said the chair of the Parliamentary Commission on Development Cooperation, Jan de Hoop Scheffer, of the CDA. The Dutch parliament is scheduled to discuss the issue tomorrow.

Pronk said there were indications that part of the activities by Dutch non-governmental development organizations could be continued, but it remains unclear whether the 250 development workers can stay in Indonesia.

He said his government would continue to link development aid to human rights, but drastic measures like freezing aid would only be taken in dramatic cases such as the Dili massacre.

Although Indonesia has not broken off diplomatic, cultural, political and economic relations with the Netherlands, Dutch industrial groups are worried that the crisis between the two countries could affect business relations.

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### ALATAS SAYS 'NO FIXED DATE' ON DUTCH VISIT

Jakarta ANTARA in English 4 April 92

Jakarta, April 4 (ANTARA)-Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said here Saturday that the planned visit of Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van Den Broek was "an idea that should be discussed together."

"So far no fixed date on the visit has been agreed by the two sides," he told ANTARA, adding that it would be much better if both Indonesia and Holland first tried to find the most suitable date for the visit.

Alatas said van Den Broek expressed the wish to visit Jakarta during a telephone conversation with him recently.

However, nothing was mentioned about the restoration of the Dutch aid to Indonesia in the conversation, Alatas said.

"He only told me that the visit would be aimed at discussing cooperation in other fields which could be fostered in line with Indonesia's wishes," said the foreign minister.

Alatas made the statement in response to press reports that van Den Broek possibly would visit Indonesia by the end of the month to discuss the restoration of his country's development assistance to Indonesia.

Jakarta announced last week that it would stop receiving Dutch aid as the country frequently used it as an instrument of political intimidation on Indonesia.

The Indonesian Government also demanded the dissolution of the 24-year old

Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), a donor consortium led by Holland.

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### END OF A DUTCH UNCLE

*The Economist, April 4, 1992, p. 39. From our South-East Asia Correspondent*

Foreign aid still arouses strong emotions in Indonesia 30 years after the then President Sukarno told America to "go to hell with your aid." On March 25th RADIUS Prawiro, Indonesia's senior economics minister, sent a rude letter to Ruud Lubbers, the prime minister of Holland. He accused the Dutch of "reckless use" of their development aid as "an instrument of intimidation." Mr Prawiro claimed that Holland's insistence on linking aid to human rights had undermined efforts by the two countries to build a relationship on "the heap of ashes of an exceedingly painful historical past resulting from centuries of inhuman colonial subjugation."

The Dutch government had promised to give \$91m of its taxpayers' money to help Indonesia in the financial year ending this June 30th. This aid was frozen on November 13th, the day after Indonesian troops killed at least 50 people in a graveyard on East Timor. Holland has now cancelled it. For its part, Indonesia said on March 31st that the 250 Dutch aid workers and their families in the country would have to leave.

Indonesia says there will be no more meetings of IGGI - the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia. The representatives of the 14 countries in the group have met in Holland every June for the past 24 years to agree on their aid to Indonesia. Last year the group stumped up aid worth \$4.75 billion to help Indonesia's economic reforms. Why is Indonesia taking the risk of antagonising its donors when it needs their cash more than ever? It is by far the largest recipient of aid in OPEC, the oil producers' group. According to the World Bank, Indonesia's need for foreign capital will increase from \$11.2 billion in the current financial year to \$17 billion by the second half of the 1990s. An increasing proportion of this money is expected to come from the Bank and other institutions rather than from private sources.

Indonesia's boom of the past three years has led to a rapid increase in imports and a widening current-account deficit. To ensure that growth continues, the government must invest heavily in improving the country's infrastructure. To complicate matters, Indonesia is having to increase its repayments on \$65 billion of foreign debt from \$5.4 billion in the year ending June 30th 1991, to \$10 billion a year after 1996.

Denmark and Canada also froze their aid to Indonesia after the East Timor killings. But they did not receive rude letters. Jan Pronk, the Dutch minister for development aid, has made a number of enemies in

Indonesia, including, it is believed, President Soeharto. In 1989 Mr Pronk suspended Dutch aid for family planning, because of a report that Indonesia was coercing people to be sterilised. It was bad timing: a few days earlier Mr Soeharto had been awarded an international prize for his government's population policy.

In recent years Mr Pronk has visited Indonesia in early May to prepare himself for the IGGI meeting. This year the Indonesian government could not face the prospect either of Mr Pronk airing his views or of listening to his criticisms, especially in the run-up to Indonesia's general election on June 9th. Anyway, telling the former colonial masters where to go has been good politics in Indonesia. It has eased the resentment felt by the army over the sacking of three officers involved in the East Timor killings. The army believes the men were sacked to appease foreign critics.

Indonesia is confident that its snub to Holland will not put its future flow of aid at any great risk. The World Bank, Japan and Asian Development Bank have together promised 85% of the money committed in the current financial year. Each has a lot at stake in Indonesia. Mr Prawiro has invited the World Bank to form a new consultative group for co-ordinating aid.

Holland's partners in the European Community are unhappy about the row. They support a link between aid and good government, especially with respect to human rights. But they are reluctant to freeze aid to the world's fourth-biggest country. Too many European companies are looking for business in Indonesia's rapidly growing economy to take that kind of line.

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### INDONESIA STOPS DEVELOPMENT AID FROM THE NETHERLANDS

*From Alternative Press Service, Amsterdam. April 4, 1992*

The world has stayed silent while Indonesia has made an unprecedented move and stopped its aid relation with the Netherlands. Indonesia doesn't accept Dutch interference with their "internal" affairs as they describe human rights violations in their country and East Timor.

An overview:

On March 25th the Dutch government received a letter from the Indonesian government, in which it states that:

1. All current development aid in the form of loans and donations from the Netherlands to Indonesia should be stopped before April 25.
2. All preparations for new Dutch development projects in Indonesia should be stopped.
3. Preparations as chair/participant of the next Inter Governmental Group for



Indonesia (IGGI) conference should be stopped.

The letter continues to thank the Netherlands for the foundation and chairing the IGGI and all the development aid it has given in the past. But ...: "The relations between the two nations has however deteriorated recently very badly because of the reckless use of development aid as an instrument of intimidation or as means to threaten Indonesia."

"... both nations have made enormous efforts to build a relation on the ruins of an exceptionally painful historical past, which is the consequence of centuries of inhumane oppression as well as barbaric cruelties exercised by the colonial armies during the independence war, less than fifty years ago."

"... The total absence of Dutch development aid to Indonesia will lead to a total absence of the use of development aid as a means to threaten Indonesia. It will certainly lead to a better relation..."

The letter ends with a call to keep strong economic, cultural, diplomatic and political ties between the two countries

The Indonesian government had sent simultaneously a letter to the World Bank with the request to form a new donor-consortium under its chair.

Japan and the USA had been informed about the Indonesian decision two days earlier.

This drastic rupture was intensely covered in both countries. The Indonesian decision came for everybody in the Netherlands as a total surprise. That the relation had deteriorated between the two countries after the Dutch criticism of the Santa Cruz massacre was clear. When the new ambassador of the Netherlands was received in Jakarta, Suharto had strongly attacked the Netherlands. This is a very unusual practise on an otherwise ceremonial, non-political event. There was the rumors that the Netherlands – and in particular the Dutch Min. of development co-operation Jan Pronk – should discontinue its 25 years of chairing the donor-consortium IGGI. The Netherlands had postponed development aid on November 21, but restored it end of January because the Dutch government found the findings of the KPN "hopeful." Then it was Indonesia however who postponed till an unset date the early Feb, scheduled yearly bilateral conference about aid.

The fact that the decision came as a total surprise underwrites the analysis, that this Indonesian decision has been taken by Suharto himself and only very few others.

In the first days (and still now) a lot was unclear about what aid was exactly meant by Indonesia. Were also the projects of the NGO's to be stopped? Four big Dutch NGO's (Cebemo, Icco, Hivos and Novib) have together hundreds of smaller projects

in Indonesia. They are partial or totally dependent on Dutch government grants.

The Dutch expected that at least 200 Dutch aid workers had to be withdrawn within a month. The first reactions of Dutch parliamentarians and media were – with slight variations – unanimous: we deplore Jakarta's decision but will respect it; we will not try to change their minds, we judge the formulation of the decision as unprecedented harsh, undiplomatic / unfair / unacceptable / ridiculous etc. All political parties assured the media that they still supported the Dutch policy which puts a relation between development aid and human rights. Everybody seemed to back the outspoken Min. of Development Co-operation Jan Pronk.

The first to scream fire was of course the Dutch business sector. They expressed their grave concern that this policy should in NO WAY interfere with their business interests in Indonesia. Indonesia reassured the Netherlands that their decision only concerned development aid and that all other relations would not be affected; in the contrary they would benefit and industrial relations would grow, according to Indonesian Min. Prawiro of Economical Affairs. The Netherlands have about 3 billion guilders invested in Indonesia. The bilateral developmentaid consists of about 350 million guilders, which is only a fraction of the 9,5 billion guilders (5 billion US\$) Indonesian receives in total. It is expected that Japan will give more to make up the balance again.

A debate in parliament about the consequences of the Indonesian decision was planned to take place within one and a half week. Within this week the focus of the debate changed most drastically. Not the consequences of the Indonesian decision or the human rights situation in Indonesia were the focus, but remarks made by Min. Pronk after the Indonesian decision. In an interview with a Dutch newspaper -which was misquoted in the Jakarta Times - the Minister stated: "I don't expect that Indonesia will ask for restoration of the aid relation in the near future. For that you need a new political generation, one which doesn't make the relation between remarks from the Netherlands about human rights violations and the Dutch colonial past." The remark "for that you need a new political generation" was badly received in Indonesia and it was this reaction on Indonesia which was eagerly picked up by Dutch parliamentarians, media and of course industry. A scapegoat for the whole 'debacle' was born: Jan Pronk.

All Dutch media took an active part in this procedure and it suddenly gave many the opportunity to ventilate negative voices about Pronk in general. The conclusion was made that it was solely his behaviour -his failure to understand Indonesian culture!- which had led to the rupture.

In the debate late Thursday night, April 2, the liberals (opposition) and Christian Democrats (government) feverously attacked Pronk and demanded that he should shut his mouth in the future about Indonesia. The task of mending what could be mended, should be solely taken up by the Min. of Foreign Affairs Min. van de Broek who is not outspoken like Pronk but known for his (very) 'silent diplomacy.' Part of the mending policy became also clear when it was announced that a Dutch trade delegation would visit Indonesia within the next month.

All parties had agreed that the Indonesian decision was an undesirable one.

Especially the Christian Democrats argued that without aid relations with Indonesia, the Netherlands no longer had any influence on the human rights situation in Indonesia and in particular East Timor.

(not that it is clear if they did anything at all before Nov. 12th)

But the next day Labour colleagues of Pronk strongly came to his defense and a few newspapers talked about the hypocrisy of it all.

#### CONCLUSION

The EC reacted within the first days stating that it considered the matter a bilateral affair between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The silence from other countries was astounding. (Austria had made its decision to stop its technical aid to Indonesia in reaction to the Santa Cruz massacre earlier on March 26.)

Only Portugal stated that the Indonesian decision could not be considered a bilateral event between the Netherlands and Indonesia since the EC had adopted a resolution, November last year, in which the relation between development aid and human rights was recognised. Portugal nor others however succeeded in pushing this point.

If the Indonesians did indeed stop the aid relationship because it doesn't want interference in their "internal" affairs then the international silence is a bad indicator. If other countries take their human rights policy seriously they must discuss this latest measure of Indonesia.

The Netherlands played a very negative role: Pronk and others stated that they hoped that other countries would continue their aid relation with Indonesia.

The steps taken by Indonesia should not be tolerated: it is not a bilateral question but a global one. NGO's should pressure their respective governments to analyse the Dutch/Indonesian rupture which should lead to a revision of their aid relation with Indonesia.

It is also important to put pressure on IGGI members to put the point on this year's agenda. (IGGI members: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, New Zealand, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, Japan, Canada, Australia, USA, Great Britain)

The Indonesian decision serves maybe in the first place the internal -pre election-situation in Indonesia. Suharto probably tried to appease the military who are furious they have been openly punished for the Santa Cruz massacre due to international pressure.

Beside this; nationalistic measurements are always popular in election time.

A Dutch cartoon made a clear analyses of the situation. The cartoon showed Suharto screaming to the Dutch: "We have a right to our own massacres."

With this step Indonesia avoided that the next IGGI conference would be held in the Netherlands where a big anti-Indonesian demonstration was planned. It would also be very likely that Pronk -as chair- would have pushed to talk about the human rights situation in Indonesia. This issue had been ignored at IGGI meetings until now, but after the Santa Cruz massacre, the EC resolution and global acceptance of the relation between aid and HR it would be unlikely it would be again ignored. With the World Bank as chair and the Dutch absent Indonesia has much less to fear.

## DUTCH STRATEGY FAILS

IPS, Amsterdam, April 6 - The Dutch government's policy linking development aid to human rights has backfired, leaving the country isolated after Indonesia broke off development ties with its former colonizer last week, experts say.

Nico Schulte Nordholt, professor of Asian development issues at the University of Tiente, said the Dutch decision to freeze development aid did not have enough backing from other European countries, the United States or Japan.

"Indonesia played the diplomatic game much better and succeeded in isolating the Netherlands," he said.

Schulte Nordholt said Dutch Development Cooperation Minister Jan Pronk is now "broken-winged" and his policy of linking aid to human rights has failed, at least in the short term.

He said Third World governments are "not very happy" with the conditions for development aid and can always point to Pronk's failure if other Western countries also try to link aids to human rights.

In the Netherlands, the Indonesia affair has sparked an internal crisis, with Pronk in the center of the controversy, said Schulte Nordholt.

An interview this week with the Dutch paper *Het Algemeen Dagblad* in particular drew criticisms from Dutch politicians.

Pronk said a "new political generation" might be needed in Indonesia before relations could be restored, since the colonial past is still too vivid in the mind of the present government - a statement he reiterated at a press conference Apr. 1.

Schulte Nordholt said Pronk's remarks reflected his "personal rancor" towards

Indonesian President Suharto. They have turned the issue into a "crisis" and led to political attacks on Pronk.

Pronk faced a series of criticisms during a debate in parliament Apr. 2. The Christian Democratic Party (CDA) and the Liberal Opposition Party (VVD) said he should no longer have anything to do with Dutch-Indonesian relations, which fall under the responsibility of Foreign Minister Hans Van Den Broek.

But retired professor Wim Wertheim said Jakarta just wanted to get rid of the Netherlands as a critical donor and permanent chair of the Inter-Governmental Group for Indonesia.

Indonesia has asked the World Bank to take over the presidency, held by the Netherlands since its founding in 1967.

"The World Bank believes IGGI has served Indonesia well and would have continued to do so. However, the World Bank respects the Indonesian government's wishes to establish a consultative group. The bank will consult with the relevant governments and inform (Jakarta of its decision)," a bank spokesman said.

Indonesia received \$4.75 billion in loans and credits at last year's IGGI meeting, mostly coming from the World Bank and Japan.

## THE EC AND THE AID QUESTION

*Far Eastern Economic Review. 9 April 1992. By Shada Islam.*

*This is the shorter of two articles published in this issue of the Review about Indonesia's decision to stop receiving aid from The Netherlands.*

### STANDARD BEARERS

The EC is hoping to stay out of the Dutch-Indonesian quarrel over aid and human rights, with officials stressing that the "bilateral" row will not affect Jakarta's relations with either the European Commission or other EC states.

But while the squabble may not have an immediate and direct impact on Indonesia's dealing with the EC, Jakarta's refusal to accept any link between aid and human rights has highlighted a major obstacle in plans to negotiate a new EC- Asean treaty on economic cooperation. The EC has made it clear that the new pact must include a "human-rights clause" to ensure that EC financial assistance is not used to shore up governments which violate basic freedoms.

Asean representatives, including Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, have rejected the suggestion. However, the EC maintains that a reference to human rights is now an essential part of its economic cooperation treaties.

EC officials nevertheless recognise that they will have to tread more carefully when dealing with prickly Asian governments.

The emphasis in Asia is likely to be on "positive encouragement" rather than on intimidation. However, Brussels may not succeed in convincing all EC members to take an equally pragmatic line.

The Hague, for example, ended all aid to Jakarta following the East Timor killings, without waiting for the results of an official inquiry. The EC, by contrast, maintained its aid ties with Jakarta, and said it was encouraged by the government's action against those found responsible for the shooting.

Portugal, which currently heads the EC's Council of Ministers, is expected to be as vociferous as the Netherlands in demanding inclusion of a strongly worded human-rights clause in the new agreement with Asean. As a result, Portugal is seen as unlikely to press for quick progress on a new pact while it occupies the EC presidential chair, leaving Britain - which takes up the presidency in July - to start formal talks with Asean.

## DUTCH EMBASSY GREETSWORLD BANK-LED DONOR GROUP

*ANTARA in English 10 April 92*

Jakarta, Apr. 10 (OANA/ANTARA) - The Dutch Embassy [words indistinct] it welcomed the World Bank's decision to form a new consultative group to replace Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), the donor consortium for Indonesia.

We would give full support to the World Bank in arranging a new (?donor) group to help Indonesia, Max Gitz, the press attaché at the Dutch Embassy told ANTARA.

Finance Minister J.B. Sumarlin Thursday evening announced that the World Bank had agreed to form the Consultative Group for Indonesia [CGI] which it would chair as [words indistinct] the Indonesian Government.

Quoting a World Bank letter dated April 8, 1992, he said the CGI would meet in Paris on July 16 or 17.

Jakarta on March 25 announced that it stopped receiving development assistance from Holland as it was frequently used as an instrument of political intimidation.

It also demanded the dissolution of the IGGI which was led by Holland.

The 24-year-old IGGI for the 1991/92 fiscal year pledged assistance of 4.73 billion U.S. dollars to which Holland contributed only 91.3 million U.S. dollars.

Thursday, the new Dutch ambassador to Indonesia, Robert Dudley van Roijen, also told ANTARA that The Hague encouraged multilateral organizations to continue their aid to Indonesia.

He denied reports that his government would try to prevent other countries or organizations from providing assistance to Indonesia.

In reference to the disturbed Indonesia-Holland relations following the former's

decision to stop Dutch aid, he said, the storm is almost over.

Sumarlin, in his statement about the CGI, did not mention about the countries or organizations to become the group's members.

He, however, stated that Indonesia regarded foreign aid as useful in ensuring continuity and improvement of its development programs.

### DUTCH SATISFIED WITH PROPOSAL

*Jakarta ANTARA in English 14 April 92*

The Hague, April 14 (OANA-ANTARA) - The Dutch Government has expressed appreciation on the World Bank's agreement on the Indonesian proposal to establish a Consultative Group for Indonesia (CGI) to replace the defunct IGGI (Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia).

"The Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation is satisfied that the Indonesian proposal has been agreed by the World Bank," the spokesman of the Ministry of Development Cooperation, Rob Vermaas, told ANTARA here on Monday, when he was asked to comment about the World Bank's agreement on the establishment of the 'Consultative Group for Indonesia (CGI).'

"The Dutch Government supports the establishment of the new forum for Indonesia which is chaired by the World Bank," the spokesman said.

The Dutch Government's support was evident in the letters sent by Minister Pronk, the former IGGI chairman, to the IGGI member countries and financial institutions, with the appeal to support the new forum for Indonesia and to continue to provide aid to Indonesia, Rob Vermaas explained.

Asked when the letters were sent to the IGGI members, Rob Vermaas said, "Soon after the letter from Jakarta rejecting Dutch aid was received in the Hague (March 25)."

### DUTCH TRADE LINK CONTINUES

Reuter, Jakarta, April 16 - Indonesia will increase trade with the Netherlands, its former colonial rulers, although it has rejected Dutch aid, Trade Minister Arifin Siregar said on Thursday.

"We want to maintain the current momentum of trade with the Dutch and...even increase it," Siregar told reporters after meeting President Suharto.

"We hope the rejection will not make relations difficult in other sectors," Siregar said, adding that Indonesian trade with the Dutch had been increasing in recent years in favour of Jakarta.

"We view with importance our relations with the Dutch," he said.

Jakarta is anxious to avoid alienating the Dutch government completely because it belongs to the European Community, of which East Timor's former ruler, Portugal, is the current chairman.

The Portuguese are bitter critics of Jakarta's rule of East Timor.

Indonesian exports to the Netherlands rose to \$837.5 million in 1991 compared with \$723.1 million in 1990, while imports dropped to \$504.9 million in 1991 from \$550.2 million in 1990, he said.

Siregar said he would visit the Netherlands from April 24 to April 27 to explain why Indonesia rejected the aid.

In The Hague, the Dutch government said Foreign Trade Minister Yvonne van Rooij would hold talks with Siregar and Alatas during a visit to Indonesia from April 29 to May 2.

The main purpose of the visit was to strengthen bilateral economic relations, a government statement said.

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### WORLD BANKS DENIES INVITING DUTCH

*Jakarta Post. 23 April 1992. Dateline: Jakarta. Abridged.*

#### WORLD BANK CONSULTING RI ON CGI MEETING

The World Bank denied yesterday an Antara news agency report from New York saying that the Netherlands would be invited to the inaugural meeting of the Consultative Group for Indonesia (CGI) in Paris on 16 and 17 July.

Nicholas Hope, director of the Bank's resident staff here said the story which was quoted by The Jakarta Post in a front-page item yesterday was based on miscommunication with the Antara correspondent.

Pat Sison, a Bank executive in Washington told the agency that the membership of the CGI which will be chaired by the Bank, would not be limited to former IGGI members but would be open to other countries and multinational donors interest in assisting Indonesia. "The composition of participants at the upcoming CGI meeting will be determined by the Indonesian government in consultation with the Bank," Hope said here.

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### INDONESIA WANTS DUTCH TRADE

Reuter, Rotterdam, April 24 - Indonesia wants closer trade ties with Dutch firms despite a chill in diplomatic relations following Jakarta's rejection of aid from its former colonial rulers, Trade Minister Arifin Siregar said on Friday.

A new Indonesian Trade and Distribution Centre in the port of Rotterdam, which Siregar will inaugurate on Monday, signalled

Indonesia's desire to keep business relations sweet, he said.

"Two-way trade between the Netherlands and Indonesia has been increasing very rapidly in the past few years, reaching \$1.3 billion in 1991," he told reporters.

"We believe this could be increased further based on the fact that there are a lot of Dutch businessmen who know Indonesia very well."

Indonesia last month refused all future Dutch development aid and accused The Hague of using the assistance to intimidate Jakarta. The Netherlands was also told to stop chairing the annual foreign aid donors meeting.

Jakarta was angered by a Dutch threat to cut off aid after a massacre of civilians last November in East Timor, a former Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia.

Siregar said he wanted ties to be based on trade and investment in future, rather than aid. He urged Dutch companies to boost their presence on the ground in Indonesia.

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### DUTCH AID TO NGOS BARRED

Reuter, Jakarta, April 26 - Indonesia, which has rejected further aid from the government of its former Dutch colonial rulers, has said the ban also applies to non-governmental assistance.

The dispute over aid flared after Indonesian soldiers shot dead scores of civilians in East Timor last November 12.

The Dutch threatened to halt their aid and Jakarta said it did not want any more help from the Netherlands.

On Sunday Antara quoted Home Minister Rudini as saying Indonesian organisations that continued to accept aid from Dutch non-governmental organisations were liable to be punished.

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### SUHARTO WILL MEET DUTCH MINISTER

Amsterdam, Apr. 28 (ips) - Indonesia's president Suharto and his ministers will receive Dutch minister for foreign trade Yvonne van Rooij when she stops over in Jakarta Wednesday, a Dutch ministry for economic affairs confirmed Tuesday.

it will be the first visit of a Dutch minister to Indonesia since Suharto's mar. 25 decision to refuse Dutch development aid.

Indonesia accuses the Netherlands of "using development aid as a reckless instrument to threaten and intimidate Indonesia." the Hague ordered a suspension of aid following the Indonesian army's massacre of dozens of demonstrators in East Timor last year.

Dutch officials said Tuesday that van Rooij's visit, who flew in from Vietnam where she was leading a trade delegation, was "purely political." she will carry a

message from the Hague accepting Jakarta's decision to refuse Dutch aid.

but the officials added that van Rooij will stress that there are other areas where both countries could still cooperate, such as trade, education, tourism and culture.

the relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands became tense after the government of Dutch prime minister Ruud Lubbers condemned "the bloody suppression" in East Timor.

Indonesia claimed 50 had been killed – other independent groups claimed twice that figure – when troops fired on pro-independence demonstrators in Dili, capital of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony occupied by Jakarta in 1975.

the Dutch suspended development aid to Indonesia. when Dutch development minister Jan Pronk then demanded that Jakarta allow him to visit East Timor and Aceh, an Indonesian province in northern Sumatra, Indonesia protested by rejecting the aid.

Aceh is under strong Indonesian military surveillance because of the activities of what Jakarta calls "separatist movements."

Indonesia's trade minister Dr. Arifin Siregar, said during a visit here last week that "there is no way that Indonesia will change its mind." the chapter of development aid cooperation with the Netherlands is closed and will stay closed, he said.

Indonesia will not accept economic aid from the Dutch government, nor from Dutch groups funded by the Hague. about 250 Dutch aid workers in Indonesia, ordered to leave the country by Apr. 25, this week had the deadline extended to Jul. 25.

but Siregar said that now the issue of economic aid as "an area of friction" had been removed both countries "can explore other ways to strengthen their relations."

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## INDONESIAN-DUTCH RELATIONS

IPS, Amsterdam, April 29 - Indonesia's President Suharto and his ministers will receive Dutch Minister for Foreign Trade Yvonne van Rooij when she stops over in Jakarta tomorrow.

It will be the first visit of a Dutch minister to Indonesia since Suharto's Mar. 25 decision to refuse Dutch development aid.

Dutch officials said today that van Rooij's visit, who flew in from Vietnam where she was leading a trade delegation, was "purely political." She will carry a message from The Hague accepting Jakarta's decision to refuse Dutch aid.

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## DUTCH TO BOOST TRADE WITH JAKARTA DESPITE MASSACRE ROW

Amsterdam, may 1 (ips/bob mantiri) – In the first ministerial exchange since Jakarta rejected Dutch development aid in a row over human rights abuses, the governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands decided Friday to strengthen their economic links.

A Dutch-Indonesian economic commission will soon meet in the Hague to discuss the setting up of new projects, in close cooperation with Indonesian and Dutch entrepreneurs.

Dutch minister for foreign trade relations, Yvonne van Rooij, made the announcement Friday in the Indonesian capital after three days of intensive talks with Indonesian ministers.

It was the first face to face meeting between Dutch and Indonesian government figures since Mar. 25, when Indonesia's president Suharto rejected Dutch development aid.

Suharto also demanded the dissolution of the inter-governmental group for Indonesia (IGGI), a western aid donor consortium chaired by the Dutch, the country's former colonisers.

Jakarta acted after the Netherlands suspended aid in protest at the killing by Indonesian troops of pro-independence demonstrators in Indonesian occupied East Timor on Nov. 12 last year.

According to an official Indonesian inquiry some 50 people were killed, though various human rights groups have reported that more than 100 people were shot dead by the troops in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

IGGI had committed a total loan of 4,755 million dollars for Indonesia last year including 91.3 million dollars from the Netherlands.

But Jakarta accused the Dutch government of using "development aid as a reckless tool of intimidation," and refused it.

since then relations between the two capitals have been strained.

Despite this van Rooij told ips from Jakarta Friday that the talks with the Indonesian ministers were "cordial and very constructive."

She said she talked with foreign minister Ali Alatas, finance minister Radius Prawiro, minister for science and research Dr. Habibie and trade minister Arifin Siregar.

"I told them that there is a strong will from the Dutch side to continue and intensify the cooperation in the field of trade and investments and in the area of science, culture, education and tourism," van Rooij said.

She added that her Indonesian colleagues also showed the same strong will for cooperation on all fields, except the controversial issue of development aid.

The Dutch minister will be received by president Suharto Saturday, before her departure to Holland. "That is a sign of good will of the Indonesian government that it sincerely wants to continue with and to strengthen the special relationship with the Netherlands," she said.

Van Rooij flew in from Vietnam, where she led a trade delegation. she said that there is "a lot of possibilities for Dutch businessmen in Vietnam," especially in the field of agriculture, irrigation, dredging work and seaport development.

"The fact that Dutch bankers are eager to set up offices in Vietnam is a clear indication that they have great expectations in that country," she added.

Another possibility for Dutch businessmen to gain a foothold in Vietnam is through a joint venture with Indonesian partners, who already have strong links with Vietnam, said van Rooij.

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## ECONOMICS IN INDONESIA

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### JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN TIMOR GAP DEVELOPMENT

*Summary of article in Sekai magazine, April 1992. Edited/translated by Jean Inglis.*

A Japanese company's participation in oil development in the Timor Gap and a grassroots protest campaign were reported in an article in the April edition of the monthly magazine, Sekai "The World." The writer, Niida Ran, summarizes world reaction to the November massacre in Dili, Indonesia's damage control efforts, and the Peace Mission ship, Lusitania Expresso. Meanwhile, he reports, moves are afoot by companies in Japan where "with the exception of reactions from some citizens groups (the massacre and its aftermath) was

largely passed over in silence" that fly in the face of recent events.

The companies are Indonesian Petroleum (INPEX) and a subsidiary of Nippon Oil, the (country's) largest petroleum wholesaler. Both companies won contracts for one lot each in the Timor Gap area where oil development is being carried out under the joint authority of Indonesia and Australia.

According to the Yomiuri Shimbun of January 4, 1992, the two oil companies are expected to invest some ¥5.5 billion over the next six years for drilling and development in their respective lots in this area, which is considered as promising as offshore Vietnam.

Since a suit over this region brought by Portugal is in progress in the International Court of Justice ("A decision is expected at the end of next year"), this means that Japanese companies are among those jumping the gun on the decision in order "to get their hands on the oil."

"In response, the Free East Timor Japan Coalition, a network of grassroots groups that respect the East Timorese' right of self-determination and support their struggle, has called for a boycott of Nippon Oil. 'Oil development in a disputed area without consultations with the parties concerned is tantamount to "plunder," says the coalition.' It is issuing stickers calling on consumers to boycott Nippon Oil products and is planning protests at the main office and local company offices."

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## SUHARTO-LINKED MONOPOLIES FACE CRITICISM

*Asian Wall Street Journal. March 26, 1992.  
By Richard Borsuk*

(Jakarta) – As Indonesia's ruling Golkar party gears up to run in parliamentary elections on a platform promoting a "trilogy of development" – growth, stability and equity – authorities are coming in for unprecedented criticism over three government-granted monopolies.

In recent years, Indonesia has given monopolies in cloves, oranges and the collection of television-license fees to companies involving President Suharto's children and associates. Indonesia's various monopolies, which the government often justifies on grounds of their economic benefits, have long been a sensitive subject. Now, however, displeasure with them is for the first time being aired openly.

### Not A Help

Among the most vocal critics is the speaker of Indonesia's House of Representatives, Kharis Suhud. Twice last weekend, Mr. Suhud publicly and pointedly rapped the three monopolies, which haven't been working as intended. He said they were approved by authorities without proper

study and were hurting, not helping, the public. Mr. Suhud, whose remarks were widely reported in Indonesian newspapers, also asserted that the House would raise the issue with the president.

His comments surprised political analysts, who said that though the speaker didn't name names, the targets were clear: those of Mr. Suharto's children involved in the three monopolies. Some said it was the sharpest public criticism to date of Mr. Suharto's children.

Mr. Suhud's remarks have also raised broader questions. For one, analysts now wonder whether the advantages bestowed by privilege and personal connections in Indonesia could become bigger issues that nibble away at support for Mr. Suharto. In the short term, analysts agree that the monopolies won't factor into the June parliamentary elections, which Mr. Suharto's Golkar is assured of winning handily. But some suggest that by openly expressing concerns that had long been kept hushed, Mr. Suhud may hope to spark broader calls for change in Indonesia's controlled political system and to signal to the president that he needs to rein in his children's business pursuits.

"Suhud has criticized numerous times before, but never this bluntly," says a Jakarta-based Asian diplomat. "In a society that doesn't use opinion polls, he is trying to tell Suharto that opinion against monopolies is strong."

On the few occasions when Mr. Suharto has commented on his children's business activities, he has expressed pride that they are hastening the country's economic development. Political analysts say Mr. Suharto believes that his children are helping to break the hold of ethnic Chinese on Indonesia's private sector. And the president clearly doesn't share the view of numerous observers that his children are becoming a political liability.

So far, Mr. Suharto hasn't reacted to the comments by Mr. Suhud, nor any similar criticisms voiced recently by other legislators. Some observers say he may simply choose to ignore them.

### Presidential Confidence

"Suharto is as confident as ever that he does things right and that the country needs him," says a respected local journalist, who expresses the common view that Mr. Suharto's confidence is particularly strong since he received high marks for his handling of the army's shooting of anti-Jakarta demonstrators in East Timor in November.

To help restore Indonesia's damaged reputation in the wake of the killings, the president moved against the military in ways not seen before, criticizing its performance and removing senior military officers from their posts. The handling of East Timor has bolstered the widespread view in Jakarta that the 70-year-old Mr. Suharto

will seek and win a sixth five-year term next March.

The military, the key force in Indonesian politics and the foundation of Mr. Suharto's support, hasn't joined criticism of the monopolies, though analysts believe some army officers share Mr. Suhud's concerns and are quite happy to see the issue reported in the media. One foreign diplomat suggests that the military "is still licking its wounds after Timor, and isn't focused on much else."

Burhan Magenda, a lecturer in political science at the University of Indonesia, says that while criticism of Jakarta's trade practices may not bring policy changes, it could cause the government "to review creation of new monopolies in future." Mr. Magenda also says the recent criticism has been accompanied by a "positive trend" in the Indonesian press to report more on monopolies and other sensitive subjects when "courageous" people such as Mr. Suhud comment on them.

Many analysts say the 66-year-old speaker can afford courage because he will retire later this year and thus has little to lose. Last September, he said he wouldn't seek another term in the House, due to health reasons. However, associates say he decided to retire after receiving signals that he was out of favor with Mr. Suharto.

"The speaker's in a good position to punch away," says an Indonesian newspaper editor, who points out that his publication still must often hold its punches for fear of being closed by the government.

Although Mr. Suhud is in effect a lame duck, some analysts say his comments carry weight, given his position and reputation for integrity. They say that reports of the speaker's statements highlight the long-standing timidity of cabinet ministers when discussing thorny topics with Mr. Suharto. They also contend that the way Mr. Suhud lumped the three monopolies together helped to focus public awareness on the problems that these cartels cause in general.

In the late 1980s, Indonesia dismantled many monopolies as part of a highly regarded program of deregulation. The effort has helped generate annual economic growth of at least 6% in recent years, which has been essential in containing the country's huge unemployment problems. But while Jakarta has maintained an over-all commitment to deregulation, it also has set up some new monopolies that economists say undercut the program. In some instances, authorities have privatized government operations in ways that in effect create private monopolies.

Of the three monopolies under fire, the one receiving the most flak – partly because the government granted it big subsidized credits – is the clove-trading board chaired by Mr. Suharto's youngest son, Hutomo Mandala Putra. As economists predicted before the monopoly was sanctioned in December 1990, the clove board is now

stuck with huge stocks, having encouraged an increase in supply from farmers while causing a decrease in demand from the only consumers, makers of Indonesia's kretek cigarettes.

Cloves had stirred controversy before the monopoly was granted. However, the real storm broke last month, when Mr. Hutomo, conceding that his board was in dire straits, called on farmers to burn half of this year's crop and cut down at least 25% of their trees to reduce oversupply.

The second case involves the handling of oranges in Kalimantan, which supplies most of the oranges bought in Java. The provincial government of West Kalimantan gave a unit of Bimantara Citra Group, headed by Mr. Suharto's second son, Bambang Trihatmodjo, sole rights to buy the fruit from farmers. As with cloves, farmers now complain that they aren't receiving the floor price they had expected the monopoly to pay for their produce.

In the third case, the Information Department in October 1990 appointed PT Mekatama Raya to take over from the postal service the job of collecting annual license fees from television-set owners. The fees help fund the government TV station, which banned advertisements in 1981. Local newspapers have reported that Sigit Hardjojudanto, Mr. Suharto's eldest son, is a Mekatama Raya shareholder, along with Sudwikatmono, a cousin of the president.

Mekatama Raya, which takes a percentage of the fees it collects, has taken in far less in fees from door-to-door solicitations than it was assigned to do. Last month, the government doubled the license fees, sparking complaints that authorities acted more the help the private company, which failed to do its assigned task, than state cof-fers. Consumer ire grew after Mekatama Raya proposed that TV owners pay their fees to Mekatama Raya through post offices – the same place where they did before the private company was appointed to collect the money.

Some diplomats speculate that Suharto critics could be orchestrating the complaints about the three monopolies. However, other observers point out that the monopolies have only themselves to blame; an Indonesian social scientist describes the doubling of TV-license fees and Mr. Hutomo's appeal for clove-burning, which came at about the same time, as "self-inflicted wounds." (The orange trade became an issue only after farmers' discontent was reported in the local media.)

Though open criticism of the monopolies has surfaced less than three months before an election, Golkar doesn't appear worried. One Golkar member of Parliament was quoted in Wednesday newspapers saying this issue could cost votes, but Secretary-General Rachmat Witoelar says "We're not scared." He says the government is working on responses to the complaints, and ac-

knowledges that Mr. Suhud's remarks gave the issue of monopolies "more spice."

The Indonesian press hasn't shied from airing complaints and comments on the three topics. Mr. Magenda, the political scientist, says reporting on the issue has been judged to be "within limits" by authorities because it has given both sides of the story. Fikri Jufri, deputy editor of Tempo, a newsweekly whose latest issue carries a tough cover story on the TV-license fees, says the "corridor" in which the Indonesian media works "has become wider" in general. Another magazine editor says he thought he might receive complaints from the military about some coverage of the monopolies, but didn't. However, one newspaper editor said his publication had received "guidance" – he wouldn't identify the source – to tone down its coverage of the orange monopoly.

Critical or otherwise, Indonesian journalists are writing more than in the past on businesses involving Mr. Suharto's children, though much of that simply reflects the expansion of those businesses. In many cases, newspapers name an investor without further identifying him or her as one of Mr. Suharto's six children, but most readers recognize the name.

Coincidentally, on the first day that Mr. Suhud talked about the monopolies, the daily *Bisnis Indonesia* reported that the government had licensed a unit of Bimantara to import 1,000 vehicles for use during the summit of non-aligned nations in Jakarta in September. The next day – during which Mr. Suhud continued his remarks – the daily said Jakarta had approved a project to build a \$400 million cement plant in North Sumatra in which Siti Hediati Herijadi, Mr. Suharto's second daughter, will be an investor.

## STRAINS OF GROWTH

*Far Eastern Economic Review* April 2, 1992.  
*Analysis by Adam Schwarz. Text: Full*

*These articles are part of a series analyzing current economic conditions in Indonesia.*

(Jakarta) — Indonesia is struggling mightily to synchronise the different parts of its changing economy. Using both monetary and fiscal measures, policymakers are trying to put the economy on a more even keel and redress the imbalances created by unexpectedly rapid growth in 1989-90. Almost in spite of the government's slow-down tactics, the economy has continued to grow at a respectable rate – at least 6% in 1991, and will probably match that level in 1992.

But behind the macroeconomic statistics lies a more worrying picture. Some areas of the economy – like banking – have grown too fast, while others – like agriculture – have lagged. Economists and investors say the government must continue with, and indeed accelerate, the process of reforming the economy if Indonesia is to emerge from

its current period of consolidation into one of long-term, sustained growth.

No one disputes that Indonesia has come a long way during the past half decade in laying the foundations of a stronger economy. Foreign investment has soared, exports have jumped substantially and the nation's dependence on oil has declined.

Labor-intensive, export-oriented industries like shoes, textiles and toys have done particularly well. With 2.4 million new workers joining the labor force each year, these sorts of industries should continue to post double-digit growth for years to come. Another success is tourism. Over 2.5 million tourists took the advice of 1991's Visit Indonesia Year promotional campaign, spending more than U.S. \$2 billion in the process.

Some say, though, that Indonesia has tried to do too much, too soon. Foreign debt marches inexorably upward, higher imports have chopped away at the trade surplus and the rush of new investment has badly strained the nation's physical infrastructure. There are persistent complaints that economic reform has achieved growth at the expense of equity.

Unfortunately for economic ministers, there is little time to waste. Competition for investment and capital in the region is heating up. Not only are Asean neighbors like Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore doing well, but economic reforms under way in Vietnam, China and India – all countries which share with Indonesia large labor forces – will raise the stakes for Indonesia.

Indonesian officials are aware of the dangers. Finance Minister Johannes Sumarlin rejects the suggestion that the momentum of reform is slowing. He points especially to new laws on banking, insurance, income tax and pension funds passed in the past nine months. Other officials say a new package of trade reforms is forthcoming as well as a relaxation of foreign-investment rules.

Jakarta surprised some in the region by enthusiastically supporting the formation of the Asean Free Trade Area, under which Asean nations will reduce or eliminate tariffs on intra-Asean trade over 15 years. Meanwhile, Indonesia continues to oppose regional trading groups like the East Asia Economic Grouping, preferring instead to hope that the GATT multilateral trading system survives pressures for more protectionism.

Politically, there is little threat that instability will turn away investors. Stability has been a hallmark of President Suharto's 25-year rule. Parliamentary elections, which are scheduled for June, are not expected to hold many surprises. The ruling Golkar party should win by a comfortable majority.

In March 1993, the National Assembly will appoint a president for the 1993-1998 term. Most political observers believe Suharto will request, and be granted, a sixth five-year term as president. Already one of

Indonesia's three political parties and two important Islamic groups have pledged their support for Suharto remaining at the helm.

Some analysts are keeping a close eye on the vice-presidential slot. Incumbent Vice-President Sudharmono is not expected to be retained and some feel that his successor will have the inside track to succeed Suharto. Others view the 1993-98 vice-president as more of a care-taker, and believe the eventual successor to Suharto will only emerge closer to the time when a succession takes place.

At the rural level, there are few signs of dissent with the status quo, though the battle for land between farmers and industrialists may become an increasingly visible political issue. In the cities, there is more demand for political liberalisation. The government's promises of more openness have borne few results. Ministers continue to treat with suspicion all manner of non-governmental organisations, labor groups and political activists.

Indonesia's international image was tarnished in 1991 by the killing of at least 50 East Timorese youths in November. But a government report critical of the army, virtually unprecedented in Indonesia, helped stem the damage. Army fears of separatist tendencies in East Timor, Irian Jaya and in the northern Sumatran province of Aceh, will work against further political liberalisation in the near term, analysts say. How long Indonesia can press ahead with a modern, export-oriented economy without a concomitant relaxation of political rules is one of the crucial questions Indonesia must answer in the 1990s.

In the financial sector, banks are suffering from too much growth. A big surge in lending in 1989-90 was followed by a money supply squeeze in 1990-91.

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## COUNTING THE COST OF TIMOR

*Far Eastern Economic Review April 2, 1992  
Analysis by Suhaini Aznam*

(Jakarta) – The most significant event of the past year unquestionably was the crack-down in Dili, East Timor, where the Indonesian army opened fire on a march by Timorese civilians and pro-independence demonstrators on 12 November 1991. Official figures put the death toll at 50, but eyewitnesses estimate as many as 100 were killed. Hundreds more were injured and a number may have simply disappeared.

International indignation over Dili marked a serious setback for Indonesia's image overseas, giving rise to well-founded concerns about its future foreign-aid expectations. On a recent world tour to explain Indonesia's side of the story, however, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was adamant that Indonesia would refuse any foreign aid which was tied to Dili or human rights. As it turned out, Canada remains the only

country to have suspended new aid programs, including three projects worth U.S. \$25 million, because of the Dili killings.

At home, Dili forced the government to publicly acknowledge that all was not well in the provinces – that in some regions, separatist tendencies were very real. Intellectuals were prompted to reassess the country's human-rights record and found it wanting. More pertinently, the generals were compelled to reassess their own response to civilian protests, in an age when much lip service has been paid to openness and democracy.

Unlike in Aceh, Sumatra – where reports last year of 1,000 deaths over 18 months of sporadic fighting failed to gain world attention for the Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh) guerrillas – the international focus on Dili in the wake of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation's cancelled visit prevented the East Timor killings from being swept under the carpet. President Suharto himself appointed a high-level commission of inquiry, whose investigations turned up higher casualty figures than the 19 dead the military had originally conceded.

Amid tight security, trials of suspected ringleaders have already begun. Eight have been charged in Dili and five in Jakarta. Authorities had initially arrested 308 people in Dili but later released 276. In Jakarta, 70 were arrested for staging demonstrations outside the UN headquarters and foreign embassies, of whom 49 were later released.

In the political fallout, three senior military officers were dismissed, two taken off active duty and one suspended; some junior officers faced court martial. Of the senior officers, two were prominent: Maj.-Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, chief of the Udayana Military Command, and Brig-Gen. Rudolf Warouw, chief of the East Timor Military Operational Command.

The accountability at home did not, however, reflect any softening towards Western standards or attitudes on human rights. By late February, foreign journalists were barred from visiting Dili. In March, the Portuguese "peace ship" Lusitania Expresso – carrying 100 students and East Timorese activists who had planned a wreath-laying ceremony in Dili – was turned back by warships soon after it entered Indonesian territorial waters.

Indonesia's ties with Australia, traditionally scarred with misunderstandings, worsened over Dili. Canberra tried to maintain a smooth diplomatic facade but the Australian public was less restrained, reacting with demonstrations outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra and the burning of the Indonesian flag in various Australian cities.

In that respect, the U.S. was almost muted in its response, encouraged by Indonesia's "serious efforts to make amends" for its acknowledged use of force, as a State Department spokesman put it. Observers, however, feel the U.S. was no

less prompted by wider regional security considerations. Thus it was the E.C. that emerged waving the human-rights banner, spurred on by Portugal, the current E.C. chairman.

The year also saw Indonesia demonstrate concern over mounting regionalism, the most conspicuous example being the near impasse over neighboring Malaysia's attempts to set up the East Asian Economic Grouping, later watered down to an economic caucus.

Among Indonesia's more constructive achievements were its ongoing peace efforts in Cambodia – making possible the signing of the peace agreement in Paris last October – and attempts to play honest broker in resolving the overlapping claims by six Asian countries over the Spratly Islands. Although not itself a claimant, Indonesia hosted a Spratlys workshop in Bandung last July, providing a neutral forum for discussion.

On the home front, one of the more notable milestones of the last 12 months was Suharto's courtship of Muslim groups, in the wake of his uneasiness with the military's factional manoeuvres. Much was made of his first pilgrimage to Mecca last year, though at 70 there was probably as much religious feeling as political impetus behind the act of faith.

A more direct appeal to Muslim hearts, the setting up of the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) in December 1990, continued to receive his patronage. Observers saw this as Suharto's master stroke in co-opting potential Muslim fundamentalists from the ranks of well-heeled urban professionals. Yet another significant concession was the establishment of the Bank Muamalat Indonesia, the country's first Islamic bank.

The only visible blot in the Muslim copybook was a ruckus late last year over the state-sponsored lottery. Gambling is forbidden in Islam, and Muslim groups held a series of demonstrations against the lottery. Although lottery proceeds are used to help the needy and victims of natural disasters, several Muslim schools and student bodies returned the money once they discovered its source.

Despite this, Suharto escaped almost unscathed. In urging Muslim groups like the ICMI not to split the country along sectarian lines, Suharto has drawn a fine balance between Muslim purists and the more secular pan-Indonesian types for whom culture takes precedence over religion. Early this month, two traditional Muslim groups, the Muhammadiyah and the Syarikat Islam, endorsed his re-election for a sixth five-year term as president.

One of those taking advantage of the current political bartering is Abdurrahman Wahid, the head of the country's largest Muslim movement, the Nahdlatul Ulama. Wahid had faced a serious leadership challenge early this year and was anxious to restore his credibility in establishment circles.

To this end, a huge rally was planned for 1 March at which Wahid was to get his message heard for a broader interpretation of Islam – one more suited, he claimed, to Indonesia's multi-ethnic and religiously diverse population. It was a tacit slap for the Islamic purists pushing for stricter adherence to Muslim tenets in this 88% Muslim state. In the event, less than 200,000 people showed up, denying Wahid the massive reaffirmation of personal legitimacy that he had hoped for.

Interestingly, some of the more vocal champions of change towards openness and democracy are retired senior members of the Indonesian armed forces (Abri). A clutch of them joined the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) in a move which upset the Golkar government. Some retired generals have also proposed abolishing the practice of appointing 100 Abri members to the lower house of parliament. Instead, they suggest more direct political participation by Abri in open electoral contests. Suharto promptly quashed that idea, on the grounds that it might split the armed forces and increase the risk of a military coup.

Looking ahead to a new generation of leaders, other retired generals have suggested limiting presidents to two terms in office. The next crop of leaders would not enjoy the same legitimacy as the independence generation, they reasoned, so they would be expected to bring in and live up to more democratic reforms. Limits on the presidency would help ensure this.

Meanwhile, Suharto's re-election to a sixth term next March is almost a given, said one political scientist. The real politicking now is for the post of vice-president, and Suharto's eventual successor. At least three names are being bandied about in that context: Home Affairs Minister Rudini, Abri chief Gen. Try Sutrisno and Suharto's brother-in-law, Maj.-Gen. Wismoyo Arismunandar, commander of Indonesia's Strategic Reserve Command.

Thus the succession question is already overshadowing the general elections set for 9 June. Given the Indonesian tradition of rule by consensus and the absence of any real opposition parties, elections are, in any case, less a political watershed than a prolonged exercise in political bartering that culminates in an endorsement of the status quo. Political observers deem a Golkar victory a foregone conclusion, with only the margins of victory at stake. Both the PDI and the coalition of Muslim groups in the United Development Party claim they will achieve wider margins, while Golkar is trying to hold on to its 73% share of the 1987 electoral pie.

Ideological issues are markedly absent except as a philosophical ideal. The openness and democracy espoused last year has acquired only limited currency in government. Intellectuals want to see better direct communication between people and government, more decentralisation, a reappraisal

of individual and societal rights and a balance between the prosperity approach and the security approach to government. This wish list is, however, confined to the elite, whose adoption is limited to channels of personal influence rather than power.

Among the majority of the population, land acquisition for development projects, tourist resorts and encroachments into agricultural land by private industry have left farmers bitter. The lack of adequate compensation exacerbates an already touchy situation, given the farmer's emotional ties to his land. In the cities, unemployment remains the main source of complaint, followed by overcrowding, poor housing and inadequate water and power supplies.

Meanwhile, private criticisms of first family business acquisitions have increased. There have also been allegations of favoritism towards ethnic Chinese conglomerates. This, and the attendant dissatisfaction among young Indonesian entrepreneurs who want a fighting chance at competing for government projects, have increased the stakes for the succession.

## TRADE DEFICIT PRESAGES TOUGH YEAR

*Abridged from The Financial Times, April 3, 1992. Dateline: Jakarta. By William Keeling.*

The Indonesian government posted a Rupiah 1,500bn (Pounds 426m) surplus in the state budget for the financial year which ended on Tuesday, Mr Johannes Sumarlin, finance minister, said. Bankers and donor economists warn, however, that an Dollars 83m (Pounds 48m) trade deficit in January indicates a tough year ahead for the economy.

The 1991-92 budget figures, which are preliminary, put government revenue at Rp52,000bn, marginally above the Rp50,500bn target. Total government expenditure, the minister said, amounted to Rp50,490bn.

Mr Sumarlin, speaking after the monthly cabinet meeting on the economy, said that income tax revenue of Rp9,600bn was 19.4 per cent higher than forecast, while revenue from value added tax was also above target. Import duty and export tax revenue was below target, partly because of a reduction in import tariffs, the minister said.

Foreign aid flows for the fiscal year amounted to Rp10,400bn while oil and gas sector revenue of Rp15,000bn was as forecast, with oil production averaging 1.56m barrels a day.

Mr Sumarlin noted, however, that figures for January showed a 37 per cent year-on-year decline in oil and gas receipts, whilst in the same month Indonesia recorded an overall trade deficit, with imports of Dollars 2.2bn and exports of Dollars 2.12bn.

Although the January trade deficit was small, Indonesia needs to maintain a substantial trade surplus if it is to counter in-

visible outflows (such as interest payments on debt) estimated by bankers in Jakarta at more than Dollars 6bn last year. Despite the government's budget surplus, Indonesia had a current account deficit in 1991 of about Dollars 4.5bn.

January's trade deficit was 'very unhealthy,' according to one banker, and evidence that the economic downturn in western economies was hitting Indonesia's export-oriented industries.

Economists at donor agencies warn of a tough financial year ahead, despite maintaining a forecast of 5.8 per cent real economic growth. They express concern at Indonesia's external debt which has increased from Dollars 65bn a year ago to Dollars 75bn. Of this, Dollars 50bn is in public debt, and Dollars 25bn in private debt, which has grown most rapidly in recent years.

They note, however, that there is no public short-term debt, and the government remains committed to its debt obligations. The rise is also partly offset by an increase in Indonesia's foreign reserves from Dollars 6.3bn in March 1990 to Dollars 10bn last November. The government has acted to restrict further overseas borrowing by rescheduling many capital intensive projects.

A further growth in exports is needed if the public debt service ratio, estimated by donor agencies at 31 per cent of export earnings and described by a senior economist as 'very high,' is to be alleviated.

## JAKARTA DESPERATE FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS?

Reuter, Jakarta, April 15 - Indonesia will allow foreign investors full ownership of new projects, Economics Minister Radius Prawiro said.

He said a decree was being prepared for foreigners to put up 100 pct equity in new projects outside bonded industrial zones.

"This is a kind of incentive to potential investors since Indonesia is in bad need of more investments," he told reporters.

Foreigners outside the bonded zones like Batam Island off Singapore can now own up to 95 pct equity at the start of the project, but must dilute ownership to 20 pct in four years.

A two-year-old tight money policy to cool an overheated economy sent interest rates soaring, while controls on foreign borrowings hindered local companies in getting offshore funds.

Approved domestic investment last year fell sharply to 804 projects from 1,329 in calendar 1990, while foreign investment dropped to 376 projects from 432. Though the number of foreign projects fell, their value was almost unchanged at \$8.78 billion in 1990.

"This change in policy is necessary in order to enable us to attract more foreign



capital, because domestic investment is slowing down due to high interest rates," Radius said.

Although the regulations covering the announcement are yet to be completed, the government has approved 100 pct foreign ownership of an olefin project suspended last year to control foreign borrowings.

Radius said the government decided to go ahead with the olefin project after its local owner, Prayogo Pangestu, agreed to raise funds for the plant from foreign investors.

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## REPRESSION AND ABRI IN TIMOR

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### EAST TIMORESE ARRESTED OVER LETTER

*Jakarta Post. 3 April 1992. Unabridged.*

A Timorese man has been arrested for questioning the local government's policy on information about development through Jakarta newspapers.

The letter, signed by Lucas Wilson Boimau, appeared in Suara Karya and was then quoted by The Jakarta Post.

In the letter, Boimau said that he and the rest of the people in Pante Makasar district were in dire need of information about national development, especially as the June election was drawing near but that such information had never come. He asked who was to blame and said that the provincial information office had a "rather passive" attitude about it.

Wilson also expressed his doubts that the minister of information would be ready to visit Ambeno regency for the purpose.

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### 'MODEL SOLDIERS' IN TIMOR

Reuter, Jakarta, April 7 - Indonesian military chief Try Sutrisno urged troops in East Timor to win the hearts of the people by being model soldiers after an army massacre last November.

"You have to become pioneers and models to the people so that they will better appreciate your existence here," General Try told troops in East Timor's capital, Dili, on Sunday.

Try, speaking at a ceremony to mark the Moslem festival of Eid Al-Fitri in the predominantly Catholic, former Portuguese colony, advised his soldiers to win the hearts of the East Timorese.

That plan, under which troops were employed in development projects, was set back after troops shot dead between 50 and 180 people at a cemetery in Dili on November 12.

Diplomats have said the violence has increased East Timorese resentment against Indonesian rule.

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## TIMOR SURRENDERS

Reuter, Jakarta, April 7 - East Timor military commander Theo Syafei said four guerrillas of the Fretilin separatist movement had surrendered in Los Palos.

"They came to our posts and surrendered their weapons," Brigadier-General Syafei said. He gave no other details.

Syafei said Fretilin now had only 296 active guerrillas and its weakening could allow Jakarta to reduce troops deployed in counter-insurgency operations in East Timor.

"We will see what happens first. It is possible that we may remove two to three battalions in September," Syafei said.

He said the six battalions, each numbering around 600, now employed in development projects could be reinforced.

Six other battalions are fighting the separatists.

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## TIMOR REBELS INFILTRATE TOWNS

Reuter, Jakarta, April 8 - East Timor's separatist guerrillas have changed their strategy and begun infiltrating towns, the Merdeka newspaper on Wednesday quoted the territory's Indonesian military commander as saying.

Brigadier-General Theo Syafei said the Fretilin movement adopted the strategy after it failed to oust troops in rural areas of the former Portuguese colony, Merdeka said.

Syafei, who took command after scores of people were killed in an army massacre in East Timor's capital Dili last November, said the new strategy included spreading rumours.

"Their only way was to infiltrate the towns or surrender to the armed forces if they wanted to survive," Syafei said.

Syafei said Fretilin rebels now numbered less than 300 - about two per cent of their strength in 1975.

"With that strength, they are no longer able to do any gun fighting with the armed forces," Syafei said.

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## BACKLASH FEARED FROM NEW CRACKDOWN IN EAST TIMOR

*Hong Kong AFP in English 13 April 92. By Jack Taylor*

Sydney, April 13 (AFP) - Survivors of November's Dili massacre have been moved to a remote "centre for political rehabilitation" as far from the East Timor capital as possible, an Australian aid group said Monday.

At the same time, a Catholic school which was considered one of the last independent outposts of East Timorese culture has been closed, Australian Council for

Overseas Aid (ACFOA) official Pat Walsh told AFP.

Both measures are said to be part of a new crackdown by Indonesian security forces on any hint of pro-independence activity or thought.

The closure of Dill's Sao Jose secondary school comes amid renewed accounts by travellers, church members and human rights activists of what they describe as increasingly heavy-handed security measures.

As Prime Minister Paul Keating prepares to visit Jakarta to repair relations damaged by the massacre, the reports suggest an island gripped by repression as tough as anything that existed before the massacre in which at least 50 people are acknowledged to have died.

This is in marked contrast to Australia's official view of Jakarta's "credible" and "encouraging" measures against army officers blamed for the November 12 massacre which occurred when the military turned their guns on a crowd of mourners at a memorial ceremony.

Walsh, director of the ACFOA's human rights program, said he did not know how many survivor's were involved but their number was significant enough for the authorities to have built the "rehabilitation" centre.

It is located at Viqueque on the other end of the island separated by a mountain range from Dili.

Walsh, who said he had received information about the school from reliable sources, cited its closure as an example of the increasing marginalisation of the East Timorese, "politically, economically and culturally."

Other human rights activists believe the repression is so severe that a backlash is inevitable.

A report by Michael Whiteley, national director of Australian Catholic Relief, said pressures are building to the extent that further bloodshed could be expected.

He told AFP he believed a backlash was likely because of frustration caused by intimidation and repression.

Whiteley's report referred to "a policy of intimidation."

It described the Catholic Church as being under pressure while the Bishop of East Timor and many of his priests were being "accused by the military of playing a leading role in the demonstrations against Indonesian involvement in East Timor.

"The situation in East Timor is as serious now as it has been at any time during the past 17 years ... The Indonesians appear to be taking a harder line on dissent and are prepared to take whatever action is necessary to repress it.

"More bloodshed and suffering can, most regrettably, be expected," Whiteley's report said.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and annexed it a year later. He said what was happening at local level

was "quite subtle" and probably not government authorised.

Walsh, recently back from Indonesia, said he believed the situation was similar to that which prevailed at the time of the massacre.

"In East Timor, it is almost impossible to talk to anyone and there is almost no information coming out of the country," he said.

Walsh recently released a report by a team of academics led by Yogyakarta-based professor Mubyarto which concluded that East Timor was suffering "an overdose of military."

Their report said the economy of the island was monopolised by Indonesian military interests.

A resettlement program which had forced the bulk of the indigenous people into centres had alienated them, creating social conflict and cultural confusion," the report said.

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### TIMOR INTIMIDATION WORSE, SAYS CHURCH

*This report appeared on the Mon, 13/4/92 issue of THE AGE, Melbourne. There was also a front page article on this topic on the Mon., 13/4/92 Canberra Times. The Australian also had a similar report, but a much shorter version*

*By Tom Hyland*

The Indonesian Government has taken a harder line against dissent in East Timor since the Dili massacre and further bloodshed is expected, according to a confidential report by the Roman Catholic Church.

In addition, sources recently returned from East Timor say the Indonesian Army has abandoned its "hearts and minds" strategy against pro-independence activity since the Dili massacre in November and begun a policy of intimidation.

These accounts support the finding of the confidential report by Mr Michael Whiteley, the national director of Australian Catholic Relief. The report said: "The ongoing pressure on the Timorese can be seen from the increased security measures... there is also a policy of intimidation with a very obvious military presence."

"The Indonesians appear to be taking a harder line on dissent and are prepared to take whatever action is necessary to repress it. More bloodshed and suffering can, most regrettably, be expected."

Mr Whiteley visited East Timor in December. The report was given to Australian Catholic Relief's national committee and a number of bishops.

It is supported by statements from a number of recent travellers.

An Australian who has visited East Timor three times, most recently last Month, said: "As far as I am concerned, the situation was absolutely horrible two weeks ago."

A visitor in January said political prisoners arrested after the massacre complained to church leaders of torture: being burned with cigarette ends, slashed with razor blades, and beaten on the feet.

A number of the sources said they had been unable to contact Timorese they met on earlier visits. Some had been forced into hiding or had possibly "gone to the mountains," a common expression for joining Fretilin independence guerrillas.

Mr Whiteley said: "The atmosphere (in Dili) was extremely tense. People came to work, went home and then locked themselves in."

Another source saw signs of intense military activity in Dili and elsewhere in January. She said Indonesian troops appeared to be billeted in every neighbourhood and village, searching for those suspected of involvement in political activity.

In Baucau, east of Dili, she saw signs of a military operation in the streets, involving soldiers with shields, helmets and riot masks.

"The whole time we were there we were watched. Our rooms were searched. We were followed everywhere, and quizzed as to where we were going and why we had come," she said.

The new military commander in East Timor, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, was recently quoted in the Indonesian weekly 'Editor' magazine as saying "... if something similar to the November 12 event were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher."

An inquiry by the Indonesian Government found that at least 50 people died in the massacre and up to another 90 were missing. Witnesses have said that more than 100 died. -AAP

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### TIMOR IN 'STATE OF FEAR'

Reuter, Sydney, April 15 - Indonesia has hardened its attitude to dissent in East Timor since last year's Dili massacre in a move expected to lead to more bloodshed, a confidential Catholic Church report says.

"East Timorese are living in a state of fear," said the report, a copy of which was obtained by Reuters on Wednesday. "Checkpoints and roadblocks are common around Dili.

"There is also a policy of intimidation with a very obvious military presence - small army outposts, army men in trucks regularly patrolling the streets, military exercises taking place in the streets of Dili."

The report, prepared for the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, said probably more than 100 Timorese were killed by Indonesian troops in the November 12 incident, that malnutrition among Timorese children is widespread and the Timorese are living in a state of fear.

"With no freedom and very little opportunity to build an acceptable way of life for themselves, more and more people, espe-

cially the young, will take action - either as part of the organised resistance or independently - to change the situation in East Timor," the report said.

"The Indonesians appear to be taking a harder line on dissent and are prepared to take whatever action is necessary to repress it. More bloodshed and suffering can, most regrettably, be expected."

The massacre was "one result of this tension and unrest - not the cause of it," the report said.

A copy of the report was sent to Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs, and copies have been selectively leaked to newspapers in the last few days before a visit to Indonesia by Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating next week.

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### FIVE SANTA CRUZ OFFICER CASES 'RESOLVED'

*Tempo. 25 April 1992. Original language: Indonesian. Summarised.*

#### THOSE WHO FAILED TO RESPOND

[Intro] Five more officers who failed to prevent the Dili incident have been investigated. Is the task of the National Commission of Inquiry now complete?

When the Honorary Military Council (DKM) which was set up to investigate army actions during the Santa Cruz massacre, published its findings in March, it announced that besides dismissing or shifting to other duties six officers and recommending that eight soldiers be court-martialled, another five officers who had failed to perform their duties in a fitting way ('tidak terpanggil') would be investigated.

These investigations, which were undertaken by an armed forces headquarters team led by Major-General Soerjadi, have now been completed. The five officers investigated were: Colonel Dolfi Rondonuwu, former operations assistant of the Special Operations Command for East Timor (Kolakops); Colonel Soewito, former territorial assistant of Kolakops; Captain Harahap, former head of the operations section of C Sector [in charge of Dili]; Major Trisno, former territorial head of C Sector; and Major Gerhan Lantara, former head of intelligence of C Sector. Major Trisno was also deputy commander of Battalion 303, while Major Gerhan Lantara, who sustained a stab wound during the demonstration, was also deputy commander of Battalion 700. [These are the two battalions known to have been involved in the shootings.]

The five officers were all investigated separately during a single day, on 20 March. Nine witnesses were called. Three days later, they were invited to inspect and amend the transcripts of their investigations.

Tempo sources explain that the five officers have been divided into three categories. [The names of the officers in each category are not given.] One officer is deemed not to

have performed his duty at Kolakops in a fitting way. His penalty? "It is recommended that he be pensioned at the youngest permissible age," said Tempo's source. [*Where that leaves him now is not explained.*]

Three officers in the second category are deemed to have responded as their duties required though they failed to do so optimally. "This was for a variety of reasons, including the capabilities of the officers themselves." These three will be returned to their units and where they will be given further guidance.

The fifth officer is deemed to have acted optimally in the performance of his duties. "He will be returned to his unit where he will resume his present duties."

Army chief of staff General Edi Sudradjat said that the findings of the Soerjadi team had been useful for internal army purposes. "The decisions will not be made public," he said.

With this, the army's efforts regarding the Dili incident can now be said to have been completed. The only things that remain are for the court-martials of eight officers to be conducted and for there to be some clarification of the number of victims.

### MILITARY TRIALS IMPENDING

Reuter, Jakarta, April 28 - An Indonesian military court will try nine men facing charges over an army massacre in East Timor before a general election in June, Media Indonesia newspaper said on Tuesday.

The newspaper quoted military supreme court judge Major General Suhadi as saying the legal documents of the cases against nine soldiers were now with the military prosecutor's office.

Suhadi said the trial was expected to start before the parliamentary polls on June 9.

But he did not name the nine or their ranks, the paper said.

Indonesian army chief Edi Sudradjat has said eight people, including four junior officers, will be tried in the military court on criminal charges relating to the incident in which troops fired into a crowd in the East Timor capital Dili, killing scores of civilians on November 12.

Sudradjat's announcement calmed international outrage over the killings, which had revived the question of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.

Suhadi said the military trial might be held in Denpasar, Bali island, or in Kupang, in nearby East Nusa Tenggara province.

## CHANGES IN TIMORESE EXTERNAL MOVEMENT

### FRETILIN/LISBON CONDEMNS 12 NOV. DEMONSTRATION

*East Timor News. 26 March 1992.*

The demonstration in Dili on 12 November which culminated in the Santa Cruz massacre was condemned by Antonio Araujo and Jose Sarmento, members of the Fretilin Committee in Portugal (CFP) during a press conference. They surprised journalists present by stating that the "massacre would not have occurred if there had been more concerted action" and "what most infuriated the Indonesians were the flags," and they regarded these as "a provocation." (*Diario de Noticias, 7 February*)

Fretilin leader Abilio Araujo in a press release on the following day also supported this position, describing the preparations for the demonstration as being characterised by "indiscipline, liberalism and adventurism which were a fertile ground for the infiltration of double agents." (*DnN, 8 February*)

#### Ramos-Horta replies

Replying in *Publico*, Jose Ramos-Horta, CNRM representative in the exterior, accused Abilio of being out of touch and stated that other Fretilin leaders, such as Mari Alkatiri, Jose Luis Guterres and Roque Roderigues did not share the most recent positions adopted by Araujo.

He spoke again of his intention of founding an international secretariat of the CNRM in the exterior based in Lisbon which could act as an umbrella organisation to channel the initiatives in the exterior, of the various Timorese resistance groups. He stressed that the composition of any Timorese delegation participating in negotiations would have to have the approval of Xanana Gusmao. "This is logical and just."

Speaking of recent and future fund-raising efforts, he strongly recommended that such financial support should be channelled directly to the CNRM in the interior, this being the area most in need of support, and suggested that the Portuguese solidarity group, CDPM, should oversee the funds. (*Publico, 15 February*)

## FRETILIN RESTRUCTURES EXTERIOR, SUBSTITUTING FOR ABILIO ARAUJO

*Diario de Noticias, Lisbon, 8 April 1992*  
*Translation in full of the section of the article which refers to the Fretilin remodulation (the article goes on to give details of Ramos-Horta's activities during the preceding week).*

Fretilin activists in Portugal, Australia and Mozambique are preparing for a "profound restructuring" of the party's external representation, according to information received by Lusa [agency] from political leaders. This restructuring, which implies the replacement of Abilio Araujo, current head of the Fretilin External Delegation (known as the DEF) may take place this month, with the holding, in Lisbon, of a Central Council meeting of the party.

At this meeting, according to the same sources, a troika is due to be appointed with responsibility for the preparations for an election of Fretilin leaders outside Timor. The election will be "legitimised by the grassroots" and is due to take place within 6 months. The three members who will oversee this process will be Mari Alkatiri, current DEF second-in command, Jose Luis Guterres, the party's UN representative, and another member who will be appointed in Australia, and is likely to be Sydney-based Estanislau da Silva. Jose Ramos-Horta, as the special representative of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance (CNRM) leader, Xanana Gusmao, is also involved in the restructuring process. Ramos-Horta, on being asked to comment on the development, stated that he was involved in these changes so as to "follow through the historic orders to this effect which had come from the CNRM." The Timorese leader went on to say that changes within Fretilin had been scheduled since September 1991, when he and Abilio Araujo had signed a memorandum which envisaged the restructuring. Also according to the same source, the signing of the document by the two leaders took place "under the patronage of Joao Soares (Socialist Party activist and son of the Portuguese president) and was witnessed by Barbedo de Magalhaes" (activist on the East Timor question).

## TIMORESE CONSENSUS IN LISBON

*Publico. 5 May 1992. Brief item, translated and reproduced in full.*

Abilio Araujo, Paulo Pires, Vicente Guterres along with Jose Ramos-Horta, representing respectively Fretilin, the UDT and the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) held a three-day meeting in Lisbon from 2 - 4 May to analyse the situation in the interior of the terri-

tory. A final communiqué signed by all those who took part emphasised that the proceedings had taken place "in a climate of complete openness and frankness." It noted that the "full de-politicisation of the resistance was now an undeniable fact and had strengthened national unity." The CNRM was also recognised as the body "which represents the entire resistance movement" and that Xanana Gusmao was recognised as the "consensual leader."

### COMMUNIQUÉ ON POLITICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN FRETILIN, UDT AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF CNRM

*Lisbon, 4th May 1992*

The Head of FRETILIN External Delegation (DEF), Abilio Araujo, the President and the Vice-President of the Political Commission of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), Paulo Pires and Vicente Guterres, respectively, and Jose Ramos-Horta, Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), met in Lisbon on the 2nd and 4th May 1992.

The work sessions took place in a climate of complete openness and frankness, inspired by the determination to overcome the differences that divided the various political sensibilities overseas.

The East Timorese representatives analysed the situation in the country and concluded that the non-partisanship of the Resistance is an undeniable fact which strengthens National Unity; that CNRM, the non-partisan body that inside the country comprises all nationalist forces and sensibilities, is the Representative Institution of the whole Resistance; and that Xanana Gusmao is the consensus leader of the Resistance.

The Timorese political leaders also concluded that there is an imperative need and urgency, overseas, to adjust to the new reality in the country by developing efforts with a view to overcoming the differences that have hindered a consensus and effective diplomatic strategy.

The three delegations recognized the role of the Nationalist Convergence and the need to strengthen and make it more and more open to all nationalist forces and sensibilities with special attention given to youth organizations.

The three delegations reiterated the need to set up overseas structures representing all nationalist sensibilities, stressing also the need for cooperation, coordination and "encadrement" in a common strategy.

*On behalf of FRETILIN: Abilio Araujo. On behalf of UDT, Paulo Pires, Vicente Guterres. On behalf of CNRM, Jose Ramos-Horta.*

## NGO'S HARASSED IN INDONESIA

### DEMOCRACY FORUM BARRED

Reuter, Jakarta, Menuk Suwondo, April 20 - Police broke up a meeting of prominent Moslem and Christian intellectuals seeking more open democracy in Indonesia.

"Everybody was already there for the gathering on Sunday night when the police came and told us to cancel it," a member of the Democracy Forum told Reuters.

The forum has attracted a lot of attention since it was set up a year ago, mainly because its head is Abdurrahman Wahid, leader of the country's biggest Moslem organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

Members of the forum said the gathering was to celebrate the Moslem festival of Eid-al-Fitr.

"The police said we can't go on with the meeting because it's against the law but they didn't tell us which law we had violated," a forum member said.

The authorities were believed to have banned the meeting because it did not have police permission.

"This was like what they did to us a few months ago," another member said, referring to a meeting in the town of Cibereum on the outskirts of Jakarta which was abruptly banned in February.

Another member said Sunday's forced cancellation was a victory for the forum.

"We did not have much of a crowd, and most of us are just a tired bunch of intellectuals. But the disruption has boosted our stock," he added.

In a speech prepared for the meeting, Wahid had urged people to free themselves from the "seeming democracy" and "seeming openness" practised in Indonesia.

His comments appeared to refer to the government's announcement a year ago that it would relax the political controls in force since President Suharto took power after crushing a communist coup in 1965.

"We have to free ourselves from these things and return to the true values of life in order to maintain our ability to think critically.... Democracy can't be upheld without such abilities of critical thinking," Wahid's speech said.

The forum, which received government sanction after it told officials it would not act as an opposition party, also called on Indonesians to use the coming general election to strive for political change.

"The essence of a general election is actually to give the people a chance to make changes," Wahid's speech said, adding that such changes could include electing a successor to the president.

## GOLKAR, PPP PROTEST FORUM BAN

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, April 20 - Indonesian members of parliament cutting across party lines have criticised police for breaking up a gathering of prominent intellectuals seeking more open democracy in Indonesia.

"I really regret it and I don't quite understand why the authorities did it," Antara quoted Oka Mahendra, a leading member of parliament from the ruling Golkar party, as saying on Monday.

Mahendra said the meeting on Sunday, described by the organisers as a celebration of the Moslem Eid-al-Fitr festival, was a traditional Islamic gathering which had nothing to do with security.

The meeting was organised by the Forum For Democracy headed by Abdurrahman Wahid, leader of the country's biggest Moslem organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama.

Jakarta police chief, Major General H.M. Ritonga said police were in the right to break up the gathering because organisers had not sought the required permission.

"Although the policemen were not provided with a warrant, they have the right to stop the activity," Ritonga said.

Thaheransjah Karim, head of the Moslem-based United Development Party in parliament, said the police should have warned the organisers two or three days before banning the meeting.

"The police should clarify its action by giving acceptable reasons to prevent people from getting the wrong impression," he added.

Diplomats said Wahid had been unusually direct in bringing up the question of a successor to the president.

## BREAKUP OF PEACEFUL JAKARTA MEETING

*By Brian Brunton, April 23, 1992*

The breaking up of a peaceful meeting of Indonesian intellectuals prior to Paul Keating's visit to Jakarta by police does not appear to have made the mainstream media in Australia. We must do something about the inability of Australian journalists, and perhaps more particularly the editors in the electronic media, to identify what are the issues and inform the Australian people about what is going on in Indonesia.

It is clear from this conference that East Timor is but one aspect of the wider struggle for democracy and political space in Indonesia, and without detracting at all from the critique about East Timor, it is also clear that our failure to adequately inform the world about the central issues in the struggle for Indonesian democracy is a major problem.

I rang the chief of staff at the ABC to ask why this story had not appeared, at least on

the news broadcasts I listened to. She had not heard of the story. She said that the ABC gets AFP and the story was sourced in Reuters and that she would look into it. I suggested she might like to read reg. Indonesia.

If this information had been before the mainstream media prior to Keating's visit he would have had less opportunity to posture in the way he did at his media conference, as the issue would have been less of East Timor and more about the widespread control of political life in Indonesia by the security apparatus.

Of course the transverse of this problem is to let Indonesians know that Keating is a politician with a doubtful future. He is very much a numbers man: sensitive to public opinion and the opinion polls. At present he is losing the opinion polls in Australia, and within a year or so he could be out of office. The last thing he would want would be to be seen in Australia as having been snubbed in Indonesia. It is possible that the minders had decided that there was less detriment in being seen in Australia as anti-human rights, than being snubbed, and that the trade issues were more important than human rights anyway.

Presumably Indonesian Foreign Affairs advisers had worked this one through for themselves: hence Keating's soft line on East Timor and human rights, and the relative robustness of Suharto.

By the way, on the 21st, Australian Opposition Leader John Houston addressed a meeting in Sydney on human rights organised by Amnesty International. I don't know what transpired but lovers of liberty and freedom should not hold their breath.

On the main issue what can we do about the structural inadequacies of Australian foreign affairs reporting?

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### ARMY WARNS ABDURRAHMAN WAHID

Reuter, Jakarta, April 25 - The Indonesian military, which plays a powerful political role, has warned a group of pro-democracy intellectuals against agitating for change, newspapers said on Saturday.

The warning was delivered by Lieutenant General Harsudiono Hartas, head of the military's socio-political affairs section, as Indonesia prepared to vote for a new parliament in June and a new president next March.

"Please go ahead as long as you don't agitate," Hartas was quoted by the Jakarta Post as saying at a seminar.

Hartas said the Forum For Democracy, whose gathering was broken up by the police last Sunday, would not be banned as long as it did not agitate for changes in the system.

The Forum For Democracy was set up a year ago and is led by Abdurrahman Wahid,

leader of the country's biggest Moslem organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

The disruption the forum's Sunday gathering, to celebrate the Moslem festival of Eid-al-Fitr, was criticised by members of parliament from all sides.

The content of Wahid's speech may have been the reason for breaking up the gathering, diplomats said. Wahid would have urged the people to free themselves from the "seeming democracy" and "seeming openness" practised in Indonesia.

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### JAKARTA BANS NGO'S FROM ACCEPTING DUTCH AID

Jakarta, Apr. 28 (ips/Abdul Razak) - Indonesia has banned all non-governmental organisations (NGO's), including professional bodies and missionaries from accepting aid from the Netherlands.

the ban comes a month after Indonesia stopped accepting Dutch economic aid due to what it called "a persistent effort by the Hague to use aid as a tool of intimidation and intervention into Indonesia's domestic affairs." the Netherlands is the former colonial ruler of the south-east Asian nation.

home affairs minister general Rudini announced over the weekend that any NGO found violating the new rule will be penalised and that "all Dutch government-aided projects should be ceased."

the ban applies to foundations, professional associations, consumer agencies, legal aid institutes and social organisations. it also goes for religious organisations, according to religious affairs minister Munawir Sjadzali.

Rudini, tipped to be Indonesia's next president after the 1992 general elections, has discussed the ruling with NGO leaders in the country. he said "they all agreed with it."

because of the ban, Indonesian NGO's will not any more attend meetings of the international NGO forum on Indonesia (INGI), which groups non-state organisations from Indonesia and western countries.

INGI was set up to monitor the use of billions of dollars of aid provided by members of the inter-government groups on Indonesia (IGGI), dissolved shortly after Jakarta announced its rejection of Dutch aid.

house member Ben Messakh has described Indonesia's recent moves as reflecting the public feelings against the former coloniser, who he says still loom large in the country's domestic affairs.

Netherlands froze a promised largesse of 91.3 million dollars in November last year, a day after Indonesian troops fired at demonstrators in the former Portuguese enclave of East Timor, killing at least 50 persons.

Jakarta retaliated by asking in march that 250 Dutch aid workers and their families in Indonesia to pack up and leave.

the world bank has taken over the role of IGGI and has formed the consultative group for Indonesia (CGI). former IGGI members,

except the Netherlands, will hold a two-day meeting in Paris in July.

observers say while western countries are concerned about the row between the Hague and Jakarta, they are reluctant to withhold aid from the world's fourth-largest country, which many western firms regard as having a ripe business potential.

(story received incomplete)

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### SOEHARTO TRIES TO DESTROY LBH, INGI

*Remark: Rudini's decree also stated it was also "irrelevant" for Indonesian NGOs receiving aid from the Dutch government or Dutch-government funded Dutch NGOs to remain INGO participants. The regime evidently has embarked on an effort to destroy INGI under the cloak of the Dutch aid cutoff.*

Reuter, Jakarta, April 27 - A leading human rights group on Monday criticised Indonesia's decision to ban non-governmental aid from the Netherlands after its earlier rejection of official development assistance.

"We regret the government statement to ban non-governmental aid because relations between Indonesian and the Dutch non-governmental organisations are not political," the Legal Aid Foundation said.

Indonesia rejected development assistance from its former colonial master a month ago, saying it was often used against the Jakarta government.

Home Minister Rudini said on Saturday that Indonesian organisations that continued to accept aid from Dutch non-governmental organisations were liable to be punished.

The Legal Aid Foundation, which had been funded by a Dutch organisation NOVIB for more than 10 years, said it would continue to operate despite the latest ban.

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### ASIA WATCH CRITICIZES ATTACK ON INDONESIAN NGO'S

April 27, 1992

On April 24, 1992, the Indonesia Minister of the Interior, Rudini, issued a statement banning Indonesian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from receiving aid from Dutch organizations which themselves are recipients of Dutch government aid. The statement followed an announcement by the Indonesian Government last March 25 that it would refuse to accept any further Dutch development aid in light of Dutch criticism of Indonesia's human rights violations - particularly the Dutch decision to suspend new aid in the wake of the November 12, 1991 massacre by Indonesian troops of unarmed demonstrators in Dili, East Timor. The aid was resumed on January 20, 1992, but the

Indonesian decision to end Dutch assistance had already been taken.

The statement by Minister Rudini is clearly an attack on the NGOs which have been most critical of the Indonesian Government, including the Legal Aid Foundation of Indonesia, the country's largest human rights organization. The Minister mentioned "legal aid institutions" as one category of "social organizations or institutions" which would be punished if they violated the ban on receiving Dutch aid; the Legal Aid Foundation receives a substantial amount of aid from the Dutch donor organization, NOVIB, which in turn receives over half of its aid funding from the Dutch government. The reaction of the Legal Aid Foundation is attached.

The Minister's statement also suggested that it was no longer "relevant" for Indonesian NGOs to participate in a coalition called INGI (International NGO Forum on Indonesia), which since 1985 has issued annual statements critical of different aspects of Indonesia's development policies, including the impact of those policies on human rights.

INGI originally had been founded with the assistance of NOVIB and other Dutch organizations to give Indonesian NGOs a voice in the donor countries providing development aid to Indonesia. Those donor countries, together with the World Bank and representatives of other multilateral lending institutions, met once a year in a forum called the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia or IGGI. In addition to rejecting Dutch aid on March 25, the Indonesian Government also dissolved IGGI, which since its inception in 1967 had been based in the Netherlands and chaired by the Dutch Minister for Development Assistance. In place of IGGI, a new World Bank-led consortium has been formed, which will have its first meeting in Paris in July.

Asia Watch is concerned that the statement by Minister Rudini suggests that the Indonesian Government is attempting to further constrain the activities of NGOs and restrict the exercise of freedom of expression and freedom of association in Indonesia. It calls upon the American embassy in Jakarta and the United States State Department to make it clear to the Indonesian Government that it strongly supports the work of NGOs like the Legal Aid Foundation; WALHI, the environmental organization; the Consumers' Association of Indonesia; INGI; and other organizations that have been implicitly attacked in Minister Rudini's statement. It should make clear that any attempt to curtail their activities by cutting their sources of funding will be viewed with great concern. Should the attacks on NGOs critical of the Indonesian Government not cease, the Bush administration should seriously reconsider its willingness to take part in the new donor consortium meeting in Paris. It should also take an unambiguous, public stance in support of the need to link devel-

opment assistance and respect for human rights.

## INDONESIAN LEGAL AID FOUNDATION OF INDONESIA SUPPORTS NGO'S

### Press Release

In regard to the statement of the Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Indonesia, dated 24 April 1992 about aid from the Government of the Netherlands, the Legal Aid Foundation deems it necessary to set forth its reaction as follows:

1. The Legal Aid Foundation views the statement of the Minister of the Interior dated 24 April 1992 as a means to put pressure on social organizations and NGOs in Indonesia to conform to the spirit of the letter of the Indonesia Government dated 25 March 1992, regarding funding assistance from the Government of the Netherlands. The Interior Minister, in his capacity as the person responsible for guiding internal policy, also warned NGOs against taking part in INGI.

In addition, the Interior Minister stressed again the procedural conditions that must be met by social organizations or NGOs in receiving foreign funds, particularly the requirement that they must receive government approval.

2. The Legal Aid Foundation has cooperated with donor organizations from the Netherlands such as NOVIB for more than 10 years on the basis of mutual respect; there were no strings attached to the aid. On this understanding, the mission, orientation, and activities of LBH were in no way directed or determined by the donor or by concepts or philosophies which contradicted the spirit of the 1945 Constitution in bringing into existence a country based on the rule of law, committed to democracy and social justice. Thus, a dimension of nationalism colored the views, attitude and outlook of the Legal Aid Foundation and all of its different parts.

In this connection, the Legal Aid Foundation regrets the statement of the Indonesian Minister of the Interior because the cooperation of Dutch NGOs and Indonesian NGOs was not based on a superior-subordinate relationship. Even less did it mean that Indonesian NGOs became political tools of the Dutch NGOs. Rather, the cooperation took the form of looking for the means to establish humanitarian values as a global fact which no society can ignore.

3. The Legal Aid Foundation as a participant in the International NGO Forum on Indonesia (INGI) is founded on a concern for national development problems and views the INGI forum as fulfilling an important function in campaigning for the right of the people to development.

The function and existence of INGI need not end with the dissolution of IGGI and

the Government of Indonesia should see INGI as a channel for dialogue on development.

4. The Legal Aid Foundation with all its branch offices will continue to work in the direction and toward the goals set when it was founded in 1970, as an institute for providing legal services, not dependent in an ideological or financial sense on any other party. It is hoped that every legal aid staff member working under the auspices of the Legal Aid Foundation will continue to carry out his or her activities as usual, in accordance with the orientation and mission of the Legal Aid Foundation.

In carrying out its activities, the Legal Aid Foundation will continue to emphasize its strategy of dialogue with the government as well as with other NGOs and will continue to hold to the principles outlined above.

Issued in Jakarta, 27 April 1992  
Board of Directors, The Legal Aid  
Foundation of Indonesia  
Mulyana W. Kusuma,  
Deputy Head of Operations

### UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF RUDINI LETTER

26 APRIL 1992  
Ministry of the Interior  
Republic of Indonesia

Statement of the Minister of the Interior, Republic of Indonesia In his Capacity as the Person Responsible for Guiding Internal Policy about the Ban on Receipt of Dutch Aid by Social Organizations and Institutions

The Indonesian Government on 24 March 1992 conveyed to the Dutch Government its decision to halt all aid in the form of loans and grants from the Netherlands to Indonesia and not to give any new aid.

In accordance with this step by the Government, all social organizations and institutions, such as NGOs, whether in the form of foundations, organizations or other institutions; professional associations; consumer organizations; legal aid institutes; social organizations; religious organizations; or similar agencies, are hereby forbidden to receive aid from the Dutch government or aid from any Dutch NGO which receives funds from the Dutch government.

Social organizations and institutions which violate this determination will be penalized in accordance with existing legislative regulations.

In view of the above, it is not relevant for social organizations and institutions to participate in INGI (International NGO Forum on Indonesia).

Herewith this statement, to be made known and implemented as necessary in a responsible manner.

Jakarta, 24 April 1992  
Minister of the Interior  
RUDINI

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## NGO'S PROTEST AID BAN

Reuter, Jakarta, April 29 - Indonesia's decision to ban all aid from its former Dutch colonial rulers has drawn loud protests from private welfare organisations.

"(The decision) is not based on mature considerations, it is not objective, neither is it fair," said Yafet Kambai, who represents 300 students from Irian Jaya province studying under a private Dutch scholarship programme.

The future of the programme was in doubt after Interior Minister Rudini said at the weekend that a ban imposed last month on official Dutch aid would extend to assistance from non-governmental organisations.

Analysts said the aid ban could affect programmes ranging from family planning to environmental protection, although official Dutch aid is less than two per cent of the \$4.75 billion pledged by donors in the year ending March 31.

"We call on the government to review the ban on the Dutch aid for social and religious organisations," Kambai said in a statement.

"The government's message is a challenge to us in developing our organisation," said Zulkarnaen, chairman of the Indonesian Environmental Forum [Walhi].

Zulkarnaen said his organisation would seek help from other international non-governmental organisations and continue with its projects.

Indonesia's leading human rights group, the Legal Aid Foundation, said it regretted the ban since the ties between Indonesian and Dutch non-governmental organisations were not political.

The foundation, funded by a Dutch non-government organisation for more than 10 years, said the ban would not stop it from continuing to provide free legal aid.

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## LBH ON VERGE OF COLLAPSE

Reuter, Jakarta, May 1 - Indonesia refused on Friday to yield to mounting protests against its ban on private organisations accepting financial aid from the Netherlands.

Indonesia said last month it would no longer take aid, whether official or private, from its former colonial rulers whom it accused of using the money to interfere in its domestic affairs.

"I insist on the ban...We will take action against those who are found receiving it," the official news agency Antara quoted Home Minister Rudini as saying.

"The ban is immoral," leading Indonesian dissident Ali Sadikin, retired general and former Jakarta governor, said.

He said it was particularly absurd that non-government groups were not allowed to receive aid while Dutch foreign trade minister Yvonne van Rooij was currently in Jakarta to discuss trade with Indonesia.

An official with Indonesia's main human rights group, the Legal Aid Institute, said about 80 per cent of its funds came from the Netherlands.

He said he did not know how the organisation could survive.

Political analysts said the ban was partly out of genuine pique over continual Dutch meddling in local affairs.

It was also a gesture to the powerful military, smarting from the rare public chastisement by the government over the East Timor shooting.

It was a relatively painless gesture since Dutch aid accounted for less than two per cent of the total given to the Indonesian government each year, they said.

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## ICMI MEETING BANNED

Reuter, Jakarta, May 4 - Indonesian police prevented a group of Moslem intellectuals from holding a meeting at the weekend to discuss human rights, an official of the group said on Monday.

The official of the All-Indonesia Association of Moslem Intellectuals (ICMI) said police ordered them to cancel Saturday's meeting because they did not have a permit.

"We had similar meetings in the past, but they didn't do anything. This time, I don't know why," he said.

ICMI said it was not aware of a government ban on meetings of more than 50 people from May 2 to June 16 imposed as part of security restrictions for upcoming elections.

Political analysts said banning the ICMI meeting appeared to be an attempt to balance the disruption of the Forum for Democracy meeting last month.

The forum is critical of the government, while ICMI is headed by Research and Technology Minister Yusuf Habibie, a close associate of President Suharto.

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## REVIEWS OF RECENT TIMOR RESOURCES

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### REVIEW: "EAST TIMOR - A WESTERN MADE TRAGEDY"

*Green Left Weekly Issue 54, May 6, 1992*

**By Mark Aarons and Robert Domm**

**Published by Left Book Club. A\$5.95**

*Reviewed by Tony Iltis*

The November 12 massacre of a funeral procession in the Timorese capital, Dili, put the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, now in its 17th year, back into the international spotlight. For anyone wishing to learn the history of this occupation and the Timorese resistance, East Timor - A

Western Made Tragedy provides a good starting point.

The authors both have first-hand experience of East Timor.

Mark Aarons visited the island to report for the ABC in March 1975, when the Portuguese were in the process of withdrawing and the Timorese were enthusiastically preparing for independence.

Robert Domm has experienced East Timor under both Portuguese and Indonesian rule. In the early 1970s, he visited Dili regularly as a merchant seaman.

In 1989 when, for the first time since their invasion, the Indonesians allowed tourists into East Timor, Domm took the opportunity. In 1990 he returned and, with the assistance of the underground resistance network, was able to interview the legendary commander of the Timorese guerrillas, Xanana Gusmao.

At the Melbourne launch of East Timor - A Western Made Tragedy, Emilia Gusmao, wife of Xanana, described Domm as "the first westerner to break the isolation of the East Timorese resistance leaders from the outside world."

At the launch, Domm made a scathing attack on Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans, whom he described as "leading the pack of amoral world leaders." He cited, as an example of Australia's diplomatic role, the threat to cut off development aid to Vanuatu if that country condemned Indonesia over its role in East Timor.

A strength of the book is that it explains that Australia's shameful stance on East Timor dates right back to before the Indonesian invasion. Close relations with Indonesia were a priority of the Whitlam government's foreign policy. In September 1974 and April 1975, Whitlam met with Indonesian dictator Suharto and told him that Australia favoured the integration of East Timor into Indonesia.

The book also quotes from a secret August 1975 telegram from the Australian ambassador in Jakarta in which he emphasised the importance of the energy-rich Timor Gap saying, "This could be more readily negotiated with Indonesia ... than with Portugal or independent Portuguese Timor."

An article on the legality of the 1990 treaty in which Australia and Indonesia divided up the Timor Gap is included as an appendix.

The book also covers the November 12 massacre in detail. A Timorese account that was smuggled out is quoted at length, and a thorough study of the international reaction is provided. Amnesty International's report into the massacre is included as a second appendix.

### TIMOR BOOK LAUNCHED

*By Maurice Sibelle*

BRISBANE - "The Western world has a moral and political obligation to tell the truth," East Timor community representa-

tive Lucia Corte-real told a gathering here to launch a new book, *East Timor: A Western Made Tragedy*.

Catholic Worker representative Father Dick Pascoe told the May 2 gathering he was concerned that Australia was heading down the same moral and political road as the United States. "This book is a factual documentation of the role played by successive Australian governments from Whitlam to Fraser and Keating," he added. None of these leaders, including Bill Hayden, could have any credibility after the positions they took on East Timor.

Robert Domm, co-author with Mark Aarons, explained that this was the first book on East Timor published in Australia for nine years. It might actually be a step forward if the Australian government did nothing over East Timor, Domm said; "instead it is actively supporting Indonesian policy and aiding the cover-up of atrocities."

### 1990 OPORTO EAST TIMOR SEMINAR TRANSCRIPT

JB00@LEHIGH.EDU (Jose Antonio Basto) has made available the entirety of Part I of the Second Seminar on East Timor held at the Oporto University, Portugal on April 28-May 1, 1990. Part I consists of the Historical Introduction prepared by Portugal's East Timor specialist, Prof. A. Barbedo de Magalhaes, who co-ordinated the Seminar. If you post any comment on any part of the series, Jose will be most grateful to receive a courtesy copy at his email address. Prof. Magalhaes has authorized reproduction of the proceedings. His address is A. Barbedo de Magalhaes, Prof. Catedrático, DEMEGI-FEUP, R. dos Bragas, P-4099 Porto, Portugal.

These materials (about 100 kilobytes) are available from ETAN/US on paper or diskette.

### NEW "FREE EAST TIMOR" POSTER AVAILABLE

The Asian Students Association and Canadian Youth Network for Asia Pacific Solidarity have just produced a full-colour newsprint poster with a picture of a blind-folded Timorese boy wrapped in barbed wire, various slogans, and background information. Posters can be ordered from CYNAPS, 19876 Garden Dr., Vancouver BC, V5N 4W7, Canada. Single copies are also available on request from ETAN, 104-2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2, or PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, M5S 2T1 (e-mail web!etan).

### GETTING TIMOR INFORMATION ELECTRONICALLY

*This is a partial re-post for those needing East Timor information, by John MacDougall, Task Force Indonesia*

I realize there are persons on the list who need the info contained in the former East Timor Newsbriefs. This info can presently still be easily obtained from any of four online sources:

- 1) Usenet's soc.culture.Portuguese news-group
- 2) pt-net, a Portuguese list mainly for Portuguese with no access to Usenet. For a subscription, email pt-net-request@inesc.inesc.pt
- 3) Margarida Silva's East Timor distribution list (read-only), sited at Cornell. She has volunteered to add anyone who needs the full East Timor Newsbriefs. Email itxy@cornella.cit.cornell.edu with your request.
- 4) The reg.Indonesia conference on PeaceNet contains every posting in the East Timor Newsbriefs plus more. For info on PeaceNet, an inexpensive non-profit network, email support2@igc.org (Tom Gray)

Indonesia Publications also issues a number of periodicals containing East Timor news. Email me your postal address if you want more information about what's available in print form from IndoPubs.

John A. MacDougall  
Editor, Indonesia Publications  
Editor, Southeast Asia Publications  
Coordinator, Task Force Indonesia  
Fax: 301-552-4465  
Email: apakabar@igc.org (Internet)  
Snail: 7538 Newberry Lane, Lanham-Seabrook, MD 20706, USA

### NEW FRENCH-LANGUAGE EAST TIMOR NEWS BULLETIN

"Timor Clips," a bulletin of information on East Timor, is being published by S.O.S. Timor in Brussels. The first issue, dated March 15, 1992, includes four pages of articles on East Timor. S.O.S. Timor was formed last year to do a petition campaign to the United Nations and the European Parliament in support of Timorese self-determination. Their newsletter is a follow-up and a continuation of that campaign.

They invite others to join in the struggle for East Timor:

"Si vous voulez vous embarquer dans cette action, vous trouverez sur ce bulletin des indications sur les voies a suivre pour nous rencontrer et nous rejoindre. Vous y trouverez aussi, nous l'esperons, des infor-

mations utiles sur Timor Oriental que des medias trop presses, trop sollicités, risquent, par distraction de passer sous silence."

For more information, contact: S.O.S. Timor, Boite Postale 39, Rue Belliard, no. 8, B-1040 Bruxelles, BELGIQUE  
Tel. +32/(2)219-57-20 (mornings)  
Compte bancaire: 210-0751861-66 SOS TIMOR

### A GUIDEBOOK VIEW OF EAST TIMOR

*Brief review by Bruno Kahn, Agir Pour Timor, Paris.*

"East of Bali: from Lombok to Timor" by Karl Muller, published in Berkeley and Singapore in 1991, is one of the few guidebooks on Indonesia to cover East Timor. It must be the only one to give it such an extensive coverage.

The East Timor section makes interesting reading. Obviously the author is well-learned not only on Indonesia but also on East Timor's recent history. As for the position he adopted, the title "Indonesia's newest province" is unambiguous. This guarantees the book no problem on the market. It also makes it an efficient tool of Indonesian propaganda.

The uninformed reader - whether he/she tries to visit East Timor along these guidelines or just reads the section at leisure while visiting the other Sunda islands - will get the impression of an unfortunate past incident and things back to normal with successful development, picturesque traditional life and a rather pathetic guerilla movement.

The more informed reader, besides being vaguely nauseated by happy sightseeing over corpses, will enjoy a mixture of surprisingly honest accounts (the pre-invasion history) or reports (too quiet Dili), classical Indonesian propaganda (development since the invasion compared to Portuguese inaction), misinformation (the US, Australia etc... have recognised the annexation, but not a word of the UN position), disinformation (see the passage where population relocation is "explained"), innovative discrediting of the resistance (Xanana as a mysterious man with magical powers), a dubious account of undisturbed traditional life in Desa Rasa village (the section's highlight), and much more. More anecdotally, there is a lasting confusion in the author's mind between things Portuguese and "Iberian."

The full text (12 printed pages) is available from ETAN/US or by computer.

For more information, contact the publisher:  
Periplus Ed. Inc., 1442 A Walnut St # 206, Berkeley, CA 94709, USA.



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## ASSORTED ARTICLES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

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### AUSTRALIAN TOURIST DEPORTED FROM EAST TIMOR

*THE JAKARTA POST in English 25 Mar 92  
p 3*

*Remark: Scanned from FBIS. This appears to be a report on the expulsion of Dennis Schultz who reported on the incident in the Australian newsweekly, The Bulletin.*

Dili, East Timor (JP)-The local immigration office on Saturday [21 Mar] deported an Australian tourist suspected of spying.

Dennis Dewe who has come to Indonesia for several times with tourist visa, was caught red-handed taking photographs of military installations and sites of the November 12 incident in Dili, THE JAKARTA POST's correspondent, Yacob J. Herin, reported yesterday.

Dewe claimed he was a painter, but it was founded later an Australian journalist. [as published] He was in the scene of the November 12 incident along with a New Zealander student, Kamal Bamadhaj who died later in the incident.

The Dili immigration office had also deported a Japanese national for the same reason in January.

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### NATIONAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS URGED

*Jakarta Post. 2 April 1992. Abridged.*

Mulya Lubis, a human rights activist and former director of the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, told Jakarta Post yesterday that violations of human rights still occurred here. The problem not only causes concern among foreign countries but also among Indonesians.

He called for the establishment of a national human rights commission to provide the government and the House of Representatives with input and proposals on implementing human rights.

Various institutes and non-governmental organisations have voice concern over an increasing number of human rights violations in Indonesia, not only in Aceh, East Timor and Irian Jaya, but also elsewhere as reflected in evictions of people in land disputes.

#### AID

"One of the objectives of our independence is to give back to the people their basic rights," but he added that the mission had not been accomplished. Lubis said that since human rights was a national commitment, the Netherlands should not have been so

serious in linking its aid to the condition of human rights here.

He said Indonesia should not forget that the European Community had also set a human rights condition on aid to Third World countries. He was convinced the World Bank and Japan would one day follow suit. "It is only a matter of time." He said the US government every year reported to Congress on the use of its aid in developing countries and the human rights conditions. If Washington found an increasing number of abuses in one country, it would not hesitate to reduce or in serious cases stop aid."

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### WILL OTTAWA PUT ITS MONEY WHERE ITS MOUTH IS?

*The Globe and Mail, 4 April 1992. Front page of Saturday Focus section.*

*(subhead) Brian Mulroney says his government will link foreign aid to human rights. He has a prefect opportunity to make a point in the case of tiny East Timor, the object of such ferocious aggression by Indonesia that it has been likened to Cambodia and Afghanistan. To date, Canada has been surprisingly - shockingly - muted in its outrage.*

*By Linda Hossie, Foreign Affairs Reporter, Toronto*

Monique Landry's enthusiastic, rapid-fire conversation ground abruptly to a halt. "Oh, dear," said the Minister of External Relations and International Development. "If you're asking me the definition of ... I wouldn't like you to cite me making a link between that term and Indonesia. Genocide, surely is ... how should I say it?" She lapsed into French. "It's the **effacement** of a people."

#### THE ERADICATION OF A PEOPLE.

Genocide is a subject that comes up repeatedly in relation to Indonesia. Its campaign of forced birth control, the massacre of innocent civilians and the suppression of centuries-old cultures are all part of Indonesia's repressive tactics on islands such as East Timor.

So how is it that Indonesia receives tens of millions of dollars from Canada every year? That it is the third-largest recipient of Canadian country-to-country aid? That Indonesian political leaders are made welcome in Ottawa?

Those questions became national issues in October, when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a group of unarmed mourners in an East Timor cemetery, killing as many as 200 of them. Only a month before, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had pledged that Canada would link foreign aid to human-rights performance.

Following the massacre at Dili, East Timor's capital, Ottawa did in fact protest

to the Indonesia government. More to the point, it suspended \$30 million worth of planned foreign-aid projects. Federal officials are now waiting to see the final Indonesian report on the massacre and to monitor Indonesia's reaction to a UN review before making a final decision on the projects.

It's more than Canada has done in the past, but it falls far short of the kind of pressure Mr. Mulroney implied in his October statement. A week ago, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said his country will refuse further aid from the Netherlands because it is pushing too hard on the human-rights issue. Canada was actually named by Indonesian officials as a country that has been more restrained.

In reaction to that bit of news, Canada's East Timor Alert Network, an organization that has tried for years to raise awareness about the island just north of Australia, held a demonstration yesterday in front of the Indonesian consulate in Toronto. Only seven protesters showed up, a sad reflection of Canadian ignorance of East Timor.

East Timor, the eastern half of a mountainous island about the size of Vancouver island, was a Portuguese colony from the early 1800s until 1974, when a military coup in Lisbon forced the Portuguese to turn their attention to the home front. In the aftermath, they gave the East Timorese three options: a continued but undefined relationship with Portugal, integration with Indonesia, or independence. East Timor, whose people are racially and culturally distinct from both Portuguese and Indonesians, has a long history of favouring self-rule.

Competing political parties sprang up in response to Portugal's offer and civil war broke out among them in 1975 after the most conservative party - backed by Indonesia - attempted a coup. The war was brief but bloody and in the end was won by the independence-minded Fretilin, which set up a reasonably effective government. It was a taste of independence that East Timor cannot forget.

Indonesia immediately began a campaign of military harassment of the Fretilin government, and on Dec. 7, 1975, a full-scale invasion was launched. Fourteen thousand Indonesian troops landed from the air, land and sea. They took Dili within a day and cut off all communications with the outside world. During the first 24 hours, Indonesian soldiers shot 150 people at random, including women whose terrified children had to be torn from their arms. Witnesses later reported they were forced to count the bodies as victims were shot on the Dili pier and fell back into the ocean. It is believed that in the first three months 60,000 people were killed.

(The count at the end of the war was thought to be as high as 200,000 dead out of a population of 700,000, a toll that U.S. political analyst Noam Chomsky says flatly

is, "relative to the population, the worst case since the Holocaust.")

A week after the invasion, the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for immediate withdrawal of troops and called on member states to respect East Timor's right to self-determination. Canada, which had extensive business interests in Indonesia, was one of the 43 countries that abstained.

Six months later, Canada played host to a formal visit from Indonesian president Suharto and awarded him a \$200-million mixed aid package. In the same month, 2,000 people were executed by machine-gun in Lamaknan, on the border with West Timor. Later in June, 1976, in violation of international law, Indonesia annexed East Timor as its 27th province.

The fight for control of East Timor continued with heavy resistance from Fretilin guerrillas. Finally, in 1977, the frustrated Indonesian military dropped incendiary bombs and napalm on mountain villages and crops. Hundreds of thousands of Timorese were forced into detention camps; tens of thousands died there.

The following year, Indonesia escorted some foreign visitors to East Timor, including Canada's ambassador of the day, Glen Shortliffe. Mr. Shortliffe returned with this remarkable conclusion: "Anything undertaken by the Indonesians [in East Timor] represents an improvement over conditions which existed hitherto."

The International Committee of the Red Cross was allowed into East Timor to see the camps in 1979. Unlike Mr. Shortliffe, it saw the tragedy unfolding there and reported that 60,000 of the 75,000 people it visited were in "an alarming state of malnutrition," and that 20,000 were so far gone they would die whether or not they received help.

In 1980 and 1982, Canada voted against General Assembly resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops. In 1984, while the Indonesian army was conducting Operation Clean Sweep in East Timor to "crush the opposition without mercy," Canada hosted an arms bazaar for Canadian weapons merchants in the Mandarin Hotel in Jakarta.

Canada's friendly relations with Indonesia continued through the late 1980s, while the country launched Operation Eradicate, and the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops attacked Indonesia's forced birth control in East Timor as tantamount to genocide. It was during Operation Eradicate, when thousands of East Timorese were killed, that former external-affairs minister Joe Clark said he was satisfied human-rights abuses had ended in East Timor.

Given all that, there is something grimly ironic about the November massacre in Dili. Unlike many atrocities of the past, it was committed in full view of several foreign correspondents. A New Zealander was

killed in the shooting and two U.S. reporters were badly beaten by Indonesian soldiers.

The massacre elicited condemnations from governments around the world, including Canada's. However, Canada maintained its friendly stance overall and promptly hosted a visit from Mr. Alatas, the Foreign Minister. At recent meetings of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Canada's representatives actively fought a strongly worded resolution condemning Indonesia's actions.

Instead, Canada, Australia, Japan and the United States pushed for – and got – a much softer statement by the commission chairman. Instead of condemning human-rights violations, it merely "notes them with concern."

"I guess its a question of what you perceive to be the best way of going," said Howard Balloch, assistant deputy minister of the Asia and Pacific branch of External Affairs. The chairman's statement "put more pressure on them than any kind of measure [that would] say East Timor should never have been put in Indonesia in the first place," he says. "We made a decision, I guess, in 1975 or '76 that we were not going to recognize the annexation [but] we were going to recognize that it was a fact" that Indonesia controlled East Timor.

"You look for reasons" to explain Canada's low-key response, says Ed Broadbent, president of the Montreal-based International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. "So what seems to be an obvious factor is the hundreds of Canadian businesses [involved in Indonesia]. My own hunch is that they don't misunderstand history. It just goes against their economic interests."

Canada is hardly a big player in Indonesia. Trade between the two countries in 1990 was worth about \$500 million. The Canadian International Development Agency's budget for Indonesia – which has not been suspended – is \$46 million. Canada sees opportunities for itself in Indonesia in such fields as communications, engineering consultancy, mining equipment and educational services.

That Canadian companies and universities have projects in Indonesia is a sore point with many pro-Timor activists. The institutions themselves, however, tend to toss the moral ball into the federal government's court.

Litton Systems Canada Ltd. of Toronto is typical. It tied up a shipment of airborne radar systems to Indonesia less than a year ago and is in competition to sell a flight-inspection system to the country's civil aviation department.

"No Canadian company can export to another country other than the United States without obtaining an export permit from the federal government," says Chuck Pittman, Litton's director of public relations. "They are the people who do all the analysis. That's their business and they can

do it a lot more extensively than a private company can."

At the University of Guelph, which is working with CIDA on development projects on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi, "our debate is about the ethics of being involved in countries in which there are obvious human-rights violations," says Jim Shute, acting director of the Centre for International Programs. "It is a very difficult one in Timor because Indonesia's right to govern that country has never been recognized by anyone.... I feel awkward that Canada has been so reluctant as a nation to take a position on it."

Public attention has focused on East Timor since the November massacre but it is far from being the only sore spot in Indonesia. Both West Papua and the Aceh region in northern Sumatra are the targets of intensive counter-insurgency actions by the Indonesian army. In December, Asia Watch described one form of torture practiced in Aceh and standard throughout Indonesia – "the placing of a chair or table over the suspect's foot, which the interrogator then sits on."

"In sharp contrast to the sacking of several army officers for failing to prevent the killings in East Timor," another Asia Watch report observed, "11 Indonesian officers in Aceh were given special promotions in January for their role in suppressing the conflict with a ruthlessness that involved a large number of extra-judicial executions, arbitrary detention and torture of civilians."

In West Papua, as in East Timor, Indonesia dominated the island militarily in order to quell an independence movement. The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights has estimated that as many as 300,000 Papuans were killed during the Indonesian takeover. The occupation was completed in 1969 through a UN-supervised, fraudulent, "Act of Free Choice" in which Indonesia appointed council members to cast votes and threatened to kill anyone who voted for independence.

Since then, in West Papua (or Irian Jaya, as it's called by Indonesia) and later in East Timor, the Indonesian government has transferred hundreds of thousands of citizens from poverty-stricken Java to the islands, gradually diluting the ethnic Timorese and Papuan communities. Rape and forced marriages – other tactics to "Indonesianize" the islands' populations – have been reported. Meanwhile, the islands' rich forests, mineral reserves and fisheries have been opened to exploitation by Indonesian and foreign firms.

There is some hope for change, however, says Benedict Anderson, director of the Modern Indonesia Project at Cornell University. "The political situation is shaky in a way it hasn't been in 20 years. It's got a huge debt." President Suharto is unpopular, he is facing an election "and needs lots of

money to make sure it comes out the way he wants it to.”

Mr. Anderson believes middle powers like Canada and the Netherlands can put pressure on the United States and Japan to come down hard on Indonesia over human-rights offences. “That’s why I think it’s so important that Canada do something,” he says.

There is no similar sense of urgency in Ottawa, in spite of repeated reports of human-rights violations in the wake of the Dili massacre. Ms. Landry, in fact, seems to see Indonesia in almost religious terms, as a kind of repentant sinner seeking the path of truth.

“We think they do admit [their wrongdoing] and they’re trying to address the situation,” she says. “I think we have fair reason to believe they’re acting in good faith.”

*Story illustrated with three photos and a map of the region.*

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## INDONESIANS ‘DISCOVERED’ AMERICA?

*Abridged from Kyodo, April 3, 1992.  
Dateline: Jakarta.*

### JAPANESE-INDONESIAN VESSEL TO MAKE ‘NEW WORLD’ VOYAGE

A joint Japanese-Indonesian team will leave in May on a trans-Pacific voyage to San Francisco in an effort to show that Asians had reached the New World before Christopher Columbus did in 1492.

The 11-member team will sail in a traditional hand-built vessel from the city of Ujungpandang, capital of South Sulawesi province, across the Pacific Ocean to arrive in San Francisco on October 12, the day Columbus reached the continent 500 years ago.

“We want to get the world to see the discovery of the American continent from the Asian side,” team leader Yoshiyuki Yamamoto told Kyodo News Service, saying that some Asians had reached America a few thousand years before Columbus.

Another reason for the voyage is to publicize Pacific environmental issues, Yamamoto said.

“World awareness in helping to preserve the marine environment of the Pacific Ocean is vital,” he said.

Yamamoto said that the whole trip is expected to take 15 months.

He said construction of the vessel, based on ship carvings in Indonesia’s Borobudur temple dating from the 8th to 10th century, commenced in January 1991 and was completed this March.

The 25-meter wooden boat was crafted by traditional shipbuilders in the village of Bira in South Sulawesi.

The cost of construction and navigation equipment would total up to 85.7 million yen, Yamamoto said. Many Japanese com-

panies and individuals have helped sponsor the venture, he added.

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## DISSENT AND PUNISHMENT IN TORONTO

### Timor arrest during Alatas visit

*The ACTivist (Toronto) vol8 #4, April 1992.  
By Joanne Young*

*On February 24, 1992, while the Indonesian foreign minister was visiting Canada, a demonstration was organized by the East Timor Alert Network and ACT for Disarmament. At that demonstration, Maggie Helwig and Joanne Young were arrested for pouring blood on the Indonesian Consulate’s glass doors. They have been charged with mischief, and their trial will take place on May 29. Joanne Young, a former schoolteacher and a grandmother, because she would not cooperate with the police by identifying herself, was kept in jail for three days.*

Having been arrested on February 24 during a demonstration at the Indonesian Consulate in Toronto, I was first detained at the 52 Division Police Station for eight to ten hours, before being sent to the Metro West jail. During that time I was “guided” through the halls on several occasions by the arresting officer, who kept a firm grip on my arm. Whenever we came to an area where we could not be seen, such as the stairwell, this “guidance” evolved into a series of violent jerks and pushes.

When I refused to give my fingerprints, the arresting officer got permission from someone he referred to as “a justice of the peace” to use whatever force was necessary. The justice of the peace gave this permission without giving me any opportunity to be heard. The force then deemed necessary by the arresting officer to obtain unsmudged fingerprints was such that I still had bruises on my arms weeks later.

When a street person in the cell next to mine kicked his door, begging to be let out, the cops entered his cell. There followed a series of thumps and bumps. A few minutes later I heard a cop remark, “There’s shit all over the walls and floor in there.”

That was obvious from the smell.

It is true, of course, that when a prisoner is alone with the cops, and has no friends, relatives or legal counsel available, the cops can literally beat the shit out of him or her with impunity.

Next day at a bail hearing my case was immediately traversed to another court for my remand to a mental hospital for several days for a mental examination. While the judge in the second courtroom soon realized that no mental examination was required, and my case was traversed back to the original court to continue the bail hearing, I was concerned that the judge in the first court appeared to have concluded very quickly, with no evidence whatever of men-

tal illness, that such an examination was required. I couldn’t understand that, until I noticed that the only individual present in the second court, other than me and the court personnel, were the arresting officer and his buddy, sitting together in the back row.

After I had been in detention for three days, my bail hearing did take place and I was released to await my trial.

At 52 Division, immediately after my arrest, the arresting officer had searched my coat, found the key to my apartment, and removed it. When I was released, my key was not with the property that was returned to me. I returned to 52 Division to ask the arresting officer to give back my key. He insisted that I had never had a key (if that were true, I would have left my apartment without any means of getting back in!) I was lucky to find someone who could help me get another key to my apartment later that afternoon – but there is now a very nasty cop out there who has the key to my apartment.

The use of prisons has been justified in our society for the last few hundred years, on the ground that the threat of prison deters criminal behaviour. It is obvious that the threat of prison, and brutal treatment from the cops, also discourages any opposition to the unjust activities of our government.

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## WAROUW FOR GOVERNOR?

Reuter, Jakarta, April 8 - The current East Timor military commander’s predecessor, Brig. Gen. Rudolf Warouw, was named by a leading East Timorese politician as one of the popular choices of local residents to be the territory’s next governor.

The governor has been appointed by Jakarta for five-year terms since Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976.

Warouw was among the six most popular names circulating in East Timor for the governorship, the Media Indonesia newspaper daily quoted politician Salvador Ximenes Soares as saying.

Mario Viegas Carrascalao ends his second consecutive term as East Timor governor in September and, under an Indonesian convention, is not expected to receive an extension.

Warouw was among several senior military officers punished in February for the November killings of between 50 and 180 people. He holds no position in the military at present, although his exact punishment has yet to be announced.

He became popular in East Timor after introducing a plan to gradually replace troops fighting Fretilin rebels with those involved in development projects in the territory.

### TIMOR GOVERNOR SHORTLIST

Reuter, Sydney, April 13 - Former East Timor commander Rudolf Warouw, re-

moved from his post after a massacre by Indonesian troops last year, is on a military list of candidates for the territory's next governor, the brother of the current governor said on Monday.

Sydney-based Joao Carrascalao quoted his brother, East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, as saying last week that Brigadier-General Warouw was third on an official list of candidates to replace him. Joao Carrascalao was speaking in an interview.

The governor, who was in a Jakarta hospital for treatment, ends his second five-year term in September.

Leading the list of candidates to replace him is Clementino dos Reis Amaral, a member of President Suharto's investigation panel into the massacre, and Lopes da Cruz, a special adviser to Suharto on East Timor affairs.

Both the leading candidates are Timorese, as is the fourth, Armindo Marino, president of the Dili town council. Warouw is a Christian from Sulawesi.

Political analyst Harold Crouch of the Australian National University in Canberra said that, while Timor's regional assembly formally proposes candidates for Suharto's approval, in reality the military influences the assembly's proposal.

### DIARRHEA KILLS SIX CHILDREN, AFFECTS 400 OTHERS IN TIMOR

*Jakarta Post. Dates: 2 and 9 April 1992. Dateline: Dili. By Jacob Herin. Two items abridged.*

(JP, 2 April) – At least six children have died and more than 400 have been hospitalised in the last three weeks because of severe diarrhea in Dili regency, said a health official. The disease hit 11 villages, including Hudilaran, which was worst hit.

Head of Dili health office said six children had died because they were taken too hospital too late and 432 were still being treated in Centro Hospital.

"I came here to visit my brother who has been suffering diarrhea for three weeks. We sent him to the community health centre but the centre sent him to the hospital," said Jose a resident of Becora village."

### DIARRHEA SPREADS RAPIDLY IN DILI

(JP, 9 April) – Two more men have died from diarrhea, bringing the death toll to eight while the number hospitalised has increased from 400 to 600.

The Centro Hospital said the disease has hit 21 villages in Dili and Bidau and the health office has sent 20 medics from four health centres to deal with the problem. "We lack personnel. How can 20 medics cope with so many patients in 21 villages?," Santi, a medic, asked.

A health source said the epidemic was due to public ignorance and negligence of the Drug and Food Supervision department which never checks the cleanliness of food sold in public places. Garbage blocking drains causes some areas to flood which accelerates the spread of the disease.

According to Santi, the residents of Santa Cruz have criticised the health office for being late in providing information to the public. A staff member of Centro Hospital admitted that the health office was too slow in curbing the epidemic.

### MANY YOUNG EAST TIMORESE EXASPERATED BY LACK OF JOBS

*Jakarta Post. 9 April 1992. Abridged*

Numerous postponed business projects, due mostly to inadequate infrastructure have left thousands of job seekers waiting. Over 8,100 job seekers are registered at the East Timor manpower office, Col. Lukas Prayitno told the Post. He hopes the number will be halved if a shoe and garment factory are opened as scheduled.

An accurate rate of unemployed is hard to obtain because "People do whatever they can to make a living," as Prayitno puts it.

Labour intensive industries grow much slower than schools. The fact that a great proportion of positions at public service offices are still held by more skilled newcomers has added to the delicate issue.

The relative dominance of people from outside East Timor in the local job market was an object of condemnation by youths demonstration at the Santa Cruz cemetery last year (sic). Governor Mario Carrascalao has issued a decree requiring that job opportunities at local government offices be reserved for local people. The East Timor manpower office is cooperating with companies outside of the province.

Last year 820 job seekers were sent to work for private companies in Java, Bali and Kalimantan. Throughout the province, the ratio of local workers and those recruited from outside is set at 7 to 3 although indigenous employers general prefer labourers from other provinces, according to Prayitno.

### SIGNATURES FOR UK EAST TIMOR ADVERTISEMENT NEEDED

The British Coalition for East Timor is preparing to publish a one-page advertisement in *The Observer* Sunday newspaper on 17 May, 1992 and hopes to include 500 signatures. Persons wishing to add their names to the list are required to contribute 20 to defray the cost of the ad.

The text of the ad will read as follows:

### MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR

Below a photo of the 12 November 1991 massacre will come the following quotations:

"They had to be blasted. Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them."

*Commander, Indonesian armed forces*

"On November 12, I went there after the shooting was over. All I saw was fire engines washing away the blood from the road. The water was red. It was ghastly."

*Antonio da Silva, eyewitness*

"We are dying as a people and as a nation."

*Bishop Belo of Dili, East Timor*

The message contained in the ad will read:

On November 12, 1991, at a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in Dili, East Timor, the Indonesian army opened fire on the crowd. In a methodical military action, the soldiers slaughtered more than a hundred men, women and children.

Since it invaded and illegally annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1975, Indonesia has murdered 200,000 East Timorese, one third of the population, by massacre, starvation and bombing. Amnesty has catalogued what it describes as "gross and systematic violations of human rights."

Since November 12 the military role in East Timor has become harsher than ever. Scores of people have been taken from their homes and murdered.

Survivors of November 12 are now on trial, charged with subversion and facing the death penalty, for "being involved" in the protest. East Timorese students who peacefully protested one week later in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, face trial and prison sentences of several years.

Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor has been condemned by the United Nations, which has passed ten resolutions calling for its withdrawal from the territory. Indonesia defies these resolutions, but the world community takes no action to end the oppression of the East Timorese. Even the filmed evidence of the massacre of November 12 has failed to move the UN to set up an independent investigation into the events of that day.

Britain supports the Indonesian regime by giving aid – this year 12 million – and selling it arms. In this way, Britain helps to maintain the status quo in East Timor.

We want to end the suffering of the East Timorese and we need your help. If you would like to join us, please add your names to ours. Please fill in the form below and return to us for a formal presentation to 10 Downing Street on May 25 1992.

To John Major MP, Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street, SW1

I urge you to:

- press for a full, international Commission of Inquiry into the massacre of November 12,
- cease all arms trade and aid to Indonesia while it illegally occupies East Timor,
- press for full compliance with United Nations resolutions calling for a negotiated peace settlement.

If you wish to be a signatory, kindly send a cheque for 20 pounds sterling payable to BCET, to the following address: British Coalition for East Timor, 38 Ewhurst House, Jamaica Street, London E1 3HS. Phone/fax: 071 639-4700.

## THE JAKARTA LINE ON U.S. VIEWS, ECONOMICS

*Slightly abridged from "News & Views: INDONESIA" Vol.5 No.40 March 1992.*

### U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT HEARTENED BY EAST-TIMOR FOLLOW-UP, ASIA WATCH CONCURS

The US is encouraged by Indonesia's efforts to make amends following the tragic event in East Timor. Richard Boucher, State Department spokesman, said "We have been encouraged by the Indonesian government's serious efforts to make amends for what it acknowledges was an excessive use of force by local military units." A few days later Kenneth Quinn, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Indonesian government had handled the Dili incident responsibly and remained a good US friend. Quinn said that President Soeharto, who was out of the country at the time, "when confronted with a difficult issue, did the right thing." The US administration concluded that aid should be continued to Indonesia. The announcement of military sanctions against officers found guilty of mistake in Dili incident was also welcomed by human rights groups in the US, such as New York-based Asia Watch.

### Shoe Exporters Project \$1.2 Billion in Exports

Indonesia's footwear exports are expected to reach US\$1.2 billion this year despite the current sluggish markets overseas. According to National Agency for Export Development (NAFED), Indonesia's footwear exports grew from \$23.3 million in 1987, to \$82.4 million in 1988, to \$220.4 million in 1989 and to \$569.5 million in 1990, with almost 87% exported to the US and Western Europe. (Note : US is Indonesia's second largest export market (after Japan) with amounting to \$2.46 billion in the first 11 months of 1991).

### Japan Extends Grant Aid

Japan extends grand aid of US\$15.75 million to Indonesia to support its overall economic structural adjustment and to ease its economic difficulties. It is a "non-project type" grant aid and will be utilized for the import of machinery, basic metal and electronics. Japan has provided US\$71.5 million of grant aid so far in this fiscal year.

### Universities Focus on Practical Research

State universities will focus on long-term practical research aimed at production results that could be used in industry, everyday life and in the development of the sciences, Fuad Hassan told reporters after meeting with the House of Representatives Commission on Education. The results should be open for public discussion, analysis and criticism. State universities would be free to cooperate with the private sector in conducting research to alleviate the financial burden. The education and culture ministry spent US\$3 million in the last fiscal year for 1,000 research projects at state universities. Most of those were funded with foreign assistance.

### Mega Power Project

The House of Representatives (DPR) asked the government to review the decision to award a US\$683.96 million Tanjung Priok Power Project to the consortium of Asea Brown Boveri of Switzerland and Marubeni of Japan. They accused the government of recklessly appointing that consortium, because the consortium of Mitsui of Japan and General Electric of the USA offered a much lower bid, instead. Minister Radius Prawiro said that a team in charge of selecting the bidder found the Swiss-Japanese consortium's offer was most favourable with score of 0.9955, while the offer of Mitsui-General Electric was 0.9906. Since there was nothing wrong with the tender process, said the minister, the government has no intention of re-tendering the project.

### B-4 Satellite To Orbit In May

The US\$110 million Palapa B-4 domestic communication satellite will be launched in May. It was originally scheduled for 1995, but Indonesia must take into account that Malaysia and Thailand will be getting their own communication satellites. State-owned PT TELKOM was also installing microwave digital communication and submarine cable networks in the western region of Indonesia.

## TIMOR PEACE TALKS DOOMED?

Reuter, Jakarta, Muklis Ali, April 17 - Indonesia will refuse to resume talks with Portugal over the former Portuguese colony of East Timor if the United Nations insists on including East Timorese exiles, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said.

"Indonesia will not accept talks in whatever form if (it includes) small groups of people staying in Portugal or other places calling themselves East Timor representatives," Alatas said.

He told reporters on Thursday night on his return from a trip to Beijing that United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had raised the possibility of resuming talks with Portugal.

The United Nations does not recognise Jakarta's 1976 annexation of East Timor.

Alatas did not say if Boutros-Ghali asked at their meeting in Beijing for the inclusion in the talks of an East Timorese representative in exile.

He added: "Indonesia believes the true representatives of the East Timorese are those living in East Timor who decided clearly their own fate 17 years ago by an overwhelming majority."

Portugal has demanded that East Timorese exiles be included in the U.N.-sponsored talks in New York.

East Timor's most outspoken activists are now based mainly in Australia and Portugal. The Indonesian army is slowly crushing a separatist guerrilla movement called Fretilin in the territory itself.

Indonesia's talks with Portugal started in the early 1980s but have failed to produce a solution.

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AFP, Jakarta, April 16 - Portugal has proposed resuming discussions on East Timor with Indonesia, Indonesian permanent representative at the United Nations Nana Sutresna said Thursday.

"Two days ago we were informed by the U.N. Secretary general about that," Sutresna said after meeting Indonesian President Suharto.

Sutresna said Lisbon wanted a dialogue between him and his Portuguese counterpart at the United Nations to resume under the auspices of the U.N. secretary general.

The talks were halted following the unilateral cancellation by Lisbon of a planned visit to East Timor by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation last October. Lisbon cancelled the trip citing Jakarta's objection to one of the foreign journalists set to accompany the delegation.

Indonesia unilaterally declared the former Portuguese colony of East Timor its 27th province in 1976. The United Nations and Portugal do not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Sutresna quoted Suharto as saying that Indonesia was always prepared to make efforts to find an internationally acceptable settlement to the East Timor issue.

## ALATAS MOVES VERBAL INCH

*Remark: This ruse is actually a scanned Antara story datelined 17 April 1992.*

Pacific Rim News Network, Jakarta, April 22 - Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has said Indonesia does not mind resuming a tripartite dialogue with Portugal and the United Nations as long as it follows the earlier format which does not include east Timorese exiles. [passage omitted].

Besides having talks with the UN secretary general, Ali Alatas, during the 48th assembly of ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) also had meetings among others with Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng, the foreign minister of South Korea, the deputy foreign minister of Japan and a minister of Palau (Belau).

In the meeting with the minister of Palau, Minister Alatas discussed the fate of Indonesian fishermen stranded in the territory of the Pacific islands.

Palau's minister explained that a number of Indonesian fishermen have been arrested for violating his water territory.

While waiting for deportation after having been brought to court, the Indonesian fishermen are allowed to stay in local inhabitants' houses.

"There are now around 60 fishermen," Alatas said.

Indonesia and Palau will have further talks on the fishermen issue, according to the minister.

On the results of the ESCAP meeting, the minister explained that the gathering discussed the world political and economic impacts toward the ESCAP region and explored the possibilities of enhancing regional cooperation among the ESCAP member countries in the economic sector.

In the meeting, Indonesia presented a proposal on the Asia-Pacific population conference scheduled to be organized in Bali next August.

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## ANATOMY OF PRESS CENSORSHIP IN INDONESIA

### THE CASE OF JAKARTA, JAKARTA AND THE DILI MASSACRE

*From Asia Watch, April 17, 1992*

*Jakarta, Jakarta*, better known as JJ, is a weekly magazine which its editors like to think of as Indonesia's answer to *Paris-Match* and its reporters treat as something more akin to New York's *Village Voice*. A brash, colorful, trendy magazine, JJ has been consistently on the limits of what Indonesian authorities regard as acceptable journalism. It was completely in character, therefore, that after the massacre in Dili on November 12, JJ sent two reporters off to East Timor to see what they could find out, and the two came back with some of the most graphic eyewitness accounts available.

The results appeared in the issue No. 288, January 4-10, 1992. By the end of January, three editors had been sacked, a result of veiled warnings from the military and what appears to have been an effort by the publisher to pre-empt more drastic action. Asia Watch has obtained documents which offer a fascinating insight into how the case developed and how press censorship works in Indonesia.

#### 1. THE ORIGINAL STORY

Issue No. 288 contained a three-part report on Dili, consisting of an interview with the new regional commander, H.S. Mantiri whose appointment to succeed the Bali-based Major General Sintong Panjaitan had just been announced; an interview with East Timor Governor Mario Carrascalao on some of the reasons East Timorese resented the Indonesian presence; and a series of excerpts from interviews with eyewitnesses to the killings and subsequent arrests.

The eyewitness accounts caused the biggest stir. They included the following:

#### **Eyewitness, shot and wounded:**

I was waiting in Santa Cruz around 9 a.m. I was in the front, got hit, but was able to run and hide in the cemetery. From there, there was no escape. Soldiers entered the cemetery. Several of them beat us with their rifles. They hit my head...[blood] poured out. I was taken away by truck. There were dead people on it. Dead and living mixed. When we got to the hospital, we were taken to the morgue. The dead ones were separated.

The lights in Dili went out. This was the time when they took away the corpses. It was the night of November 13. The corpses were taken from the hospital, but who knows where they were brought...

Demonstrator, 20 years old

On the day of the incident, I left at 6 a.m. to go to the mass at the Motael Church. During the mass, Father Ricardo did not in any way preach or direct us in a way that would have pushed us to demonstrate. His sermon was about death. After the mass, there were already many people outside, most of them young people, about 2,000 altogether. They all walked forward toward Santa Cruz. At that point, I was in the back.

At the Motael Church, there were soldiers standing guard, about 30 men; they only walked to and fro. On the way to Santa Cruz, we were blocked by soldiers in front of the Governor's house. But I was determined to break through and ran to the front. In front of the police station, all the police were outside. When we got to Santa Cruz, there were many soldiers. We were cut off and could not get out again.

At the time of the shooting, I was in the front but I was able to escape and run into the cemetery. I couldn't count how many died, but it was a lot. And the shooting was coming from all directions.

When the shooting started, they [the troops] were divided into two formations, one in front and one in back. Their commander shot once in the air while shouting, "The front lie down, the back, shoot!" At the moment the back began shooting, the front ran into the demonstrators and began stabbing them with bayonets. I could only run, it didn't matter where, because around me, people were falling as they were shot, just as in the film.

After shooting five or ten minutes, they blocked off the cemetery so there was no escape. If they found someone still alive, including me, they ordered us to strip, while threatening us: "Now you better say your prayers, your time has come, you're all going to die!" I was stripped naked, then beaten with a piece of wood, then there was a person who took a ballpoint pen from my pocket and inserted it in my penis. I saw a friend beside me whose head was stabbed with a knife.

After I was tortured, I was taken to an office. There were about 30 people or more brought there. There we were tortured again, beaten and kicked. And we were interrogated, who among our friends had taken part in the demonstration.

I was detained for two weeks, tortured every day, given food, but it was late. In the morning, we got food around 10 a.m., then again around 3 p.m. and finally at midnight. It was rice with one piece of tempe [fermented soybean], every day. There were 20 of us in a cell. The torturers changed. We were tortured in the cell too, beaten together. After two weeks, they let me go home.

Demonstrator, 21 years old

...I was tortured in the cemetery. Then I was taken to an office and there I was beaten again. I was taken in a truck with about 25 of my friends. On the way I was half conscious because my head was bleeding. I was only in the office three hours and then, because I was severely injured, I was taken to the Wira Husada [military] hospital. There, there were many other victims, and there was blood everywhere. There were a few buckets full of water mixed with blood, left over from washing the dead and wounded. One person ordered me and a few others to drink from the bucket. Our heads were pushed over the bucket and we were ordered to drink. If we didn't want to, we were beaten with a rifle. We had all been stripped and were still in that condition, including three wounded women and one who had been shot in the breast. At Wira Husada we were not treated, but instead tortured again. Then we were brought back to the office where we had been before, detained one day and then released...

Manuel Carrascalao (member of provincial parliament, elder brother of Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao who met the

National Commission of Inquiry for one hour) and a businessman friend of Manuel's ...It was about 8 a.m. and the atmosphere around the Santa Cruz cemetery was chaotic. I asked permission to enter the cemetery but it was not allowed. Finally, while waiting and looking for my child, my friend here was counting the corpses piled on the trucks. He counted 35 and there were still 15 on the ground. There were three trucks at that moment, two of them were filled with what, we didn't know because they were very high and the back parts were covered up.

The image we got then was of brutality. I had the occasion to see one person who perhaps had only fainted, but as soon as a soldier caught sight of him and saw that his head was moving, he pounded him with a rock. And one more case, I saw that there was one person still alive in the truck full of corpses, and the soldier pulled this person down and beat him on the head. Then he threw him back on the truck.

## 2. THE PRESS COUNCIL WARNING

The report on Dili was published one week after the National Commission of Inquiry, appointed to investigate the massacre, had reported to President Suharto. The reaction of the army was swift in coming. The executive editor of JJ, Seno Gumira Ajidarma, and two other editors, Usep Hermawan and J.J. Waskito Trisnoadi were summoned by the Information Center of Armed Forces Headquarters and accused of spreading tendentious stories that could only exacerbate the situation. Nine sets of interviews belonging to one of the JJ reporters were confiscated. The problem was not only with the content of the published report, but also with its timing. Why, the army wanted to know, did JJ only arrive on scene in late December after the rest of Jakarta's press corps had left? Why did it wait until the Commission's report had been submitted? Why did the two JJ reporters return to Jakarta only one day before General Try Sutrisno, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, left for East Timor to celebrate Christmas in Dili? (General Try is a Muslim but his predecessor, Benny Murdani, a Catholic, established a tradition of going to Dili on Christmas.) Was JJ just trying to stir up trouble?

A few days later, the Indonesia Press Council held its annual meeting in Bandar Lampung, Sumatra on January 10-11. The head of the governing board of the Press Council was the publisher of JJ, Jacob Oetama, who as head of a publishing conglomerate known as Kelompok Kompas Gramedia or the Gramedia group, is also the publisher of Indonesia's largest daily newspaper, Kompas. The Gramedia group also included the tabloid, Monitor, which was closed down and its editor jailed after it printed an opinion poll which inflamed Muslim sensibilities by ranking the Prophet Mohammed eleventh among most admired

leaders. Oetama himself shut down another part of the Gramedia empire, a weekly called Senang, after a letter to the editor was printed accompanied by an illustration of the Prophet. Muslims consider any attempt to depict the Prophet as blasphemous. According to sources within Gramedia, Oetama was still "traumatized" by the Monitor affair when the Timor issue arose and did not want another confrontation.

One of the speakers at the Press Council plenary, however, was Brigadier General Nurhadi Purwosaputro, head of the Armed Forces Information Center. He told the assembled Council members that he wished to convey a message from General Try Sutrisno regarding accounts from witnesses in the East Timor affair. He specifically mentioned descriptions of a ballpoint pen being inserted in a witness's penis and someone's head being stabbed with a bayonet. Without once mentioning JJ or Jacob Oetama by name, Nurhadi said that General Try asked him to convey the necessity of making the editing process and editorial staff more "functional" and to ensure that editors were responsible for preventing factual errors. For example, in the reporting on Dili, the press, he said, had to prevent information from leaking out which could be exploited by the foreign press. The nationalism and patriotism of journalists needed to be increased. He said printing information that had not been checked and rechecked was unpatriotic, especially if it was quoted the next morning by Radio Hilversum (Dutch radio).

Jacob Oetama, according to a Gramedia source, interpreted Nurhadi's speech as a warning that the editorial board of JJ had to be reorganized. As soon as he returned from Lampung, Oetama called a few people from the Magazine Division of Gramedia to discuss the issue, then summoned the three editors held responsible for the East Timor report – Seno, Usep and Waskito. They were told they were being sacked from JJ although not from the Gramedia group, but were asked to submit letters of resignation so it would look as though they had left JJ voluntarily. They refused.

News of the action against the three spread quickly through Gramedia, and on January 14, Oetama called a meeting of all employees to announce their "resignation" effective January 20. Seno, who had been on the JJ staff for seven years, and Waskito left Gramedia altogether; Usep decided to stay with Gramedia on the staff of the car magazine, Otomotif.

The reaction of some of the Gramedia employees was instructive. They appear to have been more upset over what they perceived to be Jacob Oetama's overreaction than to the warning from the army. Faced with such a warning, direct or indirect, a newspaper or magazine needs to respond, but it should respond, they felt, with the minimum measures needed to neutralize the threat. In this case, according to one source,

it would have been enough to transfer the executive editor, Seno, to a different part of Gramedia. He should not have been sacked, and there should have been no action taken against the other two editors. Moreover, the character of JJ should have remain unchanged, but there was concern that the new editorial team would turn it into an entertainment weekly only; the outspoken exuberance would be stifled.

The Gramedia sources say that Jacob Oetama had undergone a noticeable change after the Monitor affair. Nothing in the Gramedia organization was as open or free as it had been before. There was much more interference from above in reporting and editing, and a sharp increase in self-censorship. Given that climate at Gramedia, the feeling among the staff was that after the army's reaction to the publication of the Dili report, Oetama panicked and went too far.

## 3. FURTHER CONSEQUENCES

On January 31, the Honorary Council of the Indonesian Journalists Association – a government-controlled body – called a meeting specifically to discuss the question of how to evaluate eyewitness testimony. The Council decided to appoint a commission to guard against "exaggerated and unreliable" reporting from eyewitnesses – such as stories like the ballpoint pen torture. In doing so, a member of the Council said the aim was to prevent "gutter journalism."

The Association's decision was part of a broader effort to control reporting on East Timor. In the immediate aftermath of the massacre, there was a tightening up on journalists entering East Timor as tourists rather than as fully accredited correspondents. Two American journalists, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman who were eyewitnesses to the shooting, were blacklisted – that is, banned from returning to Indonesia – by the Indonesian government in early December for "security reasons because they are suspected of involvement in the Dili incident" and because they "abused their tourist visas," according to Director General of Information Roni Sikap Sinuraya. On December 3, 1991, Indonesian Information Minister Harmoko issued a broadside attack on the foreign press, accusing it of "alcohol journalism" and "007 journalism." Despite these statements, Jakarta-based foreign correspondents had generally been able to enter East Timor since the massacre and do fairly in-depth reporting, although they were closely monitored and some found that intelligence agents visited their East Timorese sources immediately after their interviews were finished.

At least one fully accredited journalist was stopped early on, however. On November 18, six days after the massacre, the Jakarta bureau chief of Kyodo News Service, Kenichi Asano, was stopped in Denpasar, Bali, from boarding a flight to Dili

on the grounds that he did not have a surat jalan or travel permit from the Ministry of Information. Such permits had not been required of other journalists who flew to Dili to cover the aftermath of the killings, and it was not clear why the Kyodo correspondent was singled out. But the need for a travel permit began to be demanded more systematically. On February 12, 1992 the Jakarta-based correspondent for the Japan Times, an American named Peter Goodman who also did freelance writing, was confronted by immigration officials at his hotel in Dili, East Timor on February 12 and asked for a travel permit, which he did not have and had not thought he needed. On February 18, he was ordered back to Jakarta.

On February 26, East Timor was effectively closed to foreign journalists. The Ministry of Information announced that all applications for travel permits from foreign journalists and Indonesians working for foreign news agencies would be "suspended." The applications were not turned down but simply went unanswered. Indonesian journalists working for the Indonesian press were not banned. The move was thought to be part of a general effort to restrict reporting on East Timor as well as a specific measure to prevent coverage of a crackdown in East Timor prior to the departure from Darwin, Australia, of a Portuguese "peace ship" called the Lusitania Expresso. According to Jakarta papers, "scores" of East Timorese were arrested in an effort to prevent any demonstrations in support of the ship, which was turned away from Indonesian waters by the Indonesian navy. On March 21, an Australian journalist, Dennis Schulz, was deported, after being searched by intelligence and immigration officers and his notes and film confiscated. Schulz had entered Indonesia as a tourist, and was accused by Indonesian officials of photographing military installations, after he snapped a picture of an old navy warship anchored in Dili's harbor. Schulz had been in East Timor at the time of the massacre and had written a widely publicized story about reports of a mass grave.

For More Information: Sidney Jones  
(212)972-8400

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## DILI HIDES OPPRESSION ELSEWHERE IN INDONESIA.

Page 3 report in *The Australian*, April 14.  
Includes a picture of W.S.Rendra

INDONESIA'S leading poet and dramatist yesterday warned that the international community's preoccupation with East Timor had blinded it to injustices occurring in other parts of Indonesia.

W.S.Rendra's works were banned and he was imprisoned for his anti-government views in the 1970s.

He said in Sydney yesterday the fact that there had been an admission by the Indonesian Government and army that the Dili massacre was a mistake, and that those involved had been punished, was indicative of the success of protests from inside and outside the country.

"No section, no faction in Indonesian society agreed with what happened in Dili; everybody protested, with petitions, with statements, a lot of methods," Rendra said.

That we in the West knew so little of the protests inside Indonesia was partly because we had our eyes on Dili and partly because the protests, by necessity, were of a low profile.

Rendra said street marches provided an emotional outlet for anger, but they were not effective.

"The important thing is the effect," he said. "The army, (President) Suharto, the Government (all) acknowledged their mistakes and expressed their regrets, and a lot of people lost their jobs," he said.

"The important thing in this kind of struggle is the result, not the emotional satisfaction. That doesn't have anything to do with the struggle, that is luxury, it has nothing to do with achievements."

Although he is clearly sympathetic towards the Timorese people, Rendra's concern is with the oppression of his own people, who he says suffer under policies such as transmigrasi (the enticed removal of families out of urban areas to developments far from home) and the effects of business monopolies allegedly held by the ruling elite, many of them members of President Suharto's family.

"Right now there are a lot of things happening in terms of injustice - not just Dili. So the longer you talk about Dili, the oppressor will like it, because many things that are unjust can go on unnoticed," he said.

Last month, for example, 150 families in Jakarta were left homeless after what Rendra said was a "mysterious" fire that razed their homes.

Such fires were not unusual, and they frequently preceded the opening up of an area for development. This time, however, the people had refused meekly to accept their fate and attempt to find alternative housing. "But now they camp on the site," Rendra said. "They will fight for their rights."

It was from the working class that the most dynamic expressions of protest came, Rendra said.

The new middle class, those too young to remember the relative freedom of Sukarno years, had been educated in an "instructive" society and had no commitment to change.

"If you want to look for creative people, (they are) mostly from the lower class," he said.

Rendra, 56 is visiting this country as the first guest of Culture Exchange, a group formed last year to promote cultural links between Australian and Indonesian artists.

During his stay, he will conduct workshops at the Australian National Playwrights Conference in Canberra and perform poetry readings in Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne.

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## SUHARTO RECEIVES SECRET DILI REPORT

*THE AUSTRALIAN national newspaper in the world news section, 15/4/92*

JAKARTA: President Suharto has received a final report on the Dili massacre but the contents have not been released.

The chairman of the national investigation team, Judge Djaelani, said the 45 pages report was accompanied by five bags of documents, videos, photos and sound recordings.

Judge Djaelani said it was now up to President Suharto to decide whether the contents would be made public. The State Secretary Minister, Mr Murdiono, said President Suharto believed the document should be seen by only "a limited circle."

The investigating team, in its preliminary report to the president - made public on December 26 - said 50 people died and about 90 others remained missing after Indonesian troops shot into a crowd at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on November 12. Other sources have said the death toll could have topped 100.

\* More than 2000 soldiers will be deployed in Jakarta for June general elections, the Jakarta Post newspaper reports. - AFP,AAP

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## ETAN / TORONTO LEAFLET

April 23, 1992

This month The Bay (Hudson's Bay Company, Canada's oldest department store) is holding a promotion of Indonesian, Thai and Filipino tourism and products entitled Destination Southeast Asia, in cooperation with the state airlines of the 3 countries. In Toronto, the East Timor Alert Network is distributing the following leaflet outside one of The Bay's downtown outlets:

"Mysterious Indonesia" graphic from The Bay

### THERE'S NO MYSTERY ABOUT INDONESIA

The Bay is inviting shoppers to "revel in ... mysterious Indonesia" as part of its Destination Southeast Asia promotion, running until April 25.

But the facts are, there's nothing "mysterious" about Indonesia. It is one of the bloodiest dictatorships in the world. By showcasing it as a land of jungles, spicy food, shadow dancers and happy textile weavers, The Bay is only helping to glamorize and support Indonesia's military regime in its public relations campaign.



The facts behind the mystery:

- – In 1965, the current regime headed by General Suharto came to power in a bloodbath in which 1 million Indonesians were slaughtered.
- In 1969, Indonesia brutally and illegally annexed West Papua New Guinea to get at its mineral wealth and rainforests. A tenth of the indigenous Papuans have died since.
- In 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor, despite the condemnation of the United Nations. A third of the East Timorese people have been killed since, with the latest massacre reported in November. (Film of this massacre was shown on CBC's The Journal.)
- Human rights groups, free trade unions, and real opposition parties are banned in Indonesia.
- While everyone worries about the Amazon, Indonesia is fast cutting down the world's second-largest rainforest stand. (54 million hectares have been lost in the last 20 years – an area the size of France.)
- Indigenous peoples and cultures are being wiped out, their religions outlawed, and their homes stolen from them.

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### LEADING LONDON STORE REMOVES EAST TIMORESE GOODS FROM INDONESIAN SALES FOCUS

*TAPOL Report, 25 April 1992*

A leading London store, Liberty, situated on London's Regent Street, in the heart of the capital's main shopping centre, has agreed to remove East Timor products from an Indonesian sales focus and place them for sale in another part of the store, as East Timorese goods. The decision followed a letter from the British Coalition for East Timor pointing out that it was not correct to include East Timorese products among the Indonesian goods on sale.

The store invited an East Timorese to inspect the goods and identify which are East Timorese. The inspection will mean changes being made in the window displays of the goods on sale.

The goods being sold during a three-week Indonesian sales focus are mainly textiles, rattan goods and wooden carvings.

Liberty also responded positively to a request from TAPOL, for an opportunity to explain to shoppers the extent of repression and exploitation perpetrated by the Indonesian regime. TAPOL leaflets and literature will be available at the store during the sales focus. Survival International, which campaigns on behalf of indigenous people and has run several campaigns about West Papua, has also won a similar agreement from Liberty.

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### MILITARY TRIALS IMPENDING

Reuter, Jakarta, April 28 - An Indonesian military court will try nine men facing charges over an army massacre in East Timor before a general election in June, Media Indonesia newspaper said on Tuesday.

The newspaper quoted military supreme court judge Major General Suhadi as saying the legal documents of the cases against nine soldiers were now with the military prosecutor's office.

Suhadi said the trial was expected to start before the parliamentary polls on June 9.

But he did not name the nine or their ranks, the paper said.

Indonesian army chief Edi Sudradjat has said eight people, including four junior officers, will be tried in the military court on criminal charges relating to the incident in which troops fired into a crowd in the East Timor capital Dili, killing scores of civilians on November 12.

Sudradjat's announcement calmed international outrage over the killings, which had revived the question of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.

Suhadi said the military trial might be held in Denpasar, Bali island, or in Kupang, in nearby East Nusa Tenggara province.

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### DHARSONO GROUP SOUNDS TRUMPET ON SUHARTO RE-ELECTION

Reuter, Jakarta, April 27 - A leading dissident group in Indonesia, a country ruled by the same man for nearly 27 years, said on Monday the head of state should serve no more than two terms.

The Forum for Purification of Democracy, set up a year ago by retired generals, former ministers and religious leaders, also called on government officials to declare their wealth before and after their terms in office.

"Power tends to corrupt. Absolute power corrupts absolutely. It's better to stop the presidential term after only two (five-year) terms," forum member Deliar Noor told reporters.

President Suharto is widely expected to run again when his current five-year term, his fifth, ends next year.

Noor said the demand that officials declare their wealth was important to avoid abuse of power. Foreign businessmen say Indonesia has one of the most corrupt bureaucracies in Asia.

The forum, pressing for greater democracy, is led by Hartono Dharsono, a retired general released from jail in 1990 after being held for more than five years on subversion charges.

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### PRESIDENT TRY SUTRISNO?

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, April 23 - Try Sutrisno, Indonesia's boyish-looking military commander, has survived an international outcry over a massacre in East Timor and doubts about his own abilities to emerge as a favourite to become the country's vice-president.

No candidate has been officially proposed by any of Indonesia's three officially-recognised political parties for the election, which coincides with presidential polls next March.

But Try's chances were boosted when a leader of one party, the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) which is the nearest the ruling Golkar party has to an opposition, endorsed him last month.

Political analyst Juwono Sudarsono said Try's election would put him in line eventually to succeed 70-year-old Suharto, who is expected to stand for another five-year term.

"The assumption is that General Try is the ideal person for the transition...the best person to continue the current economic and political policies, while accommodating the demands of those who want changes," said Sudarsono, a professor at the University of Indonesia.

Diplomats say Suharto's successor will have to relax the controls the president established over political life when as a general he crushed a communist-backed coup in 1965 and took power.

The successor may also have to quickly ensure the continuation of the economic reforms that launched Indonesia on the road to prosperity under Suharto in the 1980s, the diplomats add.

Sudarsono said 56-year-old Try's chances had not been seriously affected by last November's massacre when troops shot dead scores of people in the East Timor capital of Dili.

International criticism intensified after Try made an impassioned defence of the troops in a speech to parliament a few days later.

"But the adamant behavior tarnished his image only for a few months," Sudarsono said.

Try's youthful, crew-cut good looks are part of an outdoors image that attracts many Indonesians. He lists karate and golf among his hobbies.

Grandson of a Moslem preacher, Try is well regarded by Indonesia's Islamic community, which is the world's largest.

Try, who began a meteoric rise to the top of the military after a stint as adjutant to Suharto in the mid 1970s, is also expected to have the confidence of the business community, dominated by the ethnic Chinese community.

The Chinese dominance upsets indigenous Indonesians, who are mainly Moslem.

Another traditional antagonism that Try appears to be seeking to bridge is that between the powerful armed forces and the Moslems, who each claim the overwhelming support of the country's 180 million people.

Addressing a rally of the Moslem-based United Development Party (PPP) on Wednesday, Try warned politicians against using verses from the Koran to stir up trouble – a statement seen as an attempt to strike a balance between the Moslems and the largely-secular military.

But loyalty to Suharto and to his family may in the end be the President's main criteria when he gives his vital endorsement for the vice-presidency.

The president's children have become the target of criticism in the government and the media over their control of trading monopolies ranging from cloves to oranges to television fees.

"The most important factor is his (Try's) closeness to the family...to secure the political and economic standing of the family in future," Sudarsono said.

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## STATEMENT OF EAST TIMOR INDEPENDENCE CENTRE, NEW ZEALAND

*From A.Maia@massey.ac.nz April 28*

Oi amigos de Timor Leste!

Embora seja um pouco atrasado, quero transcrever o teor dum "statement" dirigido ao Ministro dos Negocios Estrangeiros da Nova Zelandia por uma delegacao constituída de representantes de cerca de 10 Organizacoes Nao Governamentais da Nova Zelandia, numa audiencia que ocorreu no dia 31 de Marco passado.

EAST TIMOR INDEPENDENCE  
CENTRE

Self-determination - a basic human right for  
all people

PO Box 11069, Wellington.  
Phone (04) 476.6309 Fax (04)499.3505

31 March 1992

Statement to the Honourable Don  
McKinnon, Minister for External Relations  
and Trade meeting with a delegation concerned with the situation in East Timor  
Sir,

It is with the deepest concern for the safety and lives of the people of East Timor that I address you.

Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor on 7 December 1975, estimates of the number of East Timorese killed vary between the Indonesian figure of 100,000, Amnesty International's more than 200,000, and the Catholic Church's estimate of 300,000. Any of these represents a tragedy of immense proportions in a country with a pre-invasion population of 650,000. It is generally agreed now that at least a third of

the population has been slaughtered, or died of disease and malnutrition as a direct result of Indonesian military activities there.

As the United Nations report on Decolonisation No 7, ISSUE ON EAST TIMOR, dated August 1976 clearly informed, the so called civil war which Indonesia claimed to be the reason for its intervention - and in which Indonesia was seriously implicated - lasted only three weeks, and from September till the main invasion, the territory enjoyed a period of relative calm. The main Indonesian offensive was characterised by great savagery. As early as February 1976 the Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik was quoted as saying: "What if 60,000 or 80,000 have been killed. That is war, so what is all the fuss?!"

Indonesia's contempt for the lives of the people of East Timor, was amply demonstrated by the events last November 12 when troops opened fire without warning on unarmed mourners. It was a routine massacre by Indonesian standards but they made the mistake of doing it in front of foreign eye-witnesses. The massacre and the subsequent Indonesian cover up attempts have not only brought to light the suffering of East Timor, but also lent weight to the charges from a great number of human rights organisations around the world of persistent and ongoing human rights violations on a huge scale in the territory.

Sir, New Zealand Governments have provided the Generals in Jakarta with what must be interpreted as clear support for their act of genocide. We have, for example, repeatedly voted at the U.N. against resolutions condemning the Indonesian occupation, consistently referred to the situation as irreversible, maintained a military connection, and you yourself have said you welcome the findings of the Indonesian enquiry into their shooting, even though it directly contradicted eye-witness accounts and the Amnesty International report of February this year which termed the report 'fatally flawed...etc. Indeed, there is a clear implication that the 12 November mass shootings were a rare aberration, which very certainly they were not!

You have stated Sir that East Timor is a part of Indonesia and "that is that!" But we have to point out that this disregards the close to unanimous desire of the East Timorese people to determine their own future. Your statements on irreversibility, like those of your predecessors, ignores this fact, encourages the Indonesians and helps ensure that the suffering of East Timor goes on. How can we on the one hand support military action to force Saddam to relinquish his attempt to annex Kuwait, and on the other, fail to apply the same principles to Suharto and East Timor?

We took a firm stance against the South African regime, supporting sanctions and closing their embassy, which, surely helped to force the South African Government to

begin dismantling apartheid. Why then do we persist in talking about 'quiet diplomacy' towards Indonesia, a diplomacy which has obviously been totally ignored by them, whilst they continue their brutal policies in East Timor?

Finally Sir I would draw attention to your arguments for New Zealand having a place on the Security Council of the United Nations, printed in the Evening Post of March 23. You write 'In particular, we had a leading role in advocating a UN structure which protected the interests of all small states in a world dominated by the larger powers... As changes to reflect the new world in the 1990s are made (we)... seek to ensure that small states' interests are promoted.' Later you refer to New Zealand's 'independent voice'; and towards the end of the article you advanced the idea: 'An individual who gives extra time and effort to a project does so from a sense of social concern and responsibility...'

To pursue such fine objectives would certainly leave us no choice but to reverse our stand on East Timor and support unequivocally the right, under the UN charter, of the East Timorese to have the opportunity for a free expression of self determination.

Mr McKinnon. The East Timorese won a place in our hearts and in history for their sacrifices in World War II, paying with over 40,000 lives in support of the Allied cause. It seems we have turned our backs on them in their hour of greatest need. Why? And why do we continue to pursue a policy that implicates New Zealand too? In failing to stand on the side of justice, we have blood on our hands as surely as if it were our own troops doing the killing.

I thank you for your attention.

Collin Iles  
Armindo Maia, Development Studies

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## NEW FREE TRADE UNION

Reuter, Jakarta, April 29 - Indonesian workers have set up a second independent trade union to try to improve their lot in a country which pays some of the world's lowest wages.

"Our main task is to improve the workers' welfare," chairman of the new Prosperous Indonesian Labour Union, Mughtar Pakpahan, said in a statement on Wednesday.

The union was formed last weekend after a meeting of more than 100 labour activists from across the country.

The first independent union, set up by a human rights leader in 1990 and named Setia Kawan, or Solidarity, has still not been recognised by the government.

The only recognised union is the state-sponsored All Indonesia Workers Association.

Pakpahan said his organisation was not affiliated to any political organisation. It was founded mainly in response to a gov-

ernment decision this month to let foreign investors set up wholly-owned companies here.

The minimum wage of just over \$2 a day is widely ignored by employers using the lure of cheap labour to attract investors from countries such as Japan, Taiwan and South Korea.

"We hope the government's record of drawing in foreign investment by offering cheap labour can be improved," Pakpahan said.

Analysts say labour issues have become a major problem for the government as it tries to promote growth and investment.

Industrial disputes have been rising, with about 90 strikes last year compared to 61 in 1990.

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### TIMOR ELECTION 'CALM'

Reuter, Jakarta, May 1 - Eastern Indonesia's military commander has vowed to keep the peace in East Timor, where troops shot dead scores of civilians last November, in the run-up to the general election on June 9.

"There are no other alternatives except that the general election must be successful," Major General Herman Mantiri told a meeting of the Moslem-based United Development Party (PPP) in Bali's Denpasar city on Thursday.

Mantiri was quoted as saying he would not hesitate to take action to prevent trouble during the polls.

Mantiri was appointed eastern Indonesia commander after soldiers fired into a crowd in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12.

East Timor, invaded by Indonesian in 1975 and annexed the following year, falls under the eastern Indonesia military command which is headquartered in Denpasar.

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### OPPOSE BRITISH AEROSPACE PROMOTION IN JAKARTA

*Circular of Campaign Against Arms Trade. End of April 1992.*

The Society of British Aerospace Manufacturers is helping its members companies boost their sales to Indonesia by co-ordinating a symposium there in the autumn. Representatives of Indonesia's growing aerospace industry will be invited to a week of lectures, seminars, presentations and displays by such companies as British Aerospace, Dowty, GEC-Avionics and Rolls Royce. The symposium which would cover both military and civil aerospace, is likely to take place in Bandung, headquarters of Indonesia's state-owned aerospace company, IPTN.

CAAT calls on its members to write to: Air Marshall Sir Barry Duxbury, Director of the Society of British Aerospace

Companies, 29 King Street, London SW1Y 6RD, asking his society to cancel the symposium, and to write to Rt. Hon Michael Heseltine, MP, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Department of Trade and Industry, Ashdown House, 123 Victoria Street, SW1E 6RB, asking for an assurance that the British Government will give no assistance to the symposium.

CAAT asks its members to point out that this symposium and continuing sales of military equipment to Indonesia give moral support to the brutal government of President Suharto. Stress that Indonesia continues to occupy East Timor in defiance of the UN. Ask the Society and the Minister to consider how the relatives of those killed in last November's massacre will feel if this latest sale promotion exercise goes ahead.

Write for more information, CAAT's Fact Sheet on British Arms Sales to Indonesia and an information leaflet, "Stop Arming Indonesia," to CAAT, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ.

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### PORTUGUESE STUDENTS CALL FOR MORE EC ACTION

Guimaraes, Portugal, May 2 (ips) - Some 200 students in this small Portuguese town held a vigil Friday night to ask the EC foreign ministers meeting here to take more action against Indonesia for the Nov. 12 massacre of civilians in East Timor.

The students draped a black cloth over the impressive statue of the countess Nomadona dominating the square outside the Pacodos de Bracanga, the venue of the meeting May 1-2 and the place where the Portuguese state was founded.

They tied a rope around the statue and at its foot, placed a heap of rusty cans marked 'rest in peace, Ali Alatas.' "In Portuguese, the name of the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, translates as 'there are cans over there,'" explained Paolo Borges, one of the students.

Folks songs and dances by East Timorese refugees were interspersed with chants of 'livre Timor' (free Timor).

Borges said that like many young Portuguese, the students of Guimaraes were disappointed at the EC's failure to implement sanctions against Jakarta after Indonesian troops massacred civilians in the East Timorese capital of Dili.

"At a time when the EC is supporting self-determination of peoples in eastern Europe, they should do the same in East Timor," said Borges.

The students also expressed disappointment that few of the journalists interviewed at the Guimaraes meeting by Portuguese television said they would be writing about the situation in East Timor.

For Borges, as far as raising the East Timor issue was concerned, it was now or

never, since the Portuguese presidency of the EC ends at the end of June.

The European community is still asking for an independent international inquiry into the Dili incident, but stopped short of imposing economic sanctions.

The Netherlands, however, pushed ahead with bilateral sanctions against the Jakarta government over Dili, and Indonesia responded by cutting development cooperation ties with its former colonial master.

Despite the students' action, the EC foreign ministers failed to discuss the issue of East Timor at the meeting.

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### ABRI FLEXES MUSCLES FOR INDONESIAN ELECTIONS

*Editor. 2 May 1992. Article summarised.*

#### DON'T CAUSE UNREST

Armed Forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, has instructed regional army commanders throughout the country to set up Komando Pelaksana Operasi, or Kolakops (operational commands) in each region with the special task of safeguarding the general elections, to be held on 9 June 1992. A month ago, General Try called together leaders of the three participating political parties [OPP] and army and police chiefs from throughout the country.

This week, the military commander of Jakarta, Major-General K. Harseno, who now bears the title (as do all regional military commanders) of Pangkolakops Pemilu (general election Kolakops commander) for Jakarta-Tangerang-Bekasi, held a 'readiness roll-call' with 15,750 people in attendance from the Armed Forces, the OPP and other civilian groups.

"They are divided into a number of teams. First comes 'Pamsung' (for 'pengamanan langsung' or direct security), then 'Pamtaksung' (for 'pengamanan tak langsung' or indirect security), and elements from the district military command, Satbanpam (auxiliary security units), OPP and other units from the community.

In Jakarta, Pamsung will be composed of 50 company-level units of the Metropolitan Police, a special detachment known as Satwa, nine Kamra (peoples' security) units and two police helicopters. Pamtaksung will be composed of 33 ABRI units (SSK) from the regional command, the army strategic command (Kostrad), the Marines and Air Force special units, a heavy-duty riot-control detachment from Infantry Battalion 202, a light-duty riot-control detachment of the 203 Infantry Battalion, an airborne riot-control detachment, a motorised patrol company, a motorbike company and other units.

Speaking to the mass roll-call, Major-General Harseno warned of groups out to discredit the government, coming from the extreme right, the extreme left and others,

who raise issues about human rights, land and the workers, distorting the facts in order to deceive the public. It was therefore necessary to rally the maximum forces from the Armed Forces and civilians. 2,100 persons have been recruited from the participating parties to be integrated into the auxiliaries' units to safeguard the elections. Armed with clubs, they will be fitted out with jackets in the colour of their party and black hats and trousers.

Other regional commands have also set up special election commands. In West Java, the regional commander, Major-General R. Nuriana, has announced that army company-level units (SSK) will be placed in each district command, with other units and 150 warra stationed at each of the resort military commands. There will be heavy-duty riot control detachments in Bandung and Bogor and lighter-duty riot-control detachments in Cirebon where conditions are relatively quieter.

It is hoped that by employing the tactic of persuasive and preventive control, there will be no need for force to be used. When trouble occurs, the local election committee will be expected to deal with it; if this fails, it will be the turn of the police and Pamsung and only when this fails will the Pamtakung units be called in to restore stability.

At a roll-call in East Java, in addition to all these units, tanks and fighter aircraft took part in the roll-call.

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## RODNEY KING AND TIMOR

### MASSACRES AND BEATINGS

By *Margarida Silva, 5/1/92*

Despite not having followed the case of the Los Angeles police and the beating of Rodney King very closely, I cannot help but perceive a certain analogy in attitudes with the matter of Timor. Obviously there are some differences!, but there is at least one obvious similarity: the two cases were only made public because there was a video that the authorities could not succeed in avoiding. Without the videos, the accused parties could have continued to categorically deny that such a thing even took place (as they had been doing until then with many other allegations). And the word of a gentleman against that of a strongman – guess who would have won?

But here the rules of the game changed. One cannot argue with visual evidence, many thought. And it is here that the similarity between the LA Police Dept. and Timor gets even more interesting, in my opinion. In both cases, arguments were put forth that explained, excused, and even victimized the perpetrators! With the greatest impudence, they expected that people would believe it! Could they have felt so secure that they managed to manipulate public opinion to their hearts' content?

Ultimately, those who did not want to believe it got nowhere, even with a video in front of them. When the evidence is more obvious, the rationalization will be more sophisticated, and this is the only difference. Without wanting to delve into psychology, this capacity to negate reality (which I see in the police jury and in the editors of the mass media in the case of Timor) can only with difficulty lead to harmonious relations between nations or between races.

Without a public interested in independent information, such forms of justice as human rights will continue to be abused in order to cover up other less generous intentions.

### NO LOS ANGELES RIOT ON TVRI

Reuter, Jakarta, May 5 - Indonesian state television has not shown any film of the Los Angeles riots because doing so could incite trouble in the sprawling equatorial archipelago, its director says.

"I consider newsreels of the race riots improper for broadcasting here," state television director Ishadi was quoted as saying in a local newspaper on Tuesday.

Ishadi told the afternoon daily *Jawa Pos* that his station was against programmes that could cause the disintegration of Indonesia.

Jakarta has strict laws punishing anyone it considers is trying to cause communal tensions.

It also has warm relations with Washington, which expressed muted criticism when Indonesian soldiers shot dead up to 180 people in the East Timor capital of Dili last November.

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### MACAU SHIP HELD IN TIMOR

Reuter, Jakarta, May 5 - Indonesia has detained a ship from the Portuguese-run territory of Macau on the south China coast after it landed in East Timor.

A local policeman told Antara that the captain of the 10-tonne wooden vessel had said he set sail from Macau with nine other people last month.

Antara did not name the ship and said local officials were having trouble communicating with those on board.

Some local officials claimed the ship might be on a secret mission to the troubled former Portuguese colony.

A Portuguese "peace boat," trying to commemorate the killings, failed to land in East Timor in February after being threatened by Indonesian warships.

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## SACKED TIMOR GENERALS IN U.S.

Reuter, Jakarta, May 5 - Two Indonesian generals sacked over last November's army massacre in East Timor are using their new-found free time to study management in the United States, the weekly magazine Editor said on Tuesday.

Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, who commanded the Udayana region which includes East Timor, has already left for Harvard Business School.

The magazine said Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw planned to study business administration in the United States after finishing an English course in Jakarta.

The two were relieved of their posts after the army fired into a crowd of mourners killing up to 180 people in the former Portuguese colony which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed a year later.