

# Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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

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

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The material is grouped by subject, with articles under each category in approximately chronological order. It is also available on IBM-compatible diskette, in either WinWord 2 or ASCII format.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

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<b>SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE REVISITED .....</b>	<b>4</b>
KAMAL'S DEATH 'EXPLAINED' .....	4
TESTIMONIES ABOUT THE 12 NOVEMBER MASSACRE.....	5
NEW STUDY REVEALS 273 KILLED IN DILI MASSACRE.....	5
<hr/>	
<b>EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR.....</b>	<b>6</b>
REFUGEES REPORT INCREASED REPRESSION IN TIMOR.....	6
LETTER FROM AN EAST TIMORESE PRISONER.....	6
BISHOP BELO INTERVIEWED BY MATRA .....	7
TIMOR GAP SEISMIC WORK PAST MID-STAGE.....	14
MORE TROOPS IN EAST TIMOR .....	14
LBH TO OPEN DILI BRANCH OFFICE.....	14
OFFENSIVE TO CAPTURE XANANA .....	15
FOUR BIG INDONESIAN COMPANIES UNITE IN EAST TIMOR VENTURE.....	15
SHIRLEY SHACKLETON AND THE CANBERRA JIGSAW.....	15
REPORT ON RECENT TRIP TO EAST TIMOR.....	16
EAST TIMOR: INDONESIA'S KILLING FIELDS.....	19
TIMORESE SCHOLARS WRITE SOEHARTO .....	20
ABRI ADMITS INDONESIAN CASUALTIES IN EAST TIMOR.....	20
MANY ARRESTS IN EAST TIMOR .....	21
URGENT PLEA FROM EAST TIMOR .....	21
SIX FRETELIN MEMBERS CAPTURED .....	21
SECURITY TIGHT IN EAST TIMOR DURING NAM SUMMIT.....	21

PORTUGUESE JOURNALISTS NOT ALLOWED TO VISIT EAST TIMOR .....	22
SIX BATTALIONS CONTROL DILI.....	22
SYAFEI HOPES TO END MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EAST TIMOR NEXT MARCH.....	22
ARRESTS AND HOUNDING OF EAST TIMORESE CITIZENS.....	23
POSSIBLE INDONESIAN PARDONS FOR 13 EAST TIMORESE?.....	23
<b>NEW GOVERNOR IN EAST TIMOR .....</b>	<b>23</b>
GUBERNATORIAL INTRIGUE.....	23
EAST TIMOR GETS PRO-JAKARTA GOVERNOR.....	23
HARD LINE POLICY EXPECTED.....	24
NEW GOVERNOR A SIGN OF TOUGHER LINE IN EAST TIMOR.....	24
TIMOR CHIEF ACCUSES PREDECESSOR.....	25
NEW GOVERNOR'S RESETTLEMENT PLANS.....	25
<b>NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT IN JAKARTA .....</b>	<b>25</b>
NAM REJECTS 'CONDITIONALITY' .....	25
INDONESIA COVERS UP OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR AT NAM CONFERENCE.....	26
NON-ALIGNED POLITICAL DECLARATION REFLECTS INDONESIAN CONCERNS.....	26
SUHARTO MOVES TO ABOLISH HUMAN RIGHTS.....	27
TAPOL STATEMENT ON NAM SUMMIT.....	27
INTIMIDATION STEPPED UP AS NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT OPENS IN INDONESIA.....	28
TIGHT SECURITY IN EAST TIMOR DURING NAM CONFERENCE.....	28
XANANA GUSMAO OFFERS SUHARTO OLIVE BRANCH.....	29
BBC INTERVIEWS MICHAEL LEIFER ON XANANA'S CALL FOR TALKS.....	30
ABRI CHIEF REJECTS FRETELIN PEACE OFFER.....	30
<b>U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMISSION MEETS IN GENEVA .....</b>	<b>31</b>
STATEMENT BY MRS. PASCOELA BARRETO .....	31
STATEMENT OF MIGUEL SALDANHA.....	31
UNITED NATIONS URGED TO MAKE REPORT PUBLIC.....	33
UN HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMISSION ADOPTS EAST TIMOR RESOLUTION.....	33
OPTIMISM OVER UN CONDEMNATION OF INDONESIA.....	34
CNRM MEMO ON UN RESOLUTION.....	35
<b>PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS.....</b>	<b>35</b>
BOUTROS-GHALI SETS PORTUGAL-INDONESIA TALKS.....	35
RAMOS-HORTA CAUTIOUS ON UN TALKS INITIATIVE.....	35
PORTUGAL PREPARED TO LIFT TRADE BOYCOTT ON INDONESIA.....	36
PROPOSED TALKS HAILED.....	36
PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE QUESTION EAST TIMOR.....	37
GENERAL ASSEMBLY PUTS OFF TIMOR ACTION.....	38
INDONESIA WILLING TO TALK TO RESISTANCE.....	38
MEETING BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA CONFIRMED.....	39
UN COMMUNIQUÉ ON TALKS.....	39
INDONESIA, PORTUGAL AGREE TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE.....	39
TALKS TO RESUME ON TIMOR FUTURE.....	40
A BREAKTHROUGH ON EAST TIMOR.....	40
<b>U.S. CONGRESS CUTS MILITARY AID.....</b>	<b>41</b>
REPORT ON MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVE JIM KOLBE (ARIZONA).....	41
ETAN/CANADA WRITES U.S. SENATE.....	41
AID CUT TO INDONESIA.....	41
SENATE TO DECIDE ON MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA NEXT WEEK.....	42

ETAN/US ADVOCATES TOTAL AID CUTOFF.....	43
CONTACT SENATOR INOUE TODAY ON IMET.....	43
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA CALLS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATION.....	43
IMET SENATE VOTE REPORT.....	44
BACKGROUND ON THE U.S. MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIA CONTROVERSY.....	45
US CONGRESS CUTS MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA.....	47
<hr/>	
<b>SUHARTO VISITS NEW YORK, U.N., JAPAN.....</b>	<b>48</b>
SOEHARTO TO SPEAK AT UN FOR NAM.....	48
ETAN/US CONDEMNS SUHARTO BETRAYAL OF NAM, UN.....	48
SUHARTO: UNFINISHED DECOLONIZATION (REUTERS).....	49
PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER JOAO DE DEUS PINHEIRO ADDRESSES U.N.....	49
SUHARTO UN SPEECH.....	49
INDONESIA OPPOSES SEIZURE OF TERRITORY OF BOSNIA - SILENT ON EAST TIMOR (AP).....	51
NY TIMES EDITORIAL, ARTICLE, ADS.....	51
SUHARTO'S HYPOCRISY (BOSTON GLOBE).....	53
DEMONSTRATE AGAINST INDONESIA'S OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR.....	53
SUHARTO VISIT PROTESTED IN NEW YORK CITY.....	53
WARM WELCOME AWAITS SUHARTO IN JAPAN DESPITE TOUCHY ISSUES.....	54
<hr/>	
<b>EVENTS IN INDONESIA.....</b>	<b>55</b>
SOEHARTO DEFENDS ABRI ROLE.....	55
JAKARTA LIFTS NEWSPAPER BANS.....	55
MILITARY DENIES TIMOR 'OFFENSIVE'.....	55
SOEHARTO: SORRY, NO DEMOCRACY.....	55
GOVERNMENT SETS UP RIGHTS BODY.....	56
114 KILLED BY POLICE SINCE 1989.....	56
MILITARY PRESSURE ON INDONESIAN NGOS.....	56
THE MAN TO WATCH: LT. GEN. WISMOYO ARISMUNANDAR.....	56
"INDONESIA - FACING THE FUTURE": ABDURRAHMAN WAHID IN AUSTRALIA.....	57
ABDURRAHMAN WAHID INTERVIEW.....	58
RAINFOREST ACTION NETWORK SUPPORTS INDONESIAN NGO'S.....	61
SUHARTO WANTS A NEW LEADING ROLE.....	61
VEEPSTAKES.....	62
JAKARTA HIGH COURT UPHOLDS JAIL TERM FOR EAST TIMORESE STUDENT.....	62
<hr/>	
<b>IN THE INDONESIAN EMPIRE.....</b>	<b>62</b>
ELEVEN ACEHNESE INCARCERATED UNDERGROUND IN PENANG.....	62
OPM CHRISTIAN SUPPORTER JAILED.....	63
INDONESIA REWARDS IRIAN KILLER.....	63
WEST PAPUANS DEMONSTRATE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION.....	63
<hr/>	
<b>EVENTS IN EUROPE.....</b>	<b>64</b>
FIGHTING BRITAIN'S HAWKS.....	64
JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA MEETS IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER.....	65
TIMOR ENVOY SUGGESTS IRISH F.M. ANDREWS AS MEDIATOR.....	65
INDONESIA MAY INVITE PORTUGUESE TO VISIT EAST TIMOR.....	66
<hr/>	
<b>EVENTS IN CANADA.....</b>	<b>66</b>
CANADA AIDS INDONESIAN ARMY.....	66
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY TOLD TO CANCEL INDONESIA PROJECT.....	66
<hr/>	
<b>EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA.....</b>	<b>67</b>
HUMAN RIGHTS, SENATOR EVANS AND TIMOR.....	67

ICJ TIMOR REPORT OUT ..... 68  
 ICJ LAWYER ON 'DOUBLE AGENT' CLAIM ..... 69  
 IN SALUTE TO FALINTIL ..... 69  
 FAX-IN AGAINST INDONESIAN AIR SHOW IN OZ ..... 70  
 AUST. PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO DILI CONFIRMED ..... 70

---

**EVENTS IN THE USA ..... 70**  
 ETAN/US PETITION ..... 70  
 ETAN/US TAKES ACTION ON EAST TIMOR ..... 71  
 REPORT ON VISIT WITH NANCY YOSHIHARA, L.A. TIMES EDITORIAL BOARD ..... 72  
 LETTER TO NEWSDAY: RUN FROM INDONESIA ..... 72  
 LETTER TO LOS ANGELES TIMES: UN RESOLUTIONS ..... 72  
 ETAN NETWORK NEWS #2 ..... 73  
 INDONESIAN GENERAL SUED IN BOSTON COURT ..... 74

---

**RESOURCES AND EVENTS ..... 75**  
 RESOURCES FOR SALE FROM EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK OF TORONTO ..... 75  
 ART FOR TIMOR ..... 75  
 SENATE HEARING PUBLISHED ..... 75  
 NEW CHOMSKY FILM INCLUDES EAST TIMOR ..... 75  
 ETAN/US VIDEO NATIONALLY DISTRIBUTED ..... 76  
 "COLD BLOOD" ON DISCOVERY CABLE TV ..... 77  
 EAST TIMOR PROGRAMS IN LOS ANGELES AND WESTCHESTER (NY) ..... 77  
 ETAN BENEFIT DANCE ..... 77  
 LONDON GIG FOR EAST TIMOR ..... 77  
 CALL FOR BUDDING LONDON STREET THEATRE ARTISTS ..... 77

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**MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES ..... 78**  
 THE POLL THAT INDONESIA DARES NOT HOLD (ECONOMIST) ..... 78  
 EAST TIMOR IGNORED AT ASIAN-EUROPEAN MEETING ..... 78  
 U.S. AND JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS APPEAL TO SECRETARY-GENERAL ..... 79  
 INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT CRITICAL OF MALAYSIA TV DILI PROGRAM ..... 80  
 HILL AND KNOWLTON - SELLING DEATH ..... 81

**SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE  
 REVISITED**

**KAMAL'S DEATH  
 'EXPLAINED'**

*RRI (via FBIS). Original language: Indonesian. 31 July 92. Dateline: Jakarta. Unabridged.*

Indonesia has responded to New Zealand's request for an explanation of the death of its citizen, Kamal Bamadhaj, in the November 1991 Dili incident.

Speaking to reporters in Wellington today, New Zealand Foreign Minister Don McKinnon said that the Dili incident reflected neither the Indonesian Government's nor the Indonesian Armed Forces Command policy or orders. The Indonesian Government expressed its regret over the

incident. Mr. McKinnon reiterated that the Indonesian Government stated that spontaneous and unauthorized shooting had occurred at the demonstration in Dili, and regrettably casualties and deaths had resulted.

McKinnon said he received a formal explanation from the Indonesian Government on the Dili incident during his recent discussion in Manila with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

**KAMAL'S DEATH: THE FULL  
 EXPLANATION**

*Letter from Don McKinnon, New Zealand Minister of External Relations and Trade to Nadiyah Bamadhaj, sister of Kamal Bamadhaj, dated 29 July 1992.*

*The Minister reproduces the full text of a letter received by the New Zealand government from the Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs:*

"The Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia presents its compliments to the Embassy of New Zealand and with reference to its Note No. D 746/91/24 of 30 November 1991 has the honour to provide the following explanation on the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr Kamal Bamadhaj.

"The Department wishes first of all to re-emphasise that the tragic incident which

took place in Dili, East Timor, on 12 November 1991 did not in any way reflect the policy of the Government or that of the Indonesian Armed Forces command neither were the shootings that took place ordered by the Government or by the Armed Forces Command. President Soeharto, on behalf of the Government and the entire nation, has immediately and repeatedly expressed deep regret over the incident, in particular the unfortunate loss of lives that it caused.

"The circumstances surrounding his death were as follows:

- a. Mr Bamadhaj arrived in Dili as a tourist in October 1991 and early in the day of 12 November 1991, he was already seen in the Motael Church before the mass began.
- b. The presence of Mr Kamal Bamadhaj in the midst of demonstrators, along with seven other foreign nationals in Dili could only be perceived as being with the intention of participating in the demonstration of 12 November 1991.
- c. He was seen to be actively engaged in fomenting and encouraging the demonstrators to be defiant to the security officers along the way from the Church to the Santa Cruz Cemetery.

"It was in such a chaotic and hostile atmosphere that unfortunately the spontaneous and unauthorised shooting took place resulting regrettably in a number of casualties, including Mr Kamal Bamadhaj. We regret the fact that by actively participating in such a demonstration he had actually endangered himself unnecessarily. He has also acted contrarily to his formal request of entry into Indonesia as a tourist. The Department of Foreign Affairs further wishes to explain that members of the Security Forces who resorted to the excessive use of force during that incident have been court-martialed.

"The Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia expresses once again its deepest regret over Mr Kamal Bamadhaj's unfortunate death and avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of New Zealand the assurances of its highest consideration."

*The External Affairs Minister's letter to Nadiyah Bamadhaj says that the New Zealand had "on a number of occasions raised this with the Indonesian authorities." After quoting the Indonesian letter in full, he adds:*

"Although you may not necessarily agree with the comments made in the Indonesian message, I hope you will agree that there has been deep regret and sincere remorse by those persons at the highest level of the Indonesian Government over the tragic events in Dili."

## TESTIMONIES ABOUT THE 12 NOVEMBER MASSACRE

*Translation from Portuguese of article from a protected source:*

About the happening on 12 November 1991, this is the truth about what happened in the cemetery (they killed some with shots, some were massacred with knives and bayonets some more they chopped up with axes). After everything in the cemetery they took the dead to the military hospital (mortuary), a total of 184, which were transported by four military trucks. And four military trucks of wounded with a total of 104 wounded. This started at 10:00 in the morning and ended at 3:30 in the afternoon. On the same day at 6:30 p.m. they took 100 more dead in a canvas-covered military truck to a place close to the military hospital. On the same night three more of the gravely wounded people died. Therefore, the total number of persons who died on 12 November was 287 [184+100+3].

In addition to those people transported to the mortuary, many were dead in the streams or arrested in their homes where they were hiding before being hunted by Intel.

Some arrived at the military hospital still breathing, but the military finished off their lives with knives, or with blows with stones or iron bars. Thus the lives of 186 individuals were finished. The dead were stripped of clothes and shoes. They burned the vestiges [*the clothes and shoes, in my opinion, not the bodies*] around 5:00 p.m. the same day.

On the same day (12th) at 10:00 p.m. 289 corpses were transported from the military hospital on eight military trucks, some closed with canvas. Thirteen more corpses were left inside the mortuary. The 13th of November, these 13 dead were laid out in coffins in the mortuary at the military hospital. On 14 November, there were 101 wounded at the hospital. The Bishop visited them. After his visit, at 3:15 a.m. on 15 November, six were stabbed to death while in state of coma. Other wounded received very harsh treatment. The dead were not transported by stretcher. They were dragged by their arms or legs.

At 8:00 a.m. on the 16th, three men were moved to destination unknown from the military hospital with their hands still bound on their backs. These testimonies come from persons whose names cannot be disclosed. People living close to the military hospital witnessed, being really frightened, the wounded being struck and kicked, peeping out through holes in their houses with pain and tears.

## NEW STUDY REVEALS 273 KILLED IN DILI MASSACRE

*Press Release issued in Lisbon on 3 September 1992 by José Ramos-Horta, official spokesperson for the East Timorese Resistance.*

A new report just released in Lisbon points to a much higher death toll at the 12 November 1991 massacre of civilians in Dili: 273 killed, 255 disappeared and 376 wounded is the finding of several months of investigation carried out in East Timor by a wide range of East Timorese elements and smuggled out of East Timor. The report provides the names and ages of all the persons killed, missing or wounded.

Most disturbing, almost half of the killed are 21 years or younger and almost all are below the age of 30. "This is deliberate killing of the young people. My God, I am horrified at these findings. Most are young people. The Indonesians always claimed that only the older generation are anti-integration. But now they are killing all our young people because they too oppose integration," Mr José Ramos-Horta, overseas spokesperson for the East Timorese Resistance, said in Lisbon today.

The release of this study coincides with the airing in Lisbon of a home-made video interview of five East Timorese survivors and witnesses of the Dili massacre who say that more than "200 people were killed" and they saw more than 100 corpses being dumped into the sea. The film was smuggled out of East Timor and is now being shown on Portuguese television.

Mr Ramos-Horta believes that the most likely new "Governor" of East Timor appointed by Jakarta, Mr Abilio Osorio Soares, is a "common criminal who personally tortured and murdered innocent civilians. If his appointment is confirmed, we will use all diplomatic and legal means to have him arrested if he ever sets foot in the US or a European country. He is even worse than Pablo Escobar. The Indonesian authorities by appointing this man as their new puppet Governor are showing how lacking in support they are. They cannot even find someone who like Mario Carrascalao has some air of decency. Now they have to resort to a true common criminal."

"The situation in East Timor will deteriorate even further, unrest will spread, abuses by the military will escalate. The West and Japan now bear enormous responsibility because they are the ones who finance the regime to the tune of US\$5 billion a year," Mr Ramos-Horta said.

## COMMENT FROM JOHN MACDOUGALL:

It is impossible to evaluate these new massacre death toll claims until detailed accounts are made available. The same standards for assessing validity should be applied to these claims as have been applied to the Indonesian claims. There is too much uncritical passing on of "news" as "fact" – especially when numbers are involved – in reports on places like East Timor and Irian Jaya. It would be helpful to see and examine these reported assessments by Amnesty International and a "Lisbon-based Christian group." Similarly, it would be helpful to know if the Timorese refugees who saw "100 corpses being dumped into the sea" were cross-examined by neutral questioners. An earlier report on the higher death tolls claimed that the bodies were cremated. The "precision" in that report was also suspiciously high. Why these higher figures are only now surfacing also remains unexplained. Why did earlier rapporteurs – including many sympathetic Indonesian and foreign reporters – on the November 12 massacre not allege these higher figures?

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## EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

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### REFUGEES REPORT INCREASED REPRESSION IN TIMOR

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 6, 28 July 92. Dateline: Lisbon. News digest. Unabridged.*

A young Timorese refugee, recently arrived in Portugal, says that the repression in Dili earlier this year because of the approach of the Lusitania Expresso, has now been relaxed, the curfew which operated at night has been lifted, and barriers have been removed from the streets. There have not been any more demonstrations.

He himself had been involved in the organization of the Nov. 12 demonstration and had later fled to Jakarta. In an interview in Expresso, using the assumed name Sacoco, he said that when the Peace in Timor Mission boat turned back, "Everyone was very sad. My father cried and said we would never more be free." In Dili at present "people do not trust each other any more," but "the people still resist. They pray daily with devotion for Xanana Gusmao because he is fighting for our liberty. But they are not happy, they long only for peace." (Expresso, 13 June 92)

## LETTER FROM AN EAST TIMORESE PRISONER

*Green Left Weekly issue 70, September 9*

*The following letter from a prisoner in East Timor, arrested after the Dili massacre in November 1991, was dated June 23 and recently received in Australia.*

Only today I'm able to answer your letter sent through H. For I was very busy. As you know the Santa Cruz tragedy brought me here along with a few comrades. We are here for about 7 months. After the 3 first months of intensive questioning, together or one by one, the enemy found that we met all the necessary requirements to be the scapegoats, as planned to influence the public opinion.

We knew from the beginning that the IN [Indonesian army] was trying to frame us up with a clear intention. Our indictment have portrayed the enemy objectives.

The reality was quite different. It was a spontaneous reaction after the events at the Motael church on 28-10-91. There were no groups or person behind.

The IN's fabricated version is that the demonstrators were under the leadership of a group and that they were armed. The army reacted only in self-defense.

The truth is:

One of our comrades (Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha) who took part on the demonstration, on his own accord, was shot and later taken to hospital. Military people only managed to recognize him after the critical situation had calmed down and the only reason he is still alive - Indonesia Intelligence, INTEL, wanted him. He was the ideal person to be charged as the demonstrators' leader. They also knew of his participation in previous demonstrations. To nail him they got old "Mausers" rifles, grenades and pistols which were captured long time ago and claimed that demonstrators had carried them.

According to the demonstrators a group of Indonesians agents, INTEL, took part in the protest march to cause problems. When they left Motael church everything was under control. However, when they reached ACAIT trouble started because an intelligence officer who managed to mix with the crowd, forcefully attempted to steal a flag carried by a woman. A brawl began almost immediately and the officer was injured. From there on the crowd became restless, due to the presence of INTEL people among them. From ACAIT onwards, a group of protesters grab the banner with Xanana's picture on and started running ahead, forcing the people to move faster. It is now confirmed that the group, who grabbed the

banner, was working for the INTEL. Before they had reached Santa Cruz many people were already waiting for them. These people had been also provoked by INTEL, who had thrown stones on them while driving back and forth, but they did not respond to the provocation. Soon after the marchers arrived. Some went into the cemetery to lay a wreath of flowers and pray, others remained outside the gate chanting. Those who carried the flags climbed up the brick fence and unfolded them.

The riot police arrived minutes later to quiet the crowd down followed by a platoon of the battalion 303, well known all over the territory by their crimes against the civilian population. They came from Taibessi, shirtless and all armed with automatic rifles M-16 on fire position. The riot police moved aside allowing the platoon to confront the crowd. Suddenly and without warning they open fire, the first ones to be hit were those standing on the brick fence with flags. Terrified, people start screaming from everywhere, even days later people couldn't get over it. According to eye witnesses young girls who pleaded not to be shot were killed in cold blood. Many young men died or were injured, only because they protected their fellow women compatriots with their bodies from the rain of bullets. It was a tragedy, months after the survivors still have terrified visions of the shooting. It even happened in our prison cells on December 12, 1991 with the Santa Cruz survivors.

According to eye witnesses accounts our injured and moribund women compatriots who were taken to hospital in army trucks, were sexually assaulted by soldiers, who touched their breasts and genitals. Also according to eye witnesses the soldiers had sexually assaulted dying women left in the mortuary.

IN put in place a scheme to blame us. They said that our group had organised the demonstration following CNRM [National Council of Maubere Resistance] orders that supplied the guns. To achieve their plans they forced us to accept the comedy of a dummy trial. They attempted to force us to accept a solicitor, a lawyer who is an INTEL informer. From the beginning we ask for an open trial to give us the opportunity to bring the truth out. For this reason we contacted some friends in Dili who brought from Jakarta lawyers with wide experience and unbiased. The lawyers are from two large and well known organizations. Many obstacles were raised to stop them coming. Finally the road was clear for the trial we wanted. The hearings started on 12/3/1992. Soon you will be able to read and listen to our statements in the courtroom - through documents and cassettes.

**Brief items of our statements:**

We proved that the people spirits were impregnated with nationalist feelings. Historic facts are undeniable evidence. The illegality of the integration process based on the Balibo Declaration. Portugal is still recognized by the United Nations as the Administering Power. We denounced as meaningless the development perpetrated by Indonesia in East Timor in the last 16 years, because it is unacceptable to exchange the people's soul for a mere development. You can read in detail when the documents get there. We were threatened several times not to accept the Jakarta lawyers. We were told that we could cause more damage to ourselves. But we rather accept the risks and sacrifice ourselves to help advance our diplomatic campaign abroad.

In this moment we have already reached the final phase of our trial.

According to the court there are two choices for us:

- 1 - Accept the sentence and then plead the President for pardoning;
- 2 - Not accept the sentence and appeal to the high court.

Before these two choices, we conclude that the first would help them in their diplomatic campaign abroad on the Santa Cruz issue, that would offer us the chance to be easily released. On the other hand, the second choice would make being released difficult and possibly we would get heavier sentences. Even so, we want to take the risk. Perhaps our sacrifice, together with our brothers that death have taken, may help the process to move a step forward.

Contacts with our grandfather is still going on and with the outside family as well.

Although they have a platoon of crack troops stationed in each neighbourhood, everything goes on as usual. On the election day the youth wanted to boycott it but grandfather told them not to. When Alatas was in Dili, in a meeting with the youth, he was openly criticized.

At the beginning of our trial we feared they would attempt to get rid of us, but everything is running well till this moment, thanks to the world solidarity. We are grateful for that show of solidarity specially from our comrades and friends who are working tiredness for the East Timor cause, particularly for the political prisoners.

Dear friend this is the short history of our trial and an up to date of the present situation. Let's now get to our individual situation:

Three prisoners of the Santa Cruz tragedy have got already their final sentence, as follows:

Francisco Miranda Branco - 15 years  
Juvencio de Jesus Martins - 6 yrs 10 mos

Filomeno da Silva Ferreira - 5 yrs 8 months  
Waiting to be sentenced:  
Jacinto das N.R. Alves [since sentenced to 10 years]

Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha [since sentenced to life imprisonment]

Carlos dos Santos Lemos  
Bonifacio Magno Pereira

For your own knowledge there are another 5 young people on trial, related to the Motael event: Aleixo da Silva, Joao dos Santos, Bonifacio Barreto, Bobby Xavier, Jacob da Silva.

I take this opportunity to ask for your solidarity regarding our family economic situation, we are all government workers and we have been suspended since February. This is my special appeal.

I also remind you that one of our comrades is in Baucau Jail, his name is Saturnino da Costa Belo, under the same charge as us. This is all for now, and it is all I can say. I hope you will receive this letter. My affectionate greetings to all and especially for you.

In spite of being in these cells we are determined and in solidarity with you all.

*The Alice Springs Friends of East Timor have set up a fund to aid the families of those killed or imprisoned. Donations can be sent to the Alice Springs Friends of East Timor, c/- 43 Giles Street, Alice Springs 0870, or deposited directly into their account at the Commonwealth Bank (branch 5900, account 10009781). For further information phone (a/h) (089) 52 8804 Deborah, 52 5908 David.*

## BISHOP BELO INTERVIEWED BY MATRA

August, 1992

### ‘WE WANT MORE FREEDOM’

*The poster has done a service by translating this remarkably frank interview by Mgr Belo. My own reading of the entire article in the original Indonesian leads me to a slightly different interpretation, however, of Belo's position. He appears to argue that he personally can get along within Indonesia, but the matter really is up to the East Timorese people to decide through a referendum. As a man of the Church, he feels East Timor's political status is outside his proper domain. His several remarks on the likely outcome of a referendum seem in fact in some conflict, perhaps the result of not always entirely precise phrases which occur in any conversation, and the entire thrust of his very critical remarks on Indonesian and military governance in East Timor hardly provide even a weak argument that East Timorese would **freely** vote in favor of integration. He is instead*

*prescribing a **short term** limited autonomy in which the military would return to their barracks and ideally withdraw from the territory, largely leaving East Timorese to conduct their own affairs in this period. As a practical matter, he doesn't seem to expect this will happen, since he sees so many structural impediments in the path toward a 'freer' democracy. While he usefully points up cleavages among East Timorese on many basic matters, he generally blames the resulting conflicts on Indonesians, especially the military. In brief, he sees his role as trying to provide hope amidst prevailing pessimism, that is to say, his fundamental position is pastoral in nature, not political. Matra also carries a good deal of biographic background on Belo not heretofore available which is in synchrony with his outlook in the interview. Overall, Belo, speaking quite astutely and sharply in simple Indonesian, seems very willing to take on all comers and 'speak truth to power.' No wonder that he and outgoing Governor Mario Carrascalao are considered 'soulmates.'*

*The untranslated part of the interview (noted by the poster in the text below) dealing with leaders and businessmen links seems a none too subtle attack on the greed of Soeharto and his children's business empires.*

– John MacDougall

*The following interview of Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, was published by the Jakarta monthly, Matra, in August 1992.*

*Shortly after this interview appeared, Jawa Pos which has a correspondent in Dili, reproduced excerpts from it. In an introduction, the paper commented that following the 12 November 'incident,' the Bishop was interviewed several times by the paper. Recently however, the Bishop said he only wanted to be interviewed about religious and spiritual affairs. The day after the Matra interview appeared, Jawa Pos again sought an interview with him but was refused. This interview shows why Bishop Belo is so angry with the Indonesian press.*

*Comment: From this interview it appears that Bishop Belo is resigned to accepting integration though he insists that a referendum is necessary to legitimise it. He apparently believes that a referendum would result in a victory for integration though he says nothing to explain why. – TAPOL*

*Q: This bay here makes the place romantic, Monseigneur.*

*A: This town has long stopped being romantic. But, yes, it looks quite calm.*

*Q: Perhaps this house is the safest place around?*

A: Ha... ha... ha! Yes, conditions here are unsettled. There is still something wrong.

*Q: What's wrong, in your opinion?*

A: The people of East Timor must be able to live in an atmosphere where they feel they have a place, that they are human beings, that they are being given attention; they must be given the freedom to be complete human beings. These conditions can be achieved if physical and material development is accompanied by human development. That's what is not yet happening here.

*Q: Human development? What do you mean?*

A: People should have the freedom to move, the freedom to think, the freedom to express their opinions. The freedom to say that there are things they don't like. There is no such democracy yet. We have to start teaching democracy at the lowest level, at primary school. If people live in a democracy they will happily get involved in working for progress. The important thing now is to give them the key, to become involved. What I have noticed recently is that people have closed up more than ever. They have become more and more closed. This is happening here. I sometimes even feel that society is very apathetic. People at the top say everything's OK, everything's alright, and the people answer in unison, saying yes, everything's alright, everything's OK.

*Q: From what you hear and feel, what is it that lies deep in the hearts of the people?*

A: This is something basic. People feel that this is their region, their home. They consider themselves to be the ones who own this place and they want to be placed in a proper position as the owners. They say, we must be able to feel that we are the owners of our own home.

*Q: But what actually happens?*

A: We Timorese behave like robots. We're told go here, or to go there. But we cannot see who is telling us to do this. They are playing behind the scenes.

*Q: As far as you know, what has the government done for the people?*

A: The government has indeed done things for the community, especially for the small folk. I would like development to be focused on the more remote places. But the most important thing is that people in

the towns and the villages must feel that development is for them. Who is the asphalt road in Dili for? Who is that luxury building for? Who uses it?

*Q: Are you saying that development is not for the people?*

A: The infrastructure achieves its target though not yet perfectly. Let's hope that in the next phase, the desires and aspirations of the community will be fulfilled. The most important thing of all is that we want to be a little freer. This is something very fundamental. Not free from Indonesia but free as citizens of this country. Others are free in Java; those living in Maluku are free. We also want to be as free as they are, here in East Timor. Not like the present, when I feel freer in Jakarta than here in Dili. This means that there's something wrong.

*Q: Have there been any efforts to struggle for this freedom?*

A: Oh yes, within the limits possible. The leaders and the people are afraid to strive for freedom. Ha... ha... ha! Indeed, people's representatives who should speak up in fact say nothing. I don't know who is to blame. Maybe it's our fault for choosing people who are afraid (to speak up) as representatives of the people. That's what our democracy has led to. Ha... ha... ha!

*Q: If that's the case, the basic question isn't integration?*

A: For me, no. I think that being part of Indonesia is no longer a problem. The problem is, how this young region called East Timor can grow up. If there are those who still make an issue of integration, that's their problem. For me, the problem is no longer integration.

*Q: At present, there are still groups that make an issue of integration. As leader of the religious community, don't their activities worry you?*

A: Yes, they are still with us. It doesn't worry me. I want to be a democrat. As a democrat, everyone from the extreme right to the extreme left will have a place in my heart, although I don't necessarily agree with them. Neo-Liberals, neo-Fascists or extreme Communists all have a place in my heart, above all because they are human beings. We must have the courage to sit down together, to have dialogue as civilised human beings, as democrats, to

seek out the truth and put to rights those things that are still wrong.

*Q: What do you feel about the fact that the UN still does not recognise integration?*

A: We should try to get this recognition. That's what I meant when I wrote to the UN Secretary-General asking for a referendum to be held. People regarded this as a mistake. What would happen is that, if a referendum is held and the majority want integration, the referendum will be accepted by the UN and everyone will be happy. In the first place, because the majority supports integration and secondly, because the UN supports it. Then we would all be happy.

*Q: If you were in the government's place, would it be correct to hold a referendum?*

A: The government's position is different. The government's position is that integration is a fact, both de jure and de facto. This is what the government thinks. But we should not forget that we also have to deal with the world outside, that we must place ourselves in this international context. But, that's enough of this. This is politics....

*Q: Would it be more beneficial if a referendum were held?*

A: The important thing is to give us the freedom to choose. I think the people can see for themselves and judge the benefits of the past fifteen years. After seeing all that, the people may choose integration. But what I want to emphasise is if a process of choice happens, with everyone aware of what has happened, those who made the choice will be responsible for the result. Since we were the ones who made the choice but then have to suffer the consequences, we would be able to take responsibility. But if no-one knows what happened, as at present... (Mgr Belo did not continue.) Oh yes, there is still a great deal to be done.

*Q: What was it that prompted you to send that letter asking for a referendum?*

A: At the time, I was extremely disappointed with the worsening state of affairs here. The letter was an attempt on my part to change things for the better. Indeed, there are times when we have to act firmly because the normal way of doing things simply doesn't work. Now, thank goodness, there have been corrections and improvements.



*Q: Which is more effective, to make efforts through foreign channels or to struggle here inside?*

A: After my private letter was made public (in the world's press, Ed.) and they (the government) made corrections in the general situation here, I felt that I should adopt a different position. I now think it's better to struggle here inside in order to get a status for East Timor that gives our people greater opportunities to be responsible for the region.

*Q: What was it that prompted that change in the kind of struggle?*

A: I began to think that I, as an individual and as an Indonesian citizen, should make my small contribution to the state and to all the Indonesian people, not just to East Timor. If possible, I would like my ideas and attitudes - if they are of any use - to be used by the entire nation.

*Q: Do you think that the security forces are dealing correctly with groups that don't yet support integration?*

A: I don't want to teach others about Pancasila but I think that we should get back to Pancasila and especially the principles of justice and humanity. The interests of the human being stand above the interests of the state and above the interests of security. Those groups should be properly treated. They should be coaxed, encouraged, and so on, before military action is taken.

*Q: Hasn't ABRI begun to conduct a territorial operation to mingle closely with the people?*

A: I see this in two ways. On the one hand, okay, they produce results for the people and I appreciate that. On the other hand, I am deeply afraid because everything is done and built by the military. This could result in the people being even less willing to get involved. "Why should we bother, why do we have to do things ourselves. Let them get on with it..."

Excessive involvement of the military can mean not giving the community or civilians the chance to work for development. What should be happening is that the general public, civilians, should be encouraged, so that a time will come when they will do it themselves. The military should withdraw so that the community takes responsibility for progress and for their lives.

*Q: How do you think the territorial operation (opster) should be conducted?*

A: I think opster should only aim at helping the community. It should not be for the purpose of staying at the side of the community, so as to watch everyone's movements. They should not be there as intel. Let me be quite clear. I hear many complaints. Five kilometres of road is built and there's a ceremony officiated by a minister. Another thing. There are village heads, district chiefs, sub-district chiefs, a local assembly. But often, after they have been chosen, they adopt a bad attitude, act like feudals. There should be no place for a feudal attitude in an era of development. It's not right. It won't help.

*Q: What are you yourself doing to draw those in the upper echelons closer to the idea of giving the people a role?*

A: I do whatever is possible within the office I hold. When I travel to the regions, I speak to people and to their leaders. I also speak to the government and to ABRI. These are my methods. It's rather different. I don't hold public meetings.

*Q: Do you not try to encourage dialogue....?*

A: Yes, there should be dialogue (Mgr Belo cut in). But dialogue must be free. That is essential. There have been dialogues and meetings, but the impression I have is that people only raise things which they think are acceptable. If they raise things that are not likely to be acceptable, those who said such things go home and can't sleep peacefully because they are afraid of being summoned and interrogated.

*Q: What have you done to create good relations between the Church and ABRI?*

A: I don't have military force and I don't want to make any comments. But I want to say that I find it very regrettable that many people believe that I am obstructing development, that I am anti-integration, that I am two-faced, that I encourage the young people to go on demonstrations. I am really unhappy about this. Maybe they have evidence to support their opinion, but if so, why don't they bring it out into the open? (Mgr Belo was quiet for a while, Ed.) This is very unpleasant. The result is that we live in a state of mutual distrust. This is what makes me very unhappy. In the first place, I am not two-faced. Second, if we all want to

restore tranquillity and freedom in East Timor, I think priority should be given to civilians. If possible, our friends in the army should stick to purely military duties.

*Q: But ABRI has a dual function.*

A: Yes, and I personally don't understand where the limits between the functions lie. This should be explained. As things are here in East Timor, the military are everywhere, in social affairs, the economy, culture, tourism, social communications. So what is left for civilians? If this is the case, let's just have mono-function. Ha... ha... ha! Those who have followed a military calling should stick to military tasks and leave everything else to others.

*Q: In other words, you want things to be as normal here as in other regions.*

A: (Mgr Belo said nothing for a while.) What is clear is that this region should not be treated as a province in a state of emergency. We have a different background, a different history and culture from other parts of Indonesia. This is what the central government should realise. We understand *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* [Unity in Diversity, the State Motto]. If East Timor is just equated with other provinces, it means that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* will not apply in East Timor. If you want to apply that motto, then East Timor must be treated in a special way, given a special status - but I don't mean a state of emergency.

*Q: Do you mean that these differences should be properly recognised?*

A: Yes, in formal juridical terms and in implementation. There should be greater regional autonomy.

*Q: Have relations between the Church and the local government been good?*

A: Yes. I have been here for nine years. I cooperate with the governor, with district chiefs, with sub-district chiefs. With central government agencies, for instance, their local offices, it's less so, but, in general, it's alright.

*Q: Governor Carrascalao has almost come to the end of his term. There have been strong calls for his successor to be someone from the region. What do you want?*

A: Ha... ha... ha! My demand is, listen to what the people want. The East Timorese are often called ignorant and backward.

The views of these simple, ignorant people often astonish me. They say: we here are the ones who have a direct interest in who becomes the governor here. That's why we'd like the governor to be an East Timorese and a Catholic.

*Q: The law says nothing about the governor of East Timor having to be someone from the region and a Catholic.*

A: Isn't it so that an East Timorese who is a Catholic is also an Indonesian citizen? There are many candidates. But don't choose a candidate who favours certain groups, certain circles, certain groups or conglomerates. I say again that I think that the governor of East Timor should be someone from this region who is a Catholic.

*Q: Are these two conditions a matter of principle?*

A: Yes. It's because very few people have learnt to understand the innermost feelings of the people of East Timor. As the saying goes, the voice of the community is the voice of God. What I would say is that this voice of the people is the voice of God. Ha... ha... ha!

*Q: What is the position of the Catholic Church in the everyday life of the East Timorese people?*

A: The church lives in the midst of the community in order to spread news about one thing, that it must be saved. The church is the congregation and the congregation is the church. Whatever the congregation feels is felt by the church. Whatever the church feels is felt by the congregation. The two are inseparable. Sometimes, people see the church as a hierarchy. That is something different though hierarchy is a part of the congregation.

The role of the church is none other than that preached by Christ at the very beginning of the life of the church, to spread the Gospel to all humanity. That's why the church came to East Timor in the 16th century. Although Portugal left East Timor, the church remained. Indonesia came in. The church remained, living alongside the people to achieve God's call to save the world, especially the soul and the whole of humanity. And so the church strives to do everything in its power to create whole human beings, in the spiritual and material sense.

*Q: Some people think that the church goes too far, particularly in matters that lie outside the realm of prayer. What do you say to this?*

A: The church's message relates to the whole human being. Our message relates to the soul, the sacraments and deliverance. We are also able to save people in other respects. We have ideas and opinions about social and economic matters, about justice and peace. This is what is sometimes misunderstood by some people. If I speak out, they say I'm engaging in politics. When I only busy myself with the sacraments, they say this is what the priests and bishops should be doing. But our duty relates to all aspects of life, in particular the moral, the ethical and the spiritual. We don't practise these things at a technical level. It is for the politicians to strive to realise the church's view of things in practice.

*Q: What is the best way to combine your position as citizen with your position as a bishop directly responsible to the Vatican?*

A: There have been many prejudices about this, leading to mistaken views. All dioceses and all bishops are directly under the Vatican's control. All bishops are required to make a full report about their diocese to the Holy Father every five years. And they go personally to submit their report orally. There's no difference between the Diocese of Menado and the Diocese of Dili.

*Q: Is the problem then that the Dili Diocese is not yet inside the KWI (the Bishops' Conference of Indonesia)?*

A: This brings us onto the international arena. East Timor is still on the agenda of the UN. The Vatican does not want to pre-empt a decision by the UN. When the UN no longer makes an issue of integration, the Dili Diocese will join the KWI. I sometimes ask those who make an issue of this: do you think that if we were to join the KWI, all our problems would be solved?

*Q: It could be that if you were to join the KWI, it would be easier to solve the problems.*

A: Solved? By who? By Mgr Leo (Mgr Leo Soekoto, KWI Secretary-General) or Mgr Darmaatmadja (KWI chairman) in Jakarta? If we wanted to regulate the church and the dioceses, we would be on the way to

becoming a theocracy. This would no longer be a Pancasila state but a state like Iran.

*Q: What is the best way to build the link between religion and the state?*

A: In my opinion, there should be a clear separation. The secular should handle secular affairs. The religious should handle religious affairs. This is why I do not believe that religion should be used for worldly objectives. Religion is above politics. Religion should push things from inside, as a moral force.

*Q: Should you, as a religious leader, speak up or stay silent when others accuse you and when you see your congregation being unjustly treated?*

A: I think that the voice of the congregation should be heard. As a religious leader, there are times when one should speak out and times when one should stay silent.

*Q: When is it right to speak out and when is it right to stay silent?*

A: I speak out when people are in a state of unrest, when they are being oppressed, when they are being treated unjustly and in conflict with Pancasila. I speak out because sometimes the situation demands that I should. I don't speak out for the sake of opposition but so as to help improve things.

*Q: And what if the things you say damage your own position?*

A: That's all part of my life's calling. I cannot stand by in silence when something needs to be changed. I must have the courage to take a stand. Sometimes people accuse me of being too strong. If this means my taking positions that are unpopular, so be it. That's the risk. But not everyone is unhappy with this. Those who like what I do say that, because people have no voice and cannot speak out, the bishop must do so. Others don't have the space to speak probably because they are afraid.

*Q: Why is it that recently you have not said much?*

A: It's difficult. When I speak, my words are misinterpreted. Newspapers and journals are not neutral when they report what I say. They are biased. They don't consider all sides of the question; only one side is highlighted. What should I say to such journalists or press organs?

*Q: Do you think that the Indonesian press is biased?*

A: One would need to make a careful analysis to say that. But it's my impression that the Indonesian press is being manipulated. Ha... ha... ha!

*Q: Was this especially apparent in the reporting about the 12 November incident?*

A: Since long before that. Many people wrote very biased things without seeking confirmation from me. I have often been very disappointed.

*Q: The courts have started passing down verdicts on people charged in connection with the 12 November incident. What, in your opinion, was the cause of that incident?*

A: We need to examine a number of factors in relation to 12 November. Many opinions need to be heard and scrutinised. Those young people had long been complaining that there was no work for them after leaving school. Some said that colonialism is emerging in East Timor. All the teachers are from outside, all the civil servants are from outside. Go into any government office and all the employees are from outside. For the simplest jobs in road-building, they bring in people from outside. And these workers bring their children and their brothers and sisters.

*Q: Do you think that it was lack of employment that influenced the young people to take action?*

A: The lack of jobs is not the main thing. They see that there are many vacancies and wonder why they are filled by people from outside. Just go into any office and you will see only one or two people from here. The vast majority are outsiders. Take for instance the Department of Religious Affairs, where there are only one or two Timorese. The district religious offices are also all headed by people from outside. People forget that the majority of people here are Catholics. How is it possible for other religious people to understand the affairs of the majority of people here in East Timor?

Then, it is said that lots of factories will be set up, a pineapple cannery, a sugar-mill, and many others as well. But none of this has happened. So people begin to ask why, isn't there something wrong? People don't want to come here because they

won't be able to make profits from East Timor, or perhaps because there are plenty of other possibilities. People hope for large-scale investments. Java has become the industrial centre. Are we, who are on the fringes, only to be the garden? I know that Java is preferred by investors because it has many facilities that don't exist elsewhere. But those investors should be motivated by the spirit of nationalism, meaning that they would consider investment in East Timor not merely on the basis of business calculations, but take other considerations into account and realise that places outside Java also need attention.

*Q: Young people in Dili are seen as being bent on holding demonstrations. Do you, in your day-to-day contact with the community, have the same impression?*

A: It should be carefully investigated. We are often too quick to level accusations. Sometimes, I see among the young people others who are running the show, directors on top of the directors. Another thing that needs to be examined is that certain people know that a movement is in preparation but allow the balloon to get bigger and bigger until it bursts. In actual fact, the aspirations being articulated by the young people here are part of the dynamic of all young people. It happens not only here but also in Jakarta, in Bandung, in Korea, in Palestine. Why is it that in other places, young people can speak up but they must keep silent here?

*Q: Some people say that the young people who are accused of holding demonstrations are the products of the education system set up after integration.*

A: Not only that. What is more important is that they have studied the 1945 Constitution the Preamble of which states that all forms of colonialism must cease everywhere in the world. They have learnt from that. They see the reality in their everyday lives, they see the leaders of society, the people in charge here.

*Q: From what you know, are there problems with education here in East Timor?*

A: The most striking progress here has indeed been made in the field of education. There are many schools, even down to the villages. But this is where I hear the most complaints. The progress has only been in quantity, not in the quality of education. I

get complaints about teachers who don't turn up, teachers going to meetings, teachers going on tour to all kinds of places in connection with duties that have nothing to do with their pupils. I have the impression that it's the kids who are teaching the teachers. Many people ask why this is allowed to happen. These days in East Timor, there is no national discipline in the education sector.

*Q: We hear of many teachers being beaten by their pupils. Why is that?*

A: There are many reasons. There are many repressed feelings among the younger generation. They complain that more and more teachers are being brought in from outside - outsiders. They say that the teachers are often dishonest.

Since integration, it has become the custom for all pupils to go up to the next class every year, regardless of whether they are clever or dunces. Everyone passes. Is that honest? The result is, that if, suddenly, some pupils don't go up, they blame the teacher. So the pupils beat the teachers because they think that everyone should pass and go up. I blame the teachers for this, or perhaps the fault lies with the instructions they get from above, the wrong approach. Maybe, they want to win sympathy but it boomerangs. To say nothing of 'envelopes,' bribes; we are seeing more and more of such things. This is why I often say that there is no education in the field of education.

*Q: If the pupils misbehave, is it all their fault?*

A: Oh, the pupils also make mistakes, but I think that most of the blame lies with those who are supposed to be doing the educating. The teachers and others are turning the schools and pupils into a political arena. They come under the influence of a variety of interests. So, the young people split up into groups. Some are with the anti-integration groups, others with the pro-integrationists. This is utilised for purposes which are not understood by the school-children, to spy on suspects.

*Q: Speaking about what prompted the 12 November incident, you said just now that there were many factors. Can you mention some of the other factors?*

A: Their most fundamental complaint is that the question of integration has not

yet been resolved in a peaceful and democratic way. Integration is already a fact but it must be for us to accept it. It is for us to decide, for us to accept or reject integration. Integration is not something that can be forced. If integration is a fact, we should be treated properly, like citizens in other parts of Indonesia. The young people here complain, saying it's as if East Timor is a region won in battle, a military conquest, not a region integrated in an acceptable way by the motherland. These are the complaints that I hear.

*Q: What about Fretilin?*

A: Yes, Fretilin and Xanana Gusmao (Xanana Gusmao, who is known as the president of Fretilin [sic] Ed) still exert some influence. People who still want to follow Xanana believe that the fire of independence should not be extinguished. But apart from this, one should also take account of the fact that ABRI was unable to control itself during that incident. Another important factor is that many civilians, many East Timorese who were in the lead, were from the intel, spying on their fellow East Timorese. During August, September and October, up to the time of the 12 November outburst, many people were divided into two groups. One was the group of intel agents, while the other consisted of those who were being reported by these agents.

*Q: Which group were you in?*

A: I was among those being reported... ha... ha... ha! There were all kinds of reports. That I had held illegal meetings in my home, that I had hidden weapons, that I had sent letters abroad. Every move I made was monitored, my sermons were taped, my letters were censored.

*Q: Is there any truth in reports that your home was used to hide weapons and as a refuge for demonstrators?*

A: Loving care is part of the work of priests and bishops. Our work has nothing to do with weapons. If someone comes and asks for protection, we have to respond, whatever their politics. They are human beings, creatures of God.

*Q: Does the fact that your personal letters have been disseminated mean that there are intel agents inside the church or in your own household?*

A: Yes, it does. I know that. After meetings to discuss church affairs, there are often

people who report. I know there are people who are under instructions or being paid to listen to everything I say, follow all my statements, get hold of my letters. Take for instance the letter (of 6 February 1989) to the UN Secretary-General about the need to hold a referendum. The day after it was sent, the general public knew all about it. Very strange. They are right inside my circle. The letter had been taken from a place which only people close to me know anything about. We shouldn't be surprised at such things; anything can happen here. Once, in a sermon, I got rather angry and insinuated: "Those of you who drink tea from Indonesia or who eat white rice from Indonesia listen carefully."

*Q: Does this kind of thing worry you?*

A: As far as that letter was concerned, I felt worried but also not worried. What worried me was that many people did not like what I did. But in the end, I thought, OK, and I calmed down. If the letter was now in the public domain, there was nothing I could do about it. I hoped that it could be discussed publicly in order to find a peaceful and just solution for East Timor. I am not worried about the intel agents. I know the ones who follow me, who are watching me. When I give lectures or sermons, I know the people who are sitting in front of me. I speak to everyone. Maybe they will repent.

*Q: Do you think that what they are doing is wrong?*

A: I don't think it's wrong, but it is not pleasant, not the decent thing to do. I don't like it. And it makes me feel that this is a police state. Everything I do, all my activities, every word, are followed and monitored. It shouldn't be like this. With such things happening, I feel that I am living in a police state. From what I have learnt about Pancasila, I tend to think that this is not the Indonesia that aspires to Pancasila. But this is all happening right here in East Timor.

*Q: During one court hearing, you were mentioned as the conduit for sending state documents to Ramos-Horta. Did that actually happen?*

A: I wrote about that to the Attorney-General and the regional chief of police. I explained that I did not know the witness who mentioned my name in the court.

That person probably knew me or had met me because I meet many people in the congregation. But I did not personally know the person who was being charged or the witnesses. Many people come to my home but no-one has ever come bringing secret state documents to be sent abroad. That's the first point. The second point is that I don't know Ramos-Horta's address and I have never had any dealings with him. When he was studying in Dili, I was abroad. I don't know what he is up to now. What I do know is that his father was a district chief in Portuguese times.

*Q: Supposing someone came and gave you secret state documents...*

A: I would certainly hand them back (Mgr Belo quickly interrupted). As the leader of an important institution, why should I get involved in such things? What for? I think it's quite unnecessary. Perhaps I should say too that after my name was mentioned in court, the wife of that person came to my home one evening. She asked for forgiveness for her husband who had mentioned my name in court. I told her, never mind. For me, the matter is closed. What is important for me is that such a thing should not happen again.

What I do regret it that there are attempts to corner me and blame me. And the press went ahead and reported the news. This is perhaps what is called trial by the press. This is what I dislike. Even though I had written to the Attorney-General, the Indonesian press all over the country reported that I was involved. This is the extraordinary thing about the Indonesian press. I was being punished without anyone listening to what I, the person in question, had to say. That news was very biased indeed.

*Q: Where does the diocese get its funds from?*

A: We live primarily from funds from the congregation. If they live in impoverished circumstances, we can't do better than that. We also get funds from the government, 400 to 500 million rupiahs a year. This comes from the Department of Religious Affairs and goes direct to the parishes throughout East Timor to build or repair churches and chapels. We also get small amounts from the Vatican, primarily for seminars and religious teachers. The amount depends on our requests and

the ability of the Vatican. We plan to build a new office at the side of the cathedral, but we don't yet have enough money.

*Q: Next year, the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) will meet. Do you have any special hopes?*

A: Sometimes I ask myself whether this is a republic or a monarchy. Isn't there anyone else in Indonesia who can come forward as a new leader. Maybe there is. But perhaps the system is incapable of producing a new leader. Or it may be that many people have resigned themselves to things as they are or don't want to put themselves forward.

*Q: And so?*

A: We in East Timor are a little influenced by western culture. For instance, if a village head has served for four years, it's time for someone new to take over. Replacing people is a normal process.

*Q: What kind of democracy do you think we should have?*

A: For me, democracy should be more active. I constantly hear people talking about Pancasila democracy. I think that Pancasila democracy should also be active. Bring it into line with the demands of development and progress for the nation. When I heard that a Forum Demokrasi had been set up and what it planned to do, I was delighted.

*Q: If invited, would you join the FD?*

A: If I'm allowed to, I'd like to join. But why haven't we heard anything recently about its activities. Is it dead? The last I heard was that it wanted to hold a halal bihalal [gathering to mark the end of Ramadhan] but this was banned. Ha... ha... ha!

*Q: To what extent do you think we can fight for a more open democracy?*

A: I think there should be confidence in the nation's ability to become mature. For this we need to have a climate in which differences of opinion are valued. If we can't have this, the nation will go on being an infant. When shall we grow up? It's time the organs of social control were given greater freedom of action. There should also be more freedom of assembly. For instance, if the three political parties are incapable of taking on board people's aspirations, maybe there's need for an

alternative. But, please excuse me, I don't want to be a teacher of democracy.

*Q: What in your view should be expected of a leader?*

A: A leader should set the example for the nation and know how to lead the nation, give wise and just leadership for all groups and all individuals, and be capable of encouraging all the vitality in society.

*[Two questions and answers about leadership problems and the danger of close liaisons between leaders and business in various countries are omitted.]*

*Q: Here in East Timor, there is said to be a monopoly controlling the coffee trade.*

A: I hope this will end soon. Maybe it has already ended. It is very damaging for the people. People are no longer interested in tending their coffee gardens. They are only allowed to sell to one businessman who gives them a very low price, below the market price.

I'm not a coffee grower but I've suffered from the situation personally. Once when I was returning from Ermera, the local congregation gave me a gift which they put in my car. On my way back to Dili, I was stopped by soldiers who said that the bishop wasn't allowed to transport coffee, even if it was a gift. Ha... ha... ha! They said there were instructions from above. So they took my gift of coffee. The officer said the coffee would be taken to the district military command for inspection. The next day, I asked the governor whether there was a ban on individuals carrying coffee even when the quantity was small. He was astonished. He told me not to bother. Ha... ha... ha! It was only a few dozen kilos of coffee. It's such treatment that shows how constricted we are. I heard that even as recently as last year, people's coffee was being taken. Yet, many East Timorese depend on coffee for their livelihood.

*Q: What hopes do you have of the central government?*

A: It should give proper attention to East Timor. If possible give it broader autonomy or special status. We have a different history, a different culture. It is the right of the President to decide. There are many aspects that need to be studied for special autonomy. I don't know whether it should be the same as in Yogya or Aceh. What's important is that the governance

and culture of East Timor should be given proper attention. And there should be changes in security policy. I know that we could be submerge if we were to go it alone. We don't have the skilled personnel, there isn't enough infrastructure. That's why we are part of Indonesia. But by choosing to join, it doesn't mean that the cultural differences and the different background should be ignored.

*Q: Who selects and looks after your clothes?*

A: I go to the shop or the tailor myself and wear ordinary clothes but even so, many people surround me and want to kiss my hand. Even though here in front of my home there is a beautiful beach, I've only been there once. Many people came and asked me, 'Why are you going to the beach?' Strange, isn't it, yet all I want is to be like other people. People here can't understand that a bishop is not an angel, he's just a normal human being like everyone else, who wants to do sports and to have some recreation. They want the bishop to live a life apart, not to mingle with people at the grass-roots or play football, not to go on pleasure trips. I am expected to wear my robe whenever I go out. But I personally don't want to be hidebound all the time by these formalities. I am a member of the Salesian Order which was set up by Dom Bosco who worked with the youth. I joined the Salesians precisely because I want to live among the people. For a Salesian to be moved to Dili and become the bishop was like going to prison. Ha... ha... ha! I had to stop doing sports, to stop mixing with young people. But I must turn this prison into something worthwhile.

*Q: Do you balance this with music?*

A: Yes, I like music very much. Indonesian kroncong, Indonesian or western pop. Also classical music and rock. Ha... ha... ha! Beatles and Beethoven, especially his Ninth Symphony. I always try to buy new cassettes. Whenever I go to Jakarta, I always bring home one or two cassettes.

*Q: What do you feel when you listen to Beethoven's Ninth?*

A: The greatness of God. I like listening to it when I work. I always play music when I am working. Classics when I am reading. Rock when I am writing. I feel more

productive when I am listening to something. Does this sound strange for a bishop? Ha... ha... ha!

*Q: Do you often watch football on television?*

A: I like football. Sometimes I wake up at 2 in the morning to watch a football match in Europe. Koeman and Gullit are some that I like to watch. I don't like boxing. This is a punishing sport. The body, the face is punched. I regard sport as something to make us more humane, sportive, to appreciate one's rival. Sport teaches us to compete peacefully, in a state of equality and balance. I much prefer sports to international meetings or negotiations. Ha... ha... ha!

*Q: Do you have any time to read?*

A: Yes. I try to find time every day to read. I read books about theology and sometimes about history. At present I am reading a book by a Spanish priest giving an assessment of Christ in the present day.

*Q: What are your plans when you stop being the Bishop of Dili?*

A: I want to go abroad to serve other nations, anywhere where I may be needed. Perhaps to China, Africa or Latin America. I want to contribute part of my life to other nations.

*Q: Would that be after conditions for the East Timorese people are better?*

A: After I am no longer required by the Holy Father to serve here. I have long wanted to become a missionary with another nation. That's if I am given the opportunity and long life by God.

*Q: Is that because you feel you don't fit in here?*

A: Up to now I have fitted in. But since I was a small boy, I have wanted to be a priest overseas, in China. I want to follow in the footsteps of Saint Fransiskus Xaverius, the Jesuit who went to China. His struggle has greatly impressed me. It was the story of this saint that made me decide to become a priest.

## TIMOR GAP SEISMIC WORK PAST MID-STAGE

*Financial Times, Thursday July 16 1992, Page 24. Full text.*

*By William Keeling In Jakarta*

Oil companies working in the Timor Gap have completed more than half their seismic programme agreed earlier this year and the first exploration well is scheduled for December.

Officials of the Australia-Indonesia Joint Authority for the Timor Gap Zone of Co-operation say over 26,000 km (16,000 miles) of seismic work has been completed since 11 contract areas were designated between December 1991 and last February.

The contracts committed companies to six-year exploration programmes worth \$362m, under which they must complete 52,100 km of seismic work and drill 45 exploration wells.

The Timor Gap is an offshore area of about 60,000 sq. km between Indonesia and Australia. A dispute between the two countries over rights to the area was resolved by a treaty of co-operation, which came into effect in February 1991.

The first well is to be drilled by the Australian subsidiary of Marathon Oil, a US-based company. A Marathon official said on Tuesday that a tender for a drilling vessel would be placed soon and a further four wells were scheduled for next year.

Marathon is leading a consortium of Santos and Korea Petroleum in two contract areas and is committed to a \$76m programme to drill 12 wells and conduct 10,000 km of seismic work. Other companies holding a stake in the contract areas include Shell, BP, Phillips and Enterprise Oil.

The acreage agreements provide for production to be shared equally between the Joint Authority and the contractor, after recovery costs, up to the first 50,000 barrels. The governments of Indonesia and Australia are equal partners in the joint authority.

Industry officials say the Timor Gap is a largely unknown territory for oil exploration. Only one well has previously been drilled in the area, 14 years ago, which found some gas and indicated the presence of hydrocarbons but not in commercial quantities.

## MORE TROOPS IN EAST TIMOR

*Pelita. Original language: Indonesian. 31 July 92. Dateline: Denpasar. Byline: Antara. Brief excerpts.*

*Remark: An earlier posting had reported a putative request from Xanana Gusmao for 'additional Portuguese aid.' Mantiri seems to dispute this. His breakdown of the number of territorial and combat battalions in East Timor seems to indicate combat battalions have yet to decrease as promised, while territorial battalions have markedly increased. In November 1991, Indonesian military sources reported 6 territorial and 4 combat battalions in East Timor. Mantiri's current figures are now 8 and 4, respectively. A 'kontak' probably means a 'minor clash' rather than a 'battle.' This bears on the nature of a reported major 'offensive' in East Timor.*

Military Area IX/Udayana Commander Maj. Gen. HBL Mantiri said armed contacts (kontak) between ABRI and the security disrupters in East Timor were still occurring, although only occasionally and because ABRI was active.

"They use various means to get assistance," said Maj. Gen. Mantiri, while adding, "As for supplies from abroad, I don't think so."

Regarding the dissolution of the East Timor Operations Execution Command (Kolakops) in association with his being replaced as Udayana Commander, Maj. Gen. Mantiri said the plan would still be carried out, but the decision rested with ABRI Headquarters.

"We will do it in stages. For example, now there are more territorial than combat battalions," said Maj. Gen. Mantiri. The proportion is 8 territorial battalions to 4 combat battalions.

Replying to a question on strategies, particularly the approach in East Timor, Maj. Gen. Mantiri said, "I continued the line of Pak Sintong" [Major General Sintong Panjaitan, removed by Soeharto after the November 12 massacre and now studying in the US].

## LBH TO OPEN DILI BRANCH OFFICE

*Jakarta Post 8 August 1992 Short news item abridged.*

The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) plans to open a branch office in East Timor in a bid to accelerate legal development there. Luhut Pangaribuan, an LBH senior lawyer who led the defence team for East Timorese who were tried in

Dili in connection with the Nov. 12 1992 bloody incident, told The Jakarta Post here this week that it was the right time to open a branch office in East Timor. "The province is left far behind in legal development compared to other provinces."

Local residents seem to warmly welcome the LBH plan. Maria da Costa, a civil servant said that the people here were badly in need of this kind of legal assistance. "East Timorese have been too weak to defend their rights."

PS Re Belo interview, Matra got access to Belo through a young priest (32) who had worked in East Timor, now based in Kupang. The editors on an earlier page separate from the article express their regret at not being able to carry all Belo's remarks. He himself told them if they printed everything, there would be repercussions on the magazine. So the interview leaves out some of the toughest remarks. Very seldom does an Indonesian magazine ever say that so explicitly.

### OFFENSIVE TO CAPTURE XANANA

Reuter, Sydney, Wilson da Silva, Aug. 11 - Rebels in East Timor have been locked in battle for the past two weeks with Indonesian troops who have launched a major offensive to capture rebel leader Xanana Gusmao, rebel sources in Australia said on Tuesday.

Fretilin and the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) rebel groups said their clandestine networks had in the last week reported intense battles, which Fretilin said had now moved to the Viqueque and Baucau regions of the island.

Fretilin organiser Alfredo Ferreira said that in a major battle in the Same region last week, seven guerrillas and 20 Indonesian soldiers were killed. The battle took place in the Aiburbur Laran jungles near Mount Cablaque, he said.

"It's a very big offensive. These operations are progressing now," he said from the northern Australian city of Darwin, 650 km (400 miles) southeast of East Timor.

"The Indonesians are trying to encircle them and push them toward the centre of Timor. It is arid there and living conditions are very difficult," Ferreira said by telephone.

In audio tapes recorded in July and other contacts filtering out of the former Portuguese colony, Gusmao appealed to the 15,000 Timorese in Australia and Portugal for more money, said UDT's Goncalo Pinto from Darwin.

Gusmao said in the tapes that he needed to equip another 1,000 guerrillas ahead of

the dry season offensive by Indonesia, which he had been expecting, Pinto said. That offensive now appears to have started, rebels said.

Gusmao is the leader of Falantil, the armed branch of an umbrella group that includes Fretilin, UDT and three other Timorese political groups.

The rebel officials said Indonesian troops were attempting to quash the Timorese rebels ahead of the September 1-6 summit in Jakarta of the Non-Aligned Movement, to be attended by 104 mostly Third World member nations.

### FOUR BIG INDONESIAN COMPANIES UNITE IN EAST TIMOR VENTURE

*Jakarta Post 11 August 1992 Dateline: Jakarta. Abridged*

Four private enterprises have set up PT Timorsemeta Bangunraya (PT Timorbang) to develop business activities in East Timor, an executive of the Matahari chain of department stores has announced.

"PT Timorbang will help the armed forces with its territorial operation, which has switched from a military to an economic and development approach to East Timor since 1989," said Hidayat.

Hidayat would act as president, Tanri Abeng of PT Bakrie and Brothers as chief commissioner, Hari Dharmawan of Matahari and Palangunadi T. Setiawan of PT Astra as commissioners and Philip Yusahana of PT Great River and Aminuddin of PT Astra would be the venture's directors.

A Memorandum of Understanding signed by 10 companies on 30 December 1990, pledging assistance to promote economic activities in East Timor bound the companies to initially invest Rp3bn (US\$1.5m).

Hidayat said the four companies, PT Astra Mitra Ventura, PT Bakrie & Brothers, PT Great River Industries and PT Puncak Matahari set up PT Timorbang in Jakarta on 27 July 1992, with an initial capital of Rp10bn (US\$4.9m). The other companies which signed the MOU still have to work out the legal aspects before they can participate, Hidayat said.

He declared that the company which would have its headquarters in Dili, with branches in Jakarta, Denpasar and Kupang, would function as a business incubator to work out ways to create job opportunities and promote economic activities. It will also train young people to become entrepreneurs.

"The company will, for example, establish a recreation park and retail center at

Mercado Park in Dili, where local handicraft makers can sell their products."

### SHIRLEY SHACKLETON AND THE CANBERRA JIGSAW

*Green Left Weekly Aug. 18, 1992*

*By Paula Nassif*

Her husband was killed in 1975. She was not told the truth of what had happened - not then and not now. She has spent much of 17 years piecing together the jigsaw of what happened to him, a jigsaw many would rather leave unsolved.

At 60, Shirley Shackleton feels only "frustration," "anger" and "almost total disbelief" at what she calls the "hypocrisy" of the Australian government.

"My husband was simply pushed aside as though he didn't exist. No kind of investigation was held. No-one in Indonesia was told to account for what they had done."

Greg Shackleton and four other journalists were killed in East Timor in 1975, shortly before the Indonesian invasion in December that year.

Shirley Shackleton met Greg while working as a publicity director at radio station 3AW in Melbourne. He was working in the news room at the time.

"He used to make me laugh and so we got married."

Soon after the couple were married in 1965, Greg had a terrible nightmare.

"He wouldn't tell me what the nightmare was, but he wanted a baby right away, so I stopped taking the pill, became pregnant, and Evan was born within the first year."

She then worked in public relations part-time, and when Evan was two and a half, the family went to America, where Greg had a job promoting Australian tourism.

When they returned to Australia two years later, Shirley supported her husband while he studied for his bachelor of arts degree.

"It was my idea for him to do that. I said I'm perfectly prepared to pay for all your fees and all your books." A trained nurse, she worked 12 hours a night in a Red Cross blood bank and paid a friend, Lucy, across the road to mind her son.

She picked her son up in the mornings, took him home, made his lunch, walked him to school, went home and went to sleep, got up at 3 and picked her son up, took him to Lucy's, read him a bedtime story and put him to bed, got back to the blood bank and started work again.

"It was very tough work, but it was worth it because my husband was happy and he was doing something for our future."

Because Greg could both read and write the news, Shirley knew he was "rare." He read the 6 o'clock and 11 o'clock news at Channel 7, and had a program, Meet the Press, on Sunday nights.

"After 10-20 years of that he would have gone into teaching. It never occurred to me he would get killed on assignment because he was so academic."

The Channel 7 news room was receiving "frantic calls" from East Timor saying the country was being raided, people were being shot, and villages were being set alight by the Indonesian military.

"My husband felt if in fact a military dictatorship was about to move that close to Australia, we had better know about it, and that's why he went."

Shirley's initial reaction was that she did not want her husband going into such a dangerous situation. However, he told her he would be extra careful. The real worry was if he was taken prisoner, because he was asthmatic.

"He said, 'I'd probably die - can you imagine an Indonesian prison?' He said I was to do anything - sell the house, anything - to get him out."

Shirley does not know the exact day in October 1975 that her husband disappeared, only that it was about 10 days after he went into Timor. She heard the tail end of an ABC radio report saying some journalists were missing there.

"I immediately got this terrible cold feeling, this terrible fear that it was Greg, and I rang the ABC. The fellow there wasn't too happy about it, because he said the family would have been told. And I said, 'I am the family,' and he said, 'I don't believe it, the government wouldn't have allowed you to just hear this on the radio.' And I said, 'Well I'm the wife of one of them.' I said, 'Was it Greg Shackleton?' And he said, 'I really can't discuss it.'"

It was six in the morning, and there was no-one she could ring or ask for help at that time. As she waited, she became convinced that it was Greg.

"The Timorese were saying they were probably killed by Indonesians, but the Indonesians were saying, we've got no interest in East Timor. But Indonesia in fact was definitely interested in East Timor, and that's why he was killed, to shut him up."

Shirley then received a telegram from an Australian doctor in Jakarta, who had been asked to examine the remains of the five journalists. The most this doctor said was that the remains 'might' be human.

"So I know what he was given to identify by the Indonesians was so minimal, so useless, that he could not even identify it as human. I'd say he knew, he was perfectly aware of the cover-up that was going on,

and he just decided he could not be party to it."

When Shirley did get a call from Foreign Affairs (coincidentally the same day she received the telegram from the doctor), she was told she had to pay for the bodies if she wanted them. She believed the department was trying to frighten her at the thought of five coffins.

"I said, 'Are these bodies in five coffins?' There was a long silence, and he said, 'Well, no.'

"I said, 'Are they crammed into one coffin?' And he said, 'Well, no.'

"I said, 'Will they fit into a suitcase, or a shoe box?' And I said, 'I'll read you what I've got in my hand.'"

She read the telegram the doctor had sent her. "So that means the remains of the five journalists you're threatening to charge me to bring home would fit into a matchbox and they could come in the pilot's pocket." I said, 'I'll tell you one thing, my husband was human; therefore I won't be going to the airport to collect that,' and I slammed the phone down."

Today, Shirley regrets she did not insist on the remains being brought to Australia and subjected to forensic examination.

Greg had been on dangerous assignments before, but she had not worried their son, Evan, by telling him about them. This time she had no choice.

When she sent her son to school that day, she assumed no-one would say anything to him. She was outraged when Evan told her what the children had said: "Ding dong, your dad's dead. King Kong bashed his head."

She told him Greg had been killed 4-5 days earlier, and it had been a quick death. However, she did not believe it was a quick death.

"I know how they kill Timorese with short knives. They attack them sexually, then string them up by their feet upside down, and they stab them with their short knives so that they begin to bleed profusely. Then they cut their mouths in such a way so while they're upside down, they look as if they're smiling and they virtually either suffocate or bleed to death.

"I suspect that is what happened to those journalists and because it was so horrific, people in the Australian government who know, and who I know are only interested in aid or trade with Indonesia, don't want it ever to come out."

Over the past 17 years, Shirley has sought to understand what happened to her husband by understanding what was happening in Timor.

For years she has written articles for newspapers, letters to editors and given interviews to the media in an attempt to

broaden the public's knowledge of what is happening in East Timor.

Her participation in the effort of the Lusitania Expresso to go to Dili was a sign of her dedication to the freedom of the East Timorese people.

Shirley has done everything she legally can to find out about her husband's death. After the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili last November, she wrote to foreign minister Gareth Evans and asked him to reopen the inquiry into her husband while he was in Indonesia. She received no reply.

In 1989 she went to East Timor for three weeks when Pope John Paul II was there. She went because she was told it would be a safe period. This was not quite the case.

"Even though the military operations were scaled down, and even though the intelligence department was virtually not operating, there was an enormous number of Indonesian military there."

She met an Indonesian soldier there, who told her how the journalists were killed - with short knives.

"And I said, 'Why did the Indonesians say they were shot?' He said, 'Because it's acceptable to Westerners.' So the whole thing has been a lie and a cover-up and a sham right from the beginning."

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## REPORT ON RECENT TRIP TO EAST TIMOR

*Matthew Jardine, East Timor Action Network/U.S. Aug. 19 1992*

Here is a "report" of sorts on my recent trip to East Timor. I apologize for taking so long in getting it to you (as usual, it took longer than expected) as well as for its stream of consciousness nature.

I just got back from three weeks in East Timor on Sunday, 9 August. My impressions of the situation in East Timor and some specifics in terms of human rights and the military follow.

Arriving at Comoro Airport in Dili, I was extremely nervous. Being someone who has done a good deal of reading on East Timor, I can't say that I was expecting some sort of tropical paradise. Subconsciously I somehow expected the grim reaper to be at the airport to greet me. I just "knew" that state security was waiting for me to deport me back to the US.

As the plane pulled up to the steps, a few military officer types approached the plane. Accompanying them was a photographer (who appeared to be East Timorese). As each Westerner descended the steps, our friend the photographer snapped her/his picture. (I learned from other Westerners that the same person greets every ferry that arrives in Dili from Kupang or the outer



islands). Despite my fears, there were no problems at the airport. My baggage (and anyone else's that I saw) was not even searched.

My prearrival image of Dili was that of a city of darkness. However, Dili, in many ways, is a very attractive city especially along the waterfront. The city has a much more relaxed feel (on a superficial level) than other places that I have visited within the Indonesian sphere of influence.

You cannot help but notice the ubiquitous military presence. Arriving two days before "Integration Day," there were a lot of troops hanging around the Office of the Governor. Most of them were standing in some sort of formation as practice for the upcoming, gala celebrations for "Hari Integrasi."

Integration Day was a rather boring affair. The "celebration" lasted for a couple of days. (The next evening a rock group and others were brought in from Jakarta to entertain the masses. The event was sponsored and organized by the military part of their hearts and minds campaign.) The speeches during the ceremony, which took place at the Governor's Office (beginning at 9am) were barely audible. The high point of the morning was supposedly the arrival of Home Minister Rudini.

That morning, I was out in Dili about 5:45am. On almost every corner there was either a police officer or an ABRI soldier. The authorities were clearly worried about potential demonstrations that might ruin all the fun.

The previous evening, while walking back to my hotel (about 7pm), I ran into a heavily armed (M16's) street patrol of about 8 soldiers. One of them was someone I had met the previous day. Like most Indonesians, he was very friendly. Thinking that the patrolling might be a preventative measure for Integration Day, I asked him if such patrols were normal. He told me that they were ("biasa").

During my time in Dili, I did see a couple of other night patrols. My impression is that they are not a very frequent occurrence (as it is rare that you see one). Dili is no longer under the curfew that it was following Santa Cruz. "Downtown" Dili is full of activity during the early evening. By 9pm, however, it is virtually deserted.

A few East Timorese told me that they were afraid to walk around at night in Dili. No one mentioned the name "ninja"; rather, they spoke of ABRI soldiers or of East Timorese collaborators paid by the Indonesians to rough up certain individuals. My impression is that the violence is both random (any male they encounter is fair game) and target specific.

Throughout East Timor, in general, controls on movement from one area of the country to another have been relaxed since the weeks following Santa Cruz. After the massacre, for example, there were 14 ABRI checkpoints on the road from Dili to Alieu (a distance of 47 km); now there is only one.

At every entrance/exit to/from Dili you have to pass through a checkpoint. Usually (but not always) everyone's ID is checked. Most of the time, I was given absolutely no problem. A couple of times, though, I was seriously questioned: Why did I want to go to X?; With whom was I going to speak?; Did I have any contacts in X?; etc.

Of course, every time you go to a town (outside of Dili), you have to check in and register with the police. Usually, this was simply a bureaucratic process. Sometimes, I would be questioned. It seems that the level of control and suspicion really depended on whom was working at the particular security installation at the time. There was no rhyme or reason to my being "bothered." In areas that were relatively quiet (politically and militarily) is where I had some of the greatest difficulties.

Throughout the country, a number of different people told me that it is more difficult now (after Santa Cruz) than before for there to be contact between Falintil and the general populace. Many told me that many of the soldiers who used to be in the towns (such as Maubisse) are now up in the mountains both as a tactic to prevent contact between the people and the armed resistance and to step up the pressure on Falintil.

On my second day in Dili, I stopped by the Turismo and ran into a guy I shared a cab with from the airport. He was a Dutch citizen who was originally from the Moluccas. He was in Dili to visit his cousin (also from the Moluccas) who worked as a taxi driver. The previous night he and the rest of his family had visited his cousin's home. My friend had just learned that after their departure that his cousin was visited by Intel inquiring as to why they had visited.

What struck me about this episode was the fact that even Indonesians were under suspicion by the authorities within East Timor. One can imagine what would have happened had the cousin been East Timorese.

Often it is obvious who is Indonesian and who is East Timorese; sometimes it is not. Obviously, ET has its own history of ethnic heterogeneity, but to a certain extent one can often establish (based on physical characteristics) who is East Timorese. (The best way to know is to ask their name.) In any case, you have to be careful in approaching people. Sometimes people who

appear to be East Timorese are actually from places like West Timor, Flores, or Lombok.

While in East Timor, I was constantly warned by local people to be very careful with whom I spoke. A person with the Catholic Church advised me to "trust no one." On one level, you feel that you can trust anyone who is East Timorese (and for the most part this is a correct assessment). However, there are a number of paid East Timorese informants who, for monetary reasons and/or coercion and fear, work for the Indonesians.

Often it is obvious who is working for intelligence. One day I went to Ermera, an East Timorese "teacher" followed me around most of the day. Luciano kept on popping up wherever I was. When I tried to take his picture, he strongly refused.

An East Timorese friend had told me that the best way to tell an East Timorese informant was to look at their shoes. If they had nice shoes on that usually meant that they had an extra source of income i.e., intelligence (teachers are paid very low salaries in Indonesia). That afternoon, I went to mass at a Catholic church in Ermera. Luciano was there. He had very nice shoes on.

Often it is public knowledge who is working for intelligence. More than once when I was talking to someone in a public place and a crowd would gather around just to look at a foreigner, the person with whom I was speaking would all of a sudden depart whispering that a spy was present.

The worst thing about being in East Timor is that you are constantly paranoid. There are times that you are followed and other times when a "friend" asks far too many questions. It is clear, especially in Dili, that many people are very afraid to even talk to you.

Although rare, it did happen a few times that people crossed the street when they saw me in order to avoid contact with a foreigner (guilt by association). Far more common was for people to completely avoid eye contact with me when I passed. It was very curious to see how much more friendly people became in Dili as evening approached and they thus became more difficult to see.

The paranoia means that you are constantly in doubt as to whom you can and should trust. Privately, I was constantly questioning peoples' characters and motives. In some ways, it is a survival strategy; in other ways, it is self-destructive.

This paranoia was reinforced by my friend the photographer showing up at various eating establishments on a number of occasions while I just happened to be there.

Twice he came my hotel apparently just to socialize with the proprietors.

One night, someone stood outside my "wisma" (cheap hotel) window for a couple of hours peering through a little hole in the window as I lied in bed. Needless to say, it was pretty scary as I had no idea as to what to do. The next morning I left Dili for the outlying areas.

Two days previous to that incident, I was in a district capital not far from Dili when, after only 30 minutes in town, an East Timorese Intel agent came looking for me. The military commandante of the district wanted to talk to me. One of the people with whom I was speaking at the time was asked (via walkie-talkie) by the commandante if I was a journalist.

When I arrived at his home, the commandante told me that was nothing to worry about, he simply wanted to "welcome me" to town. We were later joined by the chief of police, a man in his fifties who proudly flexed his biceps for me in order to show me his youthful vigor.

The commandante spoke English very well; he had studied it at Fort Benning, Georgia, USA. The commandante and the chief asked me subtle questions like what did I know about Santa Cruz?; why, among all the great places in Indonesia, did I choose to come to Timor?; how did the "reality" of East Timor compare with picture presented in the outside world? I did my best to sound like a very ignorant American tourist. I doubt I fooled anyone.

Before our 1 and 1/2 hour meeting ended (complete with soda and nuts), my friend informed me that it was "impossible" to find a human rights violation in East Timor. These were just stories broadcast by the Australians. When I asked why he thought that the Australians would report things that were not true, he replied that he just didn't know. Before departing, the commandante invited me to play tennis with him (at the ABRI court on the main road); I graciously declined.

(I didn't spend the night in the town. Despite the tourist's brochure's stating that a government hostel was there, there was no place to stay. The commandante invited me to spend the night in the post office, but given what had already transpired I decided to go somewhere else.)

One thing that certainly made an impression on me is the scale of the Indonesian presence in East Timor. It is one thing to read about; it is quite another thing (at least for me) to see it. The CNRM estimates that there are 100,000 Indonesians in East Timor.

I am aware that there are those who feel that this is a grossly exaggerated figure. I am not in a position to offer precise numbers,

but I can say that I find the figure possibly credible based on what I saw. At the very least, the Indonesians number in the mid-high tens of thousands. I was constantly meeting Indonesians who had recently arrived in East Timor either because they had a relative who had a job for them or because their relative said that they could help them find a job. As many East Timorese said to me, "All of Indonesia is here."

There is clearly a lot of resentment of the Indonesian control of the economy and the high levels of urban unemployment especially among young people. Surely this resentment informs (Carrascalao isn't completely wrong in this respect) people's political stances. However, to argue, as the Indonesians often do, that if they just create more jobs for the East Timorese that the anti-Indonesia sentiments will disappear is ridiculous. The Indonesian control of the economy will certainly play a role in giving a class warfare dimension (rather than simply an anti-occupation sentiment) to East Timorese nationalism.

Reports that the Indonesians are planning to greatly reduce the number of combat troops in September seem to be premature. Talking to people "in the know," they say that there is no evidence that combat troops are getting prepared to leave. There were (at least) a couple of boatfuls of soldiers that did arrive in Dili while I was there. I have no idea if they were combat or territorial troops. In any case, throughout the country (East Timor) you constantly see truckloads of troops on the move.

#### **A few pieces of info:**

On Saturday, 25 July, I was in Viqueque. I was informed by a young man there that the International Committee of the Red Cross had been there on the previous day regarding 7 young men who were being held (they had been captured 2 weeks before ostensibly for engaging in political activity). (Before going to Viqueque, someone in the Baucau underground had informed me that 7 of their people had recently been captured in Viqueque). Six were of SMA age and the seventh was a little older. The Red Cross was able to secure their release. However, during their detention, they had apparently been badly beaten. The young man told me that their "faces were black." They had not been cut or anything similar to that.

On 27 July, I was informed by a Catholic priest in Dili that a young man had recently been captured by the police in Ainaro ("politik"). He was being held incommunicado. The priest said that it was feared that he was being badly beaten.

ON 1 August, a prominent individual in the Clandestine Front in Dili informed that

he had recently received word from an ET university professor from Viqueque that during the period of 27, 28, & 29 July, 50 young people ("students") had been captured in Viqueque. He also informed me that 2 weeks previous to our conversation, about 60 people had been captured in Dili; they are being held in the POLRES in the Comoro section of Dili. He felt that this was all part of the aftermath of Santa Cruz.

A few days before that a friend of mine in Dili had told me that an Indonesian ABRI officer who is his neighbor told him that the military had big plans to soon round up all young people who had anything to do with the Motael and Santa Cruz. He wasn't able to communicate anything more specific than that.

Regarding what was going on before the Portuguese delegation was due to come to East Timor, someone in the Church in the Baucau region told me that a number of people told him/her that they were informed by military authorities that they would be paid Rp 20,000 if they reported anyone who spoke with the Portuguese; if they shot anyone who spoke with the Portuguese they would receive Rp 200,000. Before the delegation was due to arrive, a number of the homes of the clergy in the area were searched by the military.

Regarding the land question and the changing of the tenure system from a Portuguese one to an Indonesian one, I was not able to find out a lot. In some regions, the program has reportedly not yet begun. In other regions, there were no reported problems (where the switchover had already begun). However, in one particular region, I was informed that, because the liurai was bought and paid for by the Indonesians, it was "common" that people who owned land communally were being stripped of their land. Often the people do not speak Indonesian and/or are afraid and are therefore not able to pursue the matter.

Another problem is that, because of the poverty, a number of people are simply selling their land to Indonesian speculators or farmers. I heard this from someone from the Church in an area with good soil quality. Clearly, as foreshadowed in the "Inside Indonesia" article, this is an area to watch out for. My impression (from also talking to others) is that what will happen in terms of communal land will depend (to a certain extent) on the nature of the local liurai.

I spent 2 days in Oecussi. Oecussi (now Ambeno) is a lot smaller than I thought. Pante Macassar, the principal town, is tiny, considerably smaller than 10,000 inhabitants in the town and the surrounding area.

Oecussi certainly feels different from the rest of East Timor. You do not get the feeling that you are in an occupied country.

The military presence is paltry (more comparable to West Timor than to East Timor). It is clear that the Indonesians don't perceive any sort of military threat in the area. The quality of the road is quite poor (in comparison to what you see in ET proper).

Although I know from Falintil documents that I have seen and from talking to people in the underground that there is a small Falintil presence there and that underground organizations exist, I saw no evidence of it. In fact, compared to East Timor proper, there was little obvious evidence of dissent.

Based on the few people with whom I spoke, it appears that Jakarta has been far more successful (which isn't saying much) in building an Indonesian identity among the young people in Oecussi than in other parts of ET. An older woman (sympathetic to the independence movement) with whom I spoke told me that there was probably a 50/50 split between the pro-Indonesia and pro independence people of Oecussi.

I am really not in a position to say much more about Oecussi. I wish I knew a little more about the area. According to what people told me there, there was no Fretilin presence there when the Indonesians invaded and therefore they do not have the experience of mass killings and resistance. Of course, many people have family in East Timor proper so, even if this is true, they have not been immune from the slaughter.

Certainly, as a few people remarked to me, Oecussi has a different experience. Surrounded by Indonesia, they've had to always have a certain level of conviviality with their neighbors to an extent that wasn't imperative in the other sections of ET. Their big town is Kefamananu in West Timor. These factors most probably had an effect on the way they perceive(d) themselves and thus on their political behavior.

Perhaps, what I have said on Oecussi is not very accurate. These are just my superficial impressions. I would have liked to have stayed there for a couple more days, but decided against it after a couple of young police officers visited me at my lodgings (they appeared to just be strolling around the area). Perhaps they were just being friendly, but (being at the end of my trip and with some incriminating materials in my possession) I didn't want to take any chances. If anyone has any info on Oecussi (historical or otherwise), I'd love to hear about it.

One last thing, the resistance continues in many forms. The underground was certainly hard hit by Santa Cruz and the aftermath, but they appear to have regrouped and are currently in a process of reflection and self-criticism. The effectiveness of the underground network became evident to me when I saw a letter from Xanana Gusmao

dated 24 April 1992 to the various groups of Falintil and the Clandestine Front. In the letter, Xanana asked a series of questions and asked for replies (from all 13 regencies) by the 30th of April. I also saw the replies. Given the difficult social and physical obstacles preventing communication, this is quite amazing.

There is so much more I could say. I've tried to provide you with some interesting anecdotes, some of my impressions, and a weak attempt at some analysis. I again apologize for the convoluted nature of what I have written. If you have any questions about things that I have written or that I have neglected to mention, please do not hesitate to contact me.

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## EAST TIMOR: INDONESIA'S KILLING FIELDS

*By Matthew Jardine, ETAN/LA. Do not reprint without the author's permission.*

It took a long time before Rosa would even talk to the nuns. The nuns were having great difficulty getting Rosa to understand the Christian concept of forgiveness. Finally Rosa opened up and told them why she could not forgive her enemy.

Around 2 or 3 years ago, the Indonesian military came and took away Rosa's brother, accusing him of ties to the resistance. Too afraid to even inquire about his whereabouts, the family had no idea where he had been taken or if he was even alive. About one month later, the army returned to Rosa's home with a bag. Inside was her brother's head.

Today Rosa is a teenager living in Dili, the capital of East Timor. She is one of the countless East Timorese whose family members have been killed by the Indonesian military. Her story was told to this writer by a Catholic nun on a recent trip to East Timor.

Despite Indonesian claims that East Timor is just another province of the Republic, it is clear to even the casual visitor to East Timor that it is very different from other places in the Indonesian archipelago.

From the moment you get off the plane in Dili and your picture is taken by someone from the state intelligence apparatus, you feel as if you are in an occupied country. The military presence is pervasive. In Dili alone (a city of about 100,000), there are 31 military commando posts.

A former Portuguese colony 400 miles north of Darwin, Australia, East Timor's political geography is the result of the struggle between Portugal and the Netherlands for the global spice trade. The western half of the island of Timor was part of the Dutch East Indies and, as such, be-

came part of the Republic of Indonesia following decolonization.

Following the fall of the military dictatorship in Portugal in 1974, Portugal began the process of decolonization in its overseas territories such as East Timor. After a brief civil war (during which the Portuguese administrators fled the island), the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) emerged victorious and began the process of setting up a national government.

A few months later, in the face of growing threats from Indonesia in the form of menacing rhetoric and military incursions from West Timor, FRETILIN formally declared independence. One week later, Indonesia launched a full-scale invasion.

Since the Indonesian invasion of December 1975, it is estimated by a variety of human rights authorities that over 200,000 East Timorese almost one third of the 1975 population have died as a direct result of the invasion, the ongoing occupation and politically-created famine.

From 1975 until 1989, East Timor was closed to the outside world by the Indonesian authorities. The few reports that did come out of East Timor painted a picture of incredible repression and human suffering. However, the silence of most Western governments and a largely complicit mainstream press meant that most people had never even heard of East Timor.

It took the presence of a handful of Western journalists at last year's Santa Cruz Massacre to bring the plight of East Timor back to the world's attention. On 12 November 1991, during a memorial march in Dili for a pro-independence activist killed by the Indonesian military, the Indonesian army fired upon thousands of mourners at Santa Cruz Cemetery killing upwards of 200 defenseless East Timorese.

World reaction to the photos and video of the massacre smuggled out of Dili was one of outrage. Resolutions in the European Parliament and the U.S. Congress quickly condemned Indonesia. Countries such as Denmark and Canada announced that they were suspending aid. Newspapers throughout the West editorialized in favor of East Timorese self-determination.

Indonesia, however, has handled the public opinion dilemma quite adeptly. With the help of Washington, D.C. public relations firm Hill & Knowlton, Jakarta has successfully presented the Santa Cruz "incident" as a breach of military discipline rather than as part and parcel of an occupation declared as illegal by the United Nations.

By sentencing a few low-ranking soldiers to prison terms of not more than 18 months and relieving a few military commanders of

their duties in East Timor (2 are being sent to the US for university study), President Suharto has effectively staved off Western governments.

(In comparison to the light military sentences, individuals who participated in the Santa Cruz march and a demonstration in Jakarta to protest the massacre received sentences ranging from 5 years to life imprisonment.)

In the 9 months since the Santa Cruz Massacre, business between Indonesia and the West has largely returned to normal. Canada has resumed its bilateral assistance and most Western governments such as the US have accepted Jakarta's regrets and subsequent actions as sufficient.

Meeting in Paris in mid-July, the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), a World Bank, chaired consortium of donor countries to Indonesia mostly wealthy capitalist countries within the OECD pledged approximately US\$5 billion in aid for FY 1992/93.

Many human rights activists have decried the West's acceptance of Jakarta's reforms in reaction to the Santa Cruz massacre. As Liem Soei Liong of Tapol, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign (UK), stated in his recent testimony to the UN Decolonization Committee: "The massacre in Santa Cruz was not an "incident," as the Indonesian authorities claim, but part of a history of mass killings in East Timor."

Critics charge that the human rights of the East Timorese are being sold for the great profits that multinationals are able to reap in Indonesia the 4th most populous country in the world. The charge is not without substantial foundation.

In 1976, for example, a US State Department official explained why the US condoned the Indonesian invasion of East Timor by saying: "(T)he United States wants to keep its relations with Indonesia close and friendly. We regard Indonesia as a friendly, nonaligned nation a nation we do a lot of business with."

Despite attempts by Jakarta and its allies to divert attention away from the issue of East Timor, the Santa Cruz Massacre has served to heighten media and governmental attention and to create both a new awareness of Indonesia's occupation as well as to revitalize a once strong international solidarity movement for East Timor. There's increasing public pressure on politicians to take steps to resolve the East Timor situation.

In the US, Congressman Tony Hall (D Indiana) with bipartisan support has introduced H.R. 5176. If passed, the bill would terminate all US assistance (economic and military) to Indonesia until Jakarta complies with all UN resolutions calling for an its

withdrawal and a UN-supervised referendum on self-determination to take place in East Timor.

In July, the US House of Representatives unanimously approved an amendment to an appropriation bill for 1993 (HR 5368) that would end International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds for Indonesia. The bill will be voted on by the Senate in September.

While the House vote marks a temporary victory for East Timor activists, the pro-Jakarta forces are beginning to organize as well. A 21 July 1992 letter from the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce urges its members to oppose any attempt to cut off aid to Indonesia.

While the situation in East Timor today is apparently less tense than in the weeks following Santa Cruz, the repression continues. Sources in the East Timorese underground report that approximately 110 young people were rounded up by the military in Dili and Viqueque in mid-late July as part of an ongoing attempt to destroy all independence activity.

According to José Ramos Horta of the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRM) in Lisbon, the Indonesian military is in the process of beginning a huge military offensive against the small pro-independence Falintil guerrilla army.

East Timor observers feel that the offensive is an attempt to capture Xanana Gusmao, the elusive guerrilla leader, before the beginning of the Non-Aligned Movement summit meeting to take place in Jakarta in early September.

The East Timorese place their hopes for self-determination in the West. As one leader of the resistance put it, "Politically, we have won. However, it is a question of force something we do not have." It is clear to most East Timorese with whom I spoke that their fate lies, barring radical changes in Jakarta, in Washington, London, and Tokyo.

What happens in places such as the US Congress and the Japanese Diet is sure to have an effect on Indonesia's conduct toward East Timor. However, given the massive Indonesian presence in East Timor and the amount of money they have invested there, it will take much more than condemnations and threats on the part of Western governments before experiences such as that of Rosa become a thing of the past.

Matthew Jardine works with the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles. For more information, contact ETAN/US.

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## TIMORESE SCHOLARS WRITE SOEHARTO

*Jakarta Post. Original language: English. 13 Aug. 92. Dateline: Dili. Brief excerpts.*

East Timor academics have sent a letter of concern on the current social and political conditions to the provincial legislative council (DPRD), a copy of which was sent to President Soeharto, two of the 45 signers, Alexandre Magno Ximenes and Mateus Maja said here yesterday.

The letter signers are all East Timorese working for government institutions in East Timor. The letter said the most important problems to be solved were the international acknowledgment of East Timor and unemployment among educated people.

The academics said the poor socio-political condition in East Timor should be dealt with soon, and a good leader was required for the purpose.

They expressed concern with the inability of Golkar in improving the socio-political situation in the province. They said the public had been deeply dissatisfied with distortions and errors in the implementation of development.

The academics forwarded five names for the position of the new governor. A Golkar source said it had three nominees. The Armed Forces faction of the DPRD said it had seven nominees, including Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, the current East Timor military field commander. PDI and PPP factions have said they do not have a single nominee.

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## ABRI ADMITS INDONESIAN CASUALTIES IN EAST TIMOR

*Jakarta Post 2 Sept. News brief headed, Across the Archipelago. Unabridged*

*More evidence that an offensive against FALINTIL is under way. Evidence too of how the operation is being downplayed, yet impossible for the media to ignore. It is rare for the military to make known its own casualties. One must assume that ABRI losses were much higher than stated.*

### ABRI-FRETILIN CONTACT KILLS TWO

(Dili) The Indonesian Armed Forces has reportedly been involved in another armed contact with the Fretilin rebel movement, killing two soldiers.

Military sources here said yesterday that ABRI troops got involved in a shoot-out with Fretilin rebels Saturday in Vemasse, Baucau regency, some 70 kms east of here.

The sources said two ABRI members were killed in the battle. Fretilin casualties were not reported.

The military has intensified its operation over the past few months to uproot the remaining Fretilin members hiding in the province's thick forests. Many Fretilin members have surrendered and a number killed during the operation. Several ABRI troops have also been killed.

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### MANY ARRESTS IN EAST TIMOR

*It is not yet possible to assess news that actions were planned either in Jakarta or Dili during the Non-Aligned Conference. But the following news items show that the military were taking no chances.*

*Information received in the last few days by TAPOL indicates that there have been many arrests in the last few months.*

*Jawa Pos, 2 September 1992 Story-type: Two short paragraphs at the end of an item about choosing E Timor's new governor.*

*Language: Indonesian*

Two senior officers of the Dili operational military command, Kolakops, Intel. Assistant Let.Col. Y. Supit and Assistant for Social-Political Affairs, Let.Col. Suadi Atma, would not make any comment when asked about several young men being interrogated after it was known that they were about to leave Dili. These youths had reportedly prepared foreign (language) posters and banners. After they were interrogated and the goods were confiscated, the men were released.

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### URGENT PLEA FROM EAST TIMOR

*The following letter has been received by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign (translated from the Portuguese):*

To the Directors of International Human Rights Institutions in Australia, America, Europe and Africa:

Dear Sirs, We are young people from East Timor who have been able to escape from Timor and who are hiding in Javanese territory. Through this letter, we would like to ask you to exert pressure to guarantee our security and that of our families and colleagues and people in general in East Timor who are at risk, who are threatened and constantly being followed and imprisoned as a result of [lit: in the claws of] the difficult situation perpetrated by the Indonesian military in our native land. We can do no more than ask for protection from God and from you.

Our colleague, Agostinho Pereira (Mau Laku) also intended to escape but was captured at the airport in Dili. He was carrying letters from our families and some in-

formation about human rights violations in East Timor. He was savagely beaten while he was still in the airport until blood was coming out of his ears. In his harsh interrogation, he was forced to reveal details which included the fact that we had escaped to Jakarta.

Dear Sirs, during this last week, tens of young students and civilians have been taken to prison and up till now the whereabouts of some of them are not known. In Ainaro, Liquisa, Baucau, Viqueque and Lospalos, hundreds of people have been taken prisoner and brutally tortured. We accept all this because it is one consequence of the struggle, the isolated struggle of the East Timorese people. On the other hand, we need the solidarity of the international community and your organisations in terms of the humanitarian aspects. Today, the Red Cross is not carrying out much of its specific mission; its activities are very limited in accordance with its agreement with the Jakarta government. [Lit: "They report [lit: do] what they see, but they do not speak about what they see and they do not interfere."]

For this reason, once again, we ask you to put pressure on Indonesia to ensure the vital security of all those who are hounded, imprisoned, threatened and the security of our families and the general population.

We are prepared for "political exile" if our brothers in East Timor are not freed immediately. We appeal to you to disseminate our letter through Radio Australia, the BBC Portugal, America etc so as to attract the attention of the world.

With great sadness, we send greetings to you and to all the leaders of our resistance movement in the diplomatic arena.

Java, 5 September 1992

Yours Sincerely  
Filipe R. Pereira  
José Manuel de Sousa  
Clementino F. Oliveira  
Nelson A. Baptista  
Ventura V. Conceicao  
Mateus Brito Ximenez  
Profirio da C. Oliveira

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### SIX FRETELIN MEMBERS CAPTURED

*Jakarta Post 10 September 1992 Unabridged*

"The military captured six members of the Fretilin rebel movement earlier this week.

"Five of the separatists seeking independence for East Timor were captured in Dili and one in Ainaro, about 80 km south of the provincial capital.

"The five rebels in Dili were captured early Monday when they were preparing for a demonstration there to coincide with the 10th Non Aligned Movement Summit held Sept. 1 - Sept. 6 in Jakarta. One rebel managed to escape the raid, the source said.

"Sources at the military headquarters said that the rebels planned to organise a demonstration to show the world that the movement was still strong and active.

"The military had confiscated five rifles and radios.

"The security authorities have questioned the owner of the house where the separatists were captured. The house has been put under close surveillance.

"The sources said the sixth Fretilin member was captured by security guards in Ainaro as he came out of the forest there."

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### SECURITY TIGHT IN EAST TIMOR DURING NAM SUMMIT

*Jakarta Post, 11 September 1992 Unabridged*

The army officer responsible for security in East Timor says tight security enforced in the province in recent weeks was intended to prevent demonstrations during last week's Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit.

Brigadier Gen. Theo Syafei, the East Timor Field Military commander, spoke after attending the election of the new East Timor governor at the provincial legislative council.

Security in the province remains tight despite the conclusion of the Summit in Jakarta. In Dili, many people could not travel outside the city because they were unable to show their identification cards at the check points on the outskirts. Similar incidents occurred at Manatuto, 63 km east of Dili, where soldiers asked for ID cards before people could enter the town.

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## PORTUGUESE JOURNALISTS NOT ALLOWED TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

Although the *Jakarta weekly*, Editor, in its issue of 12 September quoted four Portuguese journalists - Rui Araujo and Godofre do Guedos from Portuguese RTP-TV, Pedro Cabral Adao from Radio Renascenca and Mascarenhas from Dairio Noticias - who were in Jakarta to cover the Non-Aligned Conference, as saying they had been given permission to visit East Timor, they were not in fact allowed to go, as reported in *Jakarta Post* on 12 September. (Editor went to press several days earlier than publishing day.) Editor had quoted Armed Forces Head of Information, Brig.Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, as saying: "As Indonesia is now the host of the Non-Aligned Summit which is an international event, there are no restrictions (for the four journalists)."

The Editor report made much of the Indonesian government's unprecedented decision to allow the journalists to visit Indonesia, comparing it with Portugal's refusal to allow some Indonesian journalists to visit Portugal. The contrast in tone between this report and the *Jakarta Post* report below is striking.

### PORTUGUESE REPORTERS CANCEL MEETING WITH EAST TIMORESE

*Jakarta Post*, 12 September 1992 Abridged

East Timorese public figures and students in Jakarta are disappointed with the cancellation by Portuguese journalists of a meeting scheduled between the two groups.

Clementino dos Reis Amaral, a member of the DPR, said: "They chose to have the meeting on Thursday at noon but cancelled it in the morning." They said they had to pack before leaving Indonesia.

Amaral said the East Timorese in Jakarta wanted to have a meeting to give them information on the current situation in the province. "They don't respect East Timorese public figures, let alone the East Timor people," Amaral said.

In East Timor, the chairman of the Provincial Council and the top military officer said yesterday they agreed with coordinating Minister for Security Affairs Sudomo's decision barring the journalists from visiting the province. Council chairman Parada said a visit by the journalists would not make things any clearer for the Portuguese government.

Brig.Gen Theo Syafei, the commander of the East Timor military command, also

disagreed with the visit, saying it would only cause unrest among the people.

Parada said even though the journalists stated they would write accurately about East Timor, they would surely defend their country's views back in Portugal. "Even though they have read a lot about East Timor, I am convinced that they do not understand the wish of the East Timor people to integrate," he said.

*It is not difficult to guess that the journalists cancelled this meeting on hearing that they would not after all be allowed to visit East Timor.*

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## SIX BATTALIONS CONTROL DILI

*TAPOL*, 23 Sept 1992. Protected source

The army, under Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei, is exerting all efforts to keep a tight lid on East Timor, reacting to events like the non-aligned summit earlier this month as potential triggers for protest and demonstrations. Well-informed sources say that six army battalions are now concentrated on trying to maintain security in Dili alone. Four are battalions from Kostrad, the army's strategic command, including two airborne Linud battalions. The other two are battalions on regular, territorial duty in the capital.

More arrests have been reported in East Timor. On 9 August, 17 people were arrested in Viqueque and transferred to Laclubar, Kairui and Laclor for detention. Subsequently four were released but the other 13 are still in detention. They are accused of supporting the pro-independence resistance. One person in the group who has been identified by name is Mario Miranda.

On 13 Sep., the younger brother of Mario, Rui Miranda, was also arrested in Baucau.

It is also reported that the military are making extensive preparations to round up large numbers of young East Timorese and lock them away during the forthcoming visit to East Timor of a delegation of Australian MPs due to take place in October. [We have not heard independently that such a visit is in preparation.]

Our source reiterates that the level of tension in East Timor is extremely high at present. The security forces have mounted guards around school buildings. All pupils are required to attend school every day whether or not they are fit and well. It is expected that many school-pupils suspected of being pro-independence, will be among those rounded up when the Australian MPs as in town. Similar preventive measures are being prepared for the first anniversary of the 12 November Santa Cruz massacre.

Following the cancellation of the Bishop's early morning Mass on 6 Sept., the Mass on 13 Sept. was also cancelled.

People in Dili are well aware of moves in the USA to halt the military training programme. Even news of the lawsuit against Major-General Sintong Panjaitan in a US federal court has reached them. Some now speculate that these events have so infuriated Syafei that he is venting his wrath on the Timorese.

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## SYAFEI HOPES TO END MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EAST TIMOR NEXT MARCH

*UPI and AFP* 25 September 1992 Two items combined and abridged

*Comment: Earlier this year, Syafei promised to end military operations and disband Kolakops, the special military command, by the end of September this year. He's now put his target date back six months. Let's see what happens.*

*Note also that, as compared with his claim that he has altogether 12 battalions in East Timor of which only two are combat, our own sources, using information from inside East Timor, believe that there are six battalions in Dili alone of which 4 are combat/Kostrad troops.*

Indonesia is likely to disband the military operational command in East Timor in March, according to its current head, Brigadier General Theo Syafei. He said military operations are likely to end by them if the number of rebels continues to diminish.

The weekly journal *Editor*, out on Friday, quoted him as saying he believed the special command would be disbanded in March when combat troops had all been replaced by territorial troops. He said the current ratio between fighting and territorial battalions in East Timor stood at 2:10, compared to 6:6 in December. Territorial units were deployed not to hunt down separatist rebels but to speed up development in the countryside.

After disbanding the command, East Timor will revert to the same military command system as elsewhere.

He said the separatists were now left with 115 firearms, were dwindling in number and were grouped in nine bands in five regencies: Lospalos, Baucau, Ainaro, Same and Eucoco. He did not say how many separatists remain but has put it in the past at 200.

He stressed that any member of the Fretilin guerrilla movement who voluntarily surrendered to the gov't would be given amnesty but refused to give this guarantee

to guerrillas captured in the jungle. "We have announced that those found in the jungle would be finished," he said.

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## ARRESTS AND HOUNDING OF EAST TIMORESE CITIZENS

### URGENT ACTION REQUIRED

*TAPOL Report from protected sources. 30 September 1992*

Sources in Indonesia tell that eight East Timorese eye-witnesses to the Santa Cruz massacre in November last year, who have been in hiding in Jakarta since late August, are being hunted down by Indonesian security forces. The names known are Filipe R Pereira, José Manuel de Sousa, Clementino F Oliveira, Nelson A Baptista, Ventura V Conceicao, Mateus Brito Ximenez, Profirio da C Oliveira. The eighth may be Laurindo Albino Lourdes.

These eight are in extreme danger, confirmed by the fact that members of their families, living and working in East Timor, have been arrested. It is thought that they are being interrogated as to the whereabouts of their relatives. One of the parents is Ms Maria Branca (mother of Laurindo Albino Lourdes above and wife of Albino Lourdes a political prisoner in Cipinang prison since 1984). Others who have been arrested in this connection are Mr Gaspar and Agostinho Pereira. Agostinho Pereira, brother of Felipe, was arrested at Dili airport in early September and beaten by Indonesian security forces so badly that blood was pouring from his ears. The arrest and beating was in order to discover the whereabouts of Filipe and the other friends.

These eight people in Jakarta and their families in East Timor people are in imminent and extreme danger. From the past behaviour of Indonesian troops and the beatings and arrests suffered by members of the eight's families, if the eight are detained by the Indonesian troops, they are at risk of ill-treatment and even torture.

We are asking everyone to lobby their Government to take action to end the continuous hounding and intimidation of the East Timorese people by Indonesian army and security forces. In particular, we urge you ask your government to urge their country embassy in Jakarta to take urgent steps to ensure the safety of the eight who are being hunted down as witnesses of the Santa Cruz Massacre. The eight must be given sanctuary against the threats of ill-treatment and wrongful imprisonment by the Indonesian security forces.

You could also urge your Government to intervene on behalf of the mother and rela-

tives of the eight who are being interrogated as hostages. The detention of members of the families of the eight is wholly unjustified and contrary to recognised universal human rights. Actions of this sort are intended to intimidate and frighten the eight as well as people in East Timor. The holding of innocent people as "hostages" must be condemned and the release of these three demanded immediately, with a guarantee that they will not be intimidated in the future.

On 22 September, Douglas Hurd (UK Secretary of State) made a statement to the UN General Assembly in New York representing the UK presidency of the EC. In his long statement which covered many issues, he condemned the actions of Indonesia in East Timor. More information on this statement will follow, but the position of the EEC could be mentioned in letters.

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## POSSIBLE INDONESIAN PARDONS FOR 13 EAST TIMORESE?

*Associated Press (abridged), 1 Oct. 1992*

*TAPOL: Clearly the possibility of the East Timorese political prisoners being pardoned is very welcome and in line with our demands. However, if the Regime really were dedicated to pardoning these East Timorese, there is no earthly reason why Suharto should wait for the legal processes to be exhausted, which could take years.*

*TAPOL consider that we should all be demanding that the East Timorese be given immediate pardons. Please write to your own government in those terms.*

Indonesia's foreign minister suggested on Thursday that some East Timorese independence activists may be pardoned and pledged to cooperate with UN sponsored negotiations for the disputed territory. Alatas offered NO promise that President Suharto would grant clemency to 13 East Timorese given sentences of up to life in prison for organising a protest last year that was repressed by the government

Ali Alatas made these comments during a press meeting (on 1 October) that was intended to relieve international pressure on Jakarta over repression in the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia seized in 1976. Alatas noted international demands for leniency for the 13. "Recourse is still open for an appeal and then at the last stage an appeal for clemency of the president" he said. When pressed on a government commitment, Alatas only said "that is always open ... let's see how it all develops."

Alatas also said that the importance of the killings had been exaggerated and should not be compared to Tiananmen Square in 1989 in which hundreds maybe thousands died. "Tiananmen was a deliberate policy [by the military]" he said. "Ours was an accident that came out of a demonstration that was allowed."

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## NEW GOVERNOR IN EAST TIMOR

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### GUBERNATORIAL INTRIGUE

*Jakarta Post. Original language: English. 27 July 92. Brief excerpt.*

*Translating the English, this seems to mean that Carrascalao's favorite(s) for replacement are not on the DPRD shortlist.*

(Dili) Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao says the nomination of the next East Timor governor must be free of political intrigue. He said a conspiracy to assure a particular choice as new governor would destroy the future of the East Timor people.

He said there were signs of a conspiracy where names of candidates who did not understand the aspirations of the East Timor people were being circulated. "If that happens, I am going to report to the minister of home affairs and the president," he said.

He could continued that DPRD [Regional People's Representative Council, i.e., the East Timor DPR] members must not succumb to pressures from anyone who wanted to nominate candidates who were incompatible with the East Timorese.

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## EAST TIMOR GETS PRO-JAKARTA GOVERNOR

*Agence France Presse Sept. 11, 1992*

The selection of hardliner Abilio José Osorio Soares as East Timor's new governor confirms Jakarta's determination to squash the independence movement in the former Portuguese colony.

Soares, 45, nominated Thursday by the local assembly in the East Timorese capital Dili, was described by the Indonesian press as an "honest man."

His adversaries in the East Timor National Liberation Front (Fretilin), however, accuse him of being a "common criminal" who is responsible, they say, for acts of torture.

The former regent of Manatuto province, in central East Timor, and mayor of Dili in the 1980s has always favored integrating East Timor with Indonesia, which unilaterally annexed it in 1976.

Indonesian President Suharto is expected to ratify Soares's nomination, and he is to take office on October 1, succeeding Mario Viegas Carrascalao, a man from a totally different background.

Carrascalao originally belonged to the Timorese Democratic Union and did not switch to Jakarta's solution for the territory until after the 1975 civil war with Fretilin, then considered Marxist. Indonesia invaded late that year.

Last year's tragic events in the East Timorese capital came at the end of Carrascalao's second and final five-year term as governor.

Carrascalao denounced Fretilin's East Timor chief Xanana Gusmao after the massacre, but also said East Timorese "hoodlums" had carried out provocations on behalf of the army's special services.

Soares, on the other hand, is a founding member of an organization that has always backed East Timor's integration with Indonesia, since even before the 1975 invasion.

A strapping man with a handlebar moustache who wears blue jeans and sports tattoos on his arms, Soares is not known for his delicacy.

The Indonesian press describes him as close to a Suharto son-in-law, Lieutenant Colonel Prabowo Djojohadikusumo, who came up among the elite Indonesian troops that invaded East Timor and is well known for his radical methods.

During the selection of Soares, the new army commander-in-chief in East Timor, General Theo Syafei, was unequivocal. "The new governor must fight for the integration of Timor" with Indonesia and "exterminate those who are two-faced," he told the official news agency Antara.

He also noted, according to the Kompas newspaper, that Soares had the support of the army.

Syafei in late 1991 replaced General Rudolf Samuel Warouw, saying he would not be as patient as his predecessor. Since then the territory has been largely off limits to foreign journalists, and the army is tightening the noose, different sources say.

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### HARD LINE POLICY EXPECTED

Lisbon, Sep. 12 (IPS) – Independent Timorese leaders have strongly criticised the appointment of Abilio Osorio Soares as new governor of the Indonesian occupied territory of East Timor and predicted the new appointment would bring "hard times" to the populace.

Resistance spokespersons said the new governor, elected by the parliament in the

capital Dili, Thursday, was "the toughest of the three candidates." Osorio Soares replaces Mario Carrascalao, who stepped down three months ago after disagreements on Jakarta's policy in the region.

José Ramos-Horta, spokesperson for the union of pro-independence groups in Timor, said in Lisbon that "Indonesia chose a semi-literate henchman with a record for common crimes."

A resolution taken on by the United Nations Security Council in December 1975 called for the withdrawal of Indonesia from Timor and passed the temporary administration of the territory to Portugal, pending a referendum for autonomy.

The election of Osorio Soares, a few days before the start of the talks on Timor between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, sponsored by the U.N., "can be attributed to two facts," stated the Portuguese analyst Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros.

On the one hand, he said, "Indonesia imposes a hard line policy for Timor," and on the other hand, they protect their international image by choosing Osorio Soares rather than an army general.

The fact that Osorio Soares was appointed by parliament and was not an army general, he said, "is totally irrelevant, since the underlying problem of the military occupation by Indonesia and the absence of self determination for the people of Timor, continues unsolved."

The new governor, a former sergeant in the Portuguese colonial army, "has always been supported by colonel Prabowo Djohadikusumo, the (Indonesian president) Suharto's son-in-law," Ramos Horta said.

Osorio Soares was a member of the Timor popular democratic association (Apodeti), which supported the dec. 7, 1975 invasion of Timor, which had obtained its independence from Portugal one week earlier.

The invasion was followed by what the human rights organisation Amnesty International has described as "the genocide of 210,000 people."

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### COMMENT FROM JAMES DUNN, AUSTRALIAN COLUMNIST

*September 11, 1992*

We have just learned here that a new governor of Timor has been appointed, and the news is quite disturbing. The Governor, Abilio Osorio Soares, is a brother of the founder of Apodeti. He has a very bad reputation, not only as a collaborator, but as a friend and helper of one Major Asis, who was a torturer, and was eventually sent out of Timor, because of his misuse of military funds. Osorio Soares shared his disgrace for

a time, but was rehabilitated by Major Prabowo, Suharto's son-in-law, and a former commander of Battalion 303, which carried out much of the killing at Santa Cruz last November. From my own Timor contacts I understand that Governor Carrascalao (whom I have known for years) is himself very troubled at the appointment, which Prabowo (now a colonel) seems to have arranged or influenced.

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### COMMENT FROM CARMEL BUDIARDJO

Jim Dunn's response with details about Osorio Soares' background is very useful. However, the battalion which Prabowo commanded was 328, not 303. This was during his most recent stint in East Timor in early 1989, in advance of the Pope's visit. It was during this time that he renewed his intrigues with Osorio and the Apodeti wing of East Timor politics, much to Carrascalao's annoyance.

Jim and others believe that Prabowo is linked to the Santa Cruz. We have not yet seen convincing evidence of this. Jim's suggestion that he was former commander of 303, which had been publicly 'punished' for the massacre, is not correct, according to our records. But we absolutely agree that Prabowo is heavily involved in the current politicking in East Timor.

TAPOL/Carmel

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### NEW GOVERNOR A SIGN OF TOUGHER LINE IN EAST TIMOR

*The Age (Melbourne) 18 Sept. 1992 Byline: Tom Hyland, AAP. slightly abridged*

The appointment of a new governor for East Timor appears to cement the tough line on independence activity imposed by Indonesia since the Dili massacre.

Abilio José Osorio Soares, an uncompromising opponent of the independence movement, will be installed tomorrow, replacing Mario Viegas Carrascalao.

Mr Soares, 45, is a founding member of the pro-Indonesian Apodeti Party, set up prior to the Indonesian invasion in December 1975.

Backed by the army for the governorship, he has been linked with Lt. Col. Prabowo, who earned a reputation for ruthlessness when he served as a battalion commander in the Baucau area of East Timor.

It is assumed in East Timor that Col. Prabowo, who is the son-in-law of Indonesian President Suharto, aims to return to the territory as the military commander.

Mr Soares has said that his priority will be to encourage East Timor to accept



Indonesian rule. His opposition to the supporters of independence may stem from the murder of his brother, the founder of Apodeti, by members of the Fretilin independence movement in late 1975.

"No doubt the death of his brother is a factor in his life and may go some way to explain his hatred of Fretilin," said the former Australian consul in Portuguese Timor, Mr Jim Dunn.

The independence movement's overseas spokesman, Mr José Ramos Horta, has described Mr Soares as "a common criminal who personally tortured and murdered innocent civilians."

Mr Dunn said Mr Soares has a nasty reputation and has long-standing links with the Indonesian military. "What's sinister about Soares is that he came back (into prominence) through Prabowo ... He's regarded as a thug, so it's bad news for East Timor."

Currently the district head in Manatuto, in central East Timor, he was formerly mayor of Dili and a chief of public works.

His former positions and the patronage that came with them have gained him some local popularity.

"Although people see Soares as Apodeti, many see him as not a bad fellow. He got lots of Timorese jobs in public works," says a Melbourne traveller just returned from East Timor.

"No one I met talked in terms that Ramos Horta did," she said.

But she said that people were fearful that Col. Prabowo might be coming back, and "that was scaring the hell out of them."

Although only a battalion commander, Col. Prabowo exercised disproportionate power when he was based in East Timor - seeming to act independently. Catholic priests and other sources in the territory have accused him of intimidating and abusing students and others suspected of independence activities.

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## TIMOR CHIEF ACCUSES PREDECESSOR

*Source: The Age (Melbourne) 23rd September 1992 Byline: AAP, Reuter Type: Brief News Unabridged*

East Timor's new Governor, Mr Abilio Osorio Soares, has blamed the Dili massacre on his predecessor's failure to develop political maturity in the province (sic). Mr Abilio said Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao was too involved with economic development and infrastructure projects and did not concentrate on encouraging Timorese to accept their integration into Indonesia.

Indonesia has rejected a request by two Portuguese members of the European

Parliament to speak to five Timorese people jailed for protesting about the Dili massacre.

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## NEW GOVERNOR'S RESETTLEMENT PLANS

*BBC World Service. 1 October 1992.*

*Dateline: Jakarta. By Adam Brooks.*

*Summarised*

The new governor of East Timor, Abilio José Osorio Soares, has proposed a programme to resettle Timorese people in the sparsely populated south of the territory to 'boost development.' In an interview, he said the programme would include military training for heads of households to provide 'life discipline.'

He told the BBC it was known that the East Timorese are 'lazy and disorganised.' He himself had learnt discipline in the Portuguese army. His programme would "introduce the East Timorese people to agriculture and teach them to be disciplined farmers."

He wants the armed forces to train heads of households for about six months, then they and their families would embark on a 'local transmigration programme.' He said his programme was modelled on similar schemes run by the Portuguese. It still has to be approved by the central government.

The BBC correspondent described the new governor as a heavily built man with tattoos and a large moustache; he has had only basic education. He was an early member of Apodeti which fought against the independence movement and for integration with Indonesia. He presents a contrast to his urbane and outspoken predecessor, Mario Carrascalao, but seems to fit in well with the firm style of leadership that had characterised East Timorese politics since the Dili killings late last year.

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## NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT IN JAKARTA

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### NAM REJECTS 'CONDITIONALITY'

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, Aug. 11 - The Non-Aligned Movement, in a joint statement prepared by Indonesia for next month's summit, warns the West against using human rights and environmental concerns to interfere in the affairs of developing countries.

The draft statement will be debated and refined by leaders of 104 countries meeting in Jakarta from September 1 to 6, when Indonesia formally takes over chairmanship of the movement.

"It is a draft which expresses the broad concerns of NAM and in some parts goes beyond our expectations," a diplomat from one Latin American member country said.

Indonesia proposes in the statement, drawn up after consultations with other members, that NAM countries support human rights values. But it says these must be considered in the context of a country's social, economic and cultural traditions.

It adds: "No country or group of countries should therefore arrogate to themselves the role of judge and jury..."

Indonesia stopped accepting aid from the Netherlands when it criticised Jakarta's troops for firing into a crowd of mourners in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor last November.

Witnesses said up to 180 people died in the firing while a government commission put the toll at 50 dead and 90 missing.

"...any attempt to use human rights as a condition for extending socio-economic assistance...must be rejected..." the NAM summit statement prepared by Indonesia says.

The document, made available to Reuters, demands urgent international action to tackle what it calls life-threatening climatic change, depletion of the ozone layer, degradation of the global life support system, water and air pollution and the testing of nuclear weapons.

But the statement, in a reference to issues such as growing concern over the depletion of rain forests, insists developing countries have the right to use their own resources.

"They (NAM leaders) therefore urged developed countries and international institutions not to use environmental considerations as an excuse for interference in the internal affairs of the developing countries, nor should they be used to introduce any form of conditionality in aid," the statement says.

It also expresses traditional NAM concerns.

"They (NAM leaders) noted urgent political crises such as the pressing need to restore to the brave Palestinian people, who are waging a heroic struggle against Zionist Israel, their right to...establish an independent and sovereign state."

The statement expresses deep concern over the violence in South Africa and urges Pretoria to repeal its remaining discriminatory laws, free political prisoners and ease the return of exiles.

It describes the partial lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa as premature.

The United States comes in for sharp criticism over Cuba. "They (NAM leaders) urged the government of the United States to cease its unneighbourly acts against Cuba..." the statement says.

It adds that Washington should stop what it calls the violation of Cuba's territorial waters and airspace.

Libya is commended for agreeing to a United Nations resolution to cut links with terrorist groups. But there is no reference to its refusal to hand over two men suspected of bombing a Pan Am plane over Lockerbie in 1988.

The statement also emphasises economic issues, in response to critics who question the movement's relevance after the Cold War. The movement took shape in the late 1950s to steer a middle path between the Eastern and Western blocs.

The draft says rampant protectionism and inward-looking trading blocs threaten free world trade.

It notes the crippling rise in the foreign debts of developing countries and the fall in developmental aid, blaming this on the enormous needs of central and eastern Europe following the collapse of communism.

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## INDONESIA COVERS UP OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR AT NAM CONFERENCE

*Press Release from the East Timor Action Network/US To be released at the Non-Aligned Movement Conference in Jakarta, Indonesia. August 29, 1992*

As the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) redefines its role in the post cold war era, it has reiterated that its basic principles are still relevant. One of its original goals was "to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism, foreign occupation, and racial discrimination." (II: B-16) Yet while dozens of world leaders deplore all forms of colonialism and foreign occupation at the Jakarta conference of NAM, they are conspicuously ignoring one of Indonesia's own colonial occupations: namely East Timor.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it in 1976, despite repeated calls by the United Nations to withdraw from East Timor without delay. The United Nations still maintains the illegality of the occupation and calls for self-determination for the East Timorese people. The leaders of NAM, meanwhile, reaffirm that the UN is the appropriate forum "for the achievement of freedoms and for securing the right to self-determination of peoples under alien and colonial domination." (II: C-20)

The absence of mention of East Timor is all the more glaring in the context of the positions NAM took on many specific political conflicts in Asia, the Pacific, and the Middle East, most notably the subject of

Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict. The lengthy section on Palestine is particularly ironic, since almost without exception the word "Indonesia" could be substituted for "Israel" and "East Timor" for "Palestine." (III: 18-23) For example, the leaders of NAM "condemned the occupying power for its provocative defiance of the will expressed by the international community, its willful flouting of the resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the new dimensions of violence and terror, which have evoked widespread anger, bitterness and despair among its inhabitants in the occupied territories." (III: 23)

Since November 12, 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire on thousands of unarmed East Timorese demonstrators, killing between 100 and 200 civilians, new dimensions of violence and terror have also evoked widespread anger, bitterness, and despair among the people of East Timor. A protest in support of the murdered East Timorese, held one week later in Jakarta, was quashed by the army and police, and its leaders have since been sentenced to draconian prison terms of up to ten years.

The Indonesian military has taken steps to ensure that no similar protests are held for foreign reporters during the NAM conference. The army is under orders to shoot, without hesitation, anyone who creates a disturbance, which includes "protests or any other trouble that can send the city into chaos." According to the Jakarta Military chief, Major-General Kentot Harseno, "Those kind of people will only hurt the country's image in the international world." (Jakarta Post, August 13) Additionally, the security forces have surrounded the offices of two of Indonesia's prominent non-governmental organizations which are critical of Indonesia's policies in East Timor and elsewhere. The phone and fax lines of these organizations, INFIGHT and SKEPHL, have been cut, and photocopying machines in the area are under surveillance.

(References from Draft Final Document of the 10th Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.)

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## NON-ALIGNED POLITICAL DECLARATION REFLECTS INDONESIAN CONCERNS

New York, Aug. 29 (IPS/Appan Menon) – Even before it has formally taken over as the new chair of the non-aligned movement, Indonesia has put its stamp on a draft declaration reflecting regional priorities now being discussed in Jakarta.

The procedural and political fallout of the Balkan crisis forced Indonesia to take decisions which would normally have been made by the current chair, Yugoslavia.

But as the Yugoslav crisis deepened, it became clear that the preparatory work of the non-aligned coordinating bureau at the United Nations, the movement's equivalent of a secretariat, would be seriously threatened. The growing opposition to Yugoslavia within the movement, especially from the Islamic countries, could have immobilised the bureau's work.

But fortunately, Yugoslavia cooperated in working out procedures which allowed Indonesia to take over.

"We did not want the crisis to cast a shadow on the movement. That is why we facilitated a smooth transfer," Bratislava Djordjevic, Yugoslavia's deputy permanent representative told ips.

And in the process, Indonesia became the de facto chair of the movement, enabling it to fashion a draft declaration reflecting its own and the region's priorities.

In the section on political issues, the draft has two paragraphs on the treaty of amity and cooperation in Southeast Asia, and another, again reflecting regional concerns, which could cause embarrassment to a major power, China.

For the first time, the Non-Aligned's draft declaration includes the "sovereignty and jurisdictional issues pertaining to the South China Sea."

This is a clear reference to the territorial dispute over the Spratly Islands which China has with Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines and Taiwan. Except for the last two, the others are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the regional grouping to which Indonesia belongs.

This move has angered China, and by all indications, Chinese diplomats are lobbying furiously behind the scenes in Jakarta to have the paragraph dropped from the declaration. China, a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, has observer status in the Non-aligned Movement.

"The issue is a regional issue. We object to its reference in the draft as it would internationalise it," Wan Jingzhou of the Chinese mission at the United Nations told ips.

The Spratly islands, called Nansha by the Chinese, lie strategically on the shipping route between the Indian ocean and north-east Asia, and are believed to have oil and gas deposits under the seabed.

In fact in May, China signed an agreement with the Crestone energy corp. of Denver to explore for oil in an area between Vietnam and Malaysia. The concession area is regarded by Vietnam as part of its

continental shelf and lies about 1,000 kms south of the Chinese island of Hainan.

Although China has tried to downplay the territorial dispute with the ASEAN countries, the Philippines president Fidel Ramos has spoken about "the potential for trouble" in South-east Asia.

"Rival claims to the south China sea are a growing cause for concern," Ramos said recently.

While taking the concerns of its ASEAN colleagues into account, Indonesia has been careful to see that the question of East Timor, an issue of direct relevance to its sovereignty finds no mention in the draft declaration.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony now seeking independence, has not figured in non-aligned summits before. But the U.N. human rights commission this week – by majority vote – condemned Indonesia's repression in East Timor.

The vote comes at a politically embarrassing time for Indonesia, the host of the Sept. 1 Non-aligned summit.

But the Yugoslav fallout, which Indonesia has managed to contain so far, may cause greater embarrassment. The organisation of Islamic conference (OIC) members, led by Pakistan has given notice that it would question Yugoslavia's membership of the movement.

"We certainly have grave doubts about the credentials of the former Yugoslavia," jamsheed marker, Pakistan's ambassador to the United Nations told ips. "But we have not decided at what fora to question its credentials. we are still holding consultations."

Since the non-aligned movement has no written rules about expelling members, it could be difficult, given the support Yugoslavia has among African nations to force a decision. Burma and Argentina left the movement earlier of their own accord.

However, it will require considerable tact from Indonesia, an OIC member, to see that the movement does not get derailed on the Yugoslav membership issue.

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## SUHARTO MOVES TO ABOLISH HUMAN RIGHTS

*From Peace News. September 1992*

The Non-Aligned Movement has reached its nadir by permitting President Suharto of Indonesia to host and chair its tenth summit.

The dictator, whose occupation has wiped out a third of East Timor's population – some 200,000 people, plans to use the Summit to launch an alternative human rights charter. Indonesia's Draft Final Communiqué seeks to wreck the principle of international norms for human rights by arguing that its charter represents the needs

of the countries of the South, as against the North.

There have been efforts to prevent any demonstrations taking place during the summit, which began on 1 September. Demonstrations in support of the East Timorese are especially feared by the military – a week after the 12 November massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor, students organised a protest in Jakarta, which was quickly crushed. Its organisers were sentenced to prison terms of up to 10 years.

In a statement to the UN Committee on Decolonisation in July, WRI pointed out that "many boys in East Timor have stopped attending school because -- merely by going outside -- they can arbitrarily be picked up as 'Fretilin sympathisers.' The Indonesian occupation authorities are clearly frightened by the refusal of the East Timorese to submit to force, and are unsettled by the population's persistence in following tactics of nonviolent resistance."

TAPOL, 111 Northwood Road,  
Thornton Heath, Surrey, England (44 81  
771 2904; fax: 653 0322)

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## TAPOL STATEMENT ON NAM SUMMIT

*The following is the full text of a statement issued today, 30 August 1992, by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, on the occasion of the Tenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) which takes place in Jakarta from 1-6 September 1992.*

The Non-Aligned Movement's Tenth Summit will be opened in Jakarta on 1 September by President Suharto, one of the world's longest-serving dictators. It was Major-General Suharto who, in the mid 1960s, ousted President Sukarno, one of the Movement's founders, in a bloody seizure of power that left at least one million Indonesians dead.

TAPOL strongly denounces Suharto's role as head of NAM for the next three years. His 27-year-old regime has defiled the most basic principles of the Movement, the roots of which go back to the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, in April 1955, which advocated 'respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations' and 'respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.' [Final Communiqué of the Bandung Conference]

Indonesia is still, today, in the grip of military rule. Major-General Kentot Harseno, Jakarta's military commander, announced two weeks ago that his troops "will not hesitate to shoot anyone who cre-

ates a disturbance during the Summit" because such people "will only hurt the country's image on the international world." [Jakarta Post, 13 August 1992]

On 12 November last year, the Suharto regime's image was indeed gravely damaged when news flashed round the world that a huge demonstration had taken place in East Timor, calling for self-determination, and troops opened fire, killing 180 peaceful demonstrators. The news of this massacre reverberated worldwide because foreign journalists bore witness to the event. Eight survivors of the massacre are now serving harsh sentences, including life.

A demonstration one week later in Jakarta by seventy East Timorese, whose petition of protest at the massacre was delivered to the UN Jakarta office and several foreign embassies, was quashed by the police and all the demonstrators were arrested. Several of the demonstrators are serving sentences of up to ten years for their role in this peaceful protest.

Now, with hundreds of foreign journalists converging on the Indonesian capital, the army is determined to prevent the recurrence of protest about East Timor or about anything else. Human rights organisations in Jakarta have been placed under constant army watch. Their phone and fax lines have been cut and their premises placed under 24-hour surveillance. Earlier this month, Suharto even postponed the introduction of a new law imposing harsh penalties on people who violate traffic regulations, because of the threat of mass protest due to commence on 1 September which would have paralysed the streets of Jakarta during the Summit.

Suharto's bid to chair the Non-Aligned Movement was frustrated several times because of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor, seized in a war of aggression that has left 200,000 people - a third of the population - dead. Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in December 1975 was in flagrant violation of the Movement's principles of anti-colonialism, non-aggression and non-intervention. His bid ultimately succeeded when no other country contested the chairmanship of a Movement that had largely lost its raison d'être. Although some delegations attending the Summit are likely to speak up on East Timor's behalf at the Summit, Indonesia will do everything to prevent any mention of East Timor in the Final Communiqué.

Suharto will also not want the Summit to hear anything about the atrocities committed by his troops in Aceh, North Sumatra, where at least two thousand people have been killed since 1990 in a crackdown against the Free Aceh Movement. Nor will the Summit be likely to hear about

opposition to Indonesian rule in West Papua, which was occupied by Indonesia in 1962. There are in Indonesia today more than five hundred political prisoners serving long sentences most of whom were convicted under the country's draconian Anti-Subversion Law. They include communists, Muslim activists, student leaders, East Timorese, Acehnese and West Papuans. Earlier this year, the UN's Special Rapporteur on Torture, called for the abrogation of the Anti-Subversion Law.

In defiance of world opinion about these gross human rights violations, Indonesia will use the Summit to launch its alternative human rights charter, challenging the principles enshrined in numerous UN documents since 1948, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Draft Final Communiqué which Indonesia hopes will be endorsed by the Summit seeks the wreck the principle of the universality of human rights by arguing that the implementation of human rights "should remain within the competence and responsibility of each government." It asserts that "uniform international norms for human rights should not be unilaterally (sic) defined" and that "all nations have the right to freely establish their own political and economic systems and institutions on the basis of respect for the principles of national sovereignty, self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of others."

By proclaiming this as a new charter representing the needs of countries of 'the South' as against 'the North,' Suharto aims to give free range to dictatorships, like the one of his own making, to suppress dissent and violate the freedoms of assembly, association and expression, and to perpetrate with impunity atrocities in East Timor, West Papua and Aceh where Indonesian rule is being challenged.

TAPOL protests against the steps taken by the military to prevent democratic protest during the NAM Summit. It denounces Suharto's attempt to reshape the Non-Aligned Movement in his own image. It calls on human rights organisations everywhere to denounce his challenge to the universality of human rights.

TAPOL believes that groups and individuals in Jakarta may try, at great risk to themselves, to defy the army's threat to shoot demonstrators and uphold their basic right to alert the outside world of the true face of Suharto's Indonesia. Should this happen, a worldwide campaign will be needed to protect human rights activists in Indonesia.

## INTIMIDATION STEPPED UP AS NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT OPENS IN INDONESIA

*East Timor Alert Network/Canada  
For immediate release 31 August 1992*

Human rights groups face increased repression on eve of international summit

The government of Indonesia is stepping up repression directed at human rights organizations as it prepares for tomorrow's opening of the Non-Aligned Movement of states (NAM) summit. Observers believe that the government is trying to prevent protests during the triennial gathering of Third World leaders.

More than 1,500 soldiers have been moved to Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia and site of the summit. Soldiers have surrounded the offices of INFIGHT (Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights) and SKEPHI (Indonesian NGO Network for Forestry Conservation) and cut phone and fax lines into the offices. General Kentot Harsono, military commander in Jakarta, has ordered soldiers to shoot without hesitation anyone who joins "protests or any other trouble that can send the city into chaos."

A protest by pro-independence youths in Indonesian-occupied East Timor last November 12 ended in bloodshed when Indonesian soldiers opened fire without provocation on an unarmed crowd, killing over 100 people.

Military operations have also been stepped up in East Timor, a country invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Indonesia has ignored resolutions at the United Nations and previous NAM summits calling for it to withdraw its troops from East Timor and allow the East Timorese their right to self-determination. Indonesia's colonial rule in East Timor has claimed the lives of more than one third of the indigenous population, according to Amnesty International and other sources.

The East Timor Alert Network calls on the world community, particularly leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement states, to ensure that human rights (including the right to peaceful protest) are respected during the NAM summit and thereafter in Indonesia. ETAN further calls on the NAM, which has a proud tradition of anti-colonialism going back to 1955, to urge Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor.

For more information: David Webster  
(416) 539-9589/531-6154

## TIGHT SECURITY IN EAST TIMOR DURING NAM CONFERENCE

*TAPOL issued this press release 7 Sept.*

Stringent security measures have been taken throughout East Timor during the past week to prevent any outbreak of protest during the Non-Aligned Movement conference in Jakarta. More patrol posts were in place than usual and there was more intensive control of identity cards. Many young people, suspected as likely 'trouble-makers,' were ordered to report to Kodim, the Dili military command, for the night; they were allowed to go to school or work during the day but had to return to Kodim each evening.

TAPOL learned from a protected source that the Sunday Mass in Dili yesterday, 6 September, was cancelled at the last minute on the insistence of the army, who feared that a demonstration had been planned after the Mass. About a thousand people had gathered at the cathedral. Bishop Belo was to have officiated, but the crowd was ordered to disperse before the service began.

Sources in East Timor say that demonstrations were indeed planned for the period 1 - 6 September, during the Non-Aligned Conference, but the tight security made it impossible to do anything.

The forces of occupation were on high alert, fearing that people in East Timor would want to take advantage of the large number of foreign statesmen and foreign journalists in Jakarta to make their voices heard again.

A number of foreign journalists, in Jakarta to cover the Non-Aligned conference, have applied to visit East Timor. Although security has been tightened to make sure nothing happens while they visit East Timor, it is also reported that some journalists have not even been given clearance to go.

Seventy government employees have meanwhile been arrested in the past five days. Although the exact locations of these arrests are not known, they all occurred in the eastern part of the country.

A small group of East Timorese was also arrested as they were about to leave Dili by plane for Jakarta last Tuesday, 2 September. Others, on their way to Kupang by road, were arrested when they reached the border with West Timor.

**RNZ NEWS, SEPT. 7 1992**

The Indonesian army has tightened security in the East Timor capital, Dili - after reports that separatists are planning an anti-Indonesian demonstration.

Military officials say soldiers have been posted outside churches, schools and other buildings in the former Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia.

East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo cancelled Sunday mass for security reasons.

A military officer said the election of a new governor later this month was causing tension in Dili.

Diplomats in Jakarta say they heard reports of a planned demonstration in East Timor to try to embarrass the government while it was hosting the Non-Aligned summit.

Last November Indonesian troops fired into a crowd of mourners at an independence activist's funeral.

Up to 150 people were estimated to have been killed, but the East Timor resistance movement says a new study puts the toll at 273.

It says the study has been double-checked by both Amnesty International and a Lisbon-based Christian group.

#### ADDITIONAL REPORT ON NAM SECURITY

*From Tapol, September 15.*

During the week when the non-aligned summit was held in Jakarta, security control in East Timor was stepped up to a level not experienced for months. Armed troops were on guard at all so-called 'strategic' places like schools, churches and other buildings. Describing the tense atmosphere, Jawa Pos [10.09.1992] said the military was on high alert, fearing that groups of young Timorese would unfurl banners in the presence of Bishop Belo during Mass on Sunday 6 September. The Mass was cancelled for 'security' reasons. Army controls in an out of Dili were intensified. After the 'NAM alert' had been scaled down, the paper reported that uniformed officers on the streets were replaced by plain clothes intelligence agents roaming the streets.

Reports that had been reaching TAPOL of many arrests were confirmed by Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei who announced that eight civil servants had been arrested in Viqueque 'recently.' On another occasion 25 people had been arrested in Maliana. They were all being subjected to indoctrination [di-P4-kan]. Refusing to explain where they were being held, an exasperated Syafei said 120 hours of indoctrination would not be enough. "Even three thousand hours won't be enough. Just imagine, 18 years has not been enough!" [Jawa Pos, 15-09-1992]

A small group of East Timorese who wanted to fly from Dili to Jakarta while the Summit was in progress were prevented from doing so. According to one report,

they were caught at the airport, found to be carrying foreign-language posters and banners and held for questioning.

Earlier, a group of seven or eight young East Timorese fled to Jakarta from Dili. They were probably intending to take part in an action in the Indonesian capital during the Summit. In the event, nothing happened and the escapees went into hiding. They have sent a plea for help to a number of international human rights organisations, including TAPOL. The text of their letter is reproduced below. Details have also emerged of the arrest of 20 school-pupils, 15 from SMA Negeri-I (state secondary school), 4 from SMA Santo Paulus and 1 from the Sacred Heart SMA, all apparently in Dili.

#### XANANA GUSMAO OFFERS SUHARTO OLIVE BRANCH

*The following Press Release was issued in Lisbon on 3 September 1992 by José Ramos-Horta, official spokesperson of the East Timorese Resistance:*

"We appeal to President Suharto to accept the olive branch we are offering in a gesture of our good-will so that together we try to repair the historical accidents that have affected the people of Indonesia and the people of East Timor," wrote Mr Xanana Gusmao, the Resistance Leader of East Timor, in a message addressed to the 10th Non-Aligned Movement underway in Jakarta.

This offer of peace by the legendary East Timorese leader, Mr Xanana Gusmao, who is based in the rugged mountains of East Timor, was confirmed today in Lisbon by Mr José Ramos Horta, the overseas spokesperson of the Resistance.

"Mr Xanana Gusmao's peace offer is not new," Mr Ramos-Horta said. "He is simply reiterating our collective desire to work towards peace for our people. Our negotiating stand remains the same, we are willing to enter into a process of dialogue with the Indonesian side, without pre-conditions, under UN auspices, to explore all possible ideas to end the conflict," Mr Ramos-Horta said.

Referring to UN Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali's invitation to the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers to meet informally in New York, Mr Xanana Gusmao said in his letter: "We reaffirm our willingness to engage in dialogue on the basis of the Portuguese proposal." In January this year, in the wake of the 12 November 1991 Dili massacre, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, flew to New York and delivered to the UN Secretary General a pro-

posal to open negotiations with the Indonesian side, with the involvement of East Timorese nationalist leaders "without preconditions." The Indonesian side has rejected any talks with the inclusion of the East Timorese.

Speaking in Lisbon, Mr Ramos-Horta stated that "there cannot be peace without the victims being consulted on their future. On the other hand, we are prepared to show flexibility and statesmanship and work on a formula that is acceptable to the Indonesian side. There are at least two possibilities: we could adopt the Afghanistan proximity-talks model or we could invite the Catholic Church of East Timor and the Vatican to take part as active observers. The Catholic Church could very well represent the people of East Timor at least in the first stages."

Mr Xanana Gusmao has never left the country in the 17 years since the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia. He wages a war of resistance against the Indonesian army and commands strong support throughout East Timor. He is 46 years old, a gifted writer, poet and journalist. He is married to Emilia Gusmao who now lives in Melbourne, Australia, with two children.

"Mrs Gusmao herself suffered enormously in the hands of the Indonesians. She was raped, tortured, her captors playing mock executions on her in front of her two children. This went on for years to break her husband's will. She survived it all but still has visible psychological scars. Thanks to the International Committee of the Red Cross she managed to leave for Australia two years ago," Mr Ramos-Horta said.

In his message to the NAM Summit, Mr Xanana Gusmao urges his fellow Third World leaders to "respect human rights" and said: "Indonesia cannot speak about the arrogance of the North when she defies with arrogance the UN resolutions on East Timor and refuses dialogue with the East Timorese people."

"While the people of the Third World experience hunger and the horrors of war and the regimes pursue policies of repression with the weapons acquired from the North, President Suharto of Indonesia cannot pretend to have credibility to define notions of peace, justice and cooperation," Mr Xanana Gusmao said in his message.

#### GUERRILLA CHIEF URGES DIALOGUE WITH INDONESIA

Lisbon, Sep. 2 (IPS) – Timorese guerrilla commander Xanana Gusmao has urged Indonesia's president Suharto "to accept the olive branch we are offering as a gesture of our total willingness" to resolve the problem of Timor.

the request was made in a 14 page letter to the summit of the non-aligned movement

(NAM) which opened Tuesday in Jakarta under Suharto's presidency. High on the summit agenda is a review of the NAM's once sacred principles of sovereignty and non-interference – principles frequently raised in the long international debate over Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor. The guerrilla leader – who resisted the Indonesian invasion of 1975 for 16 years – made the letter public in Lisbon, Wednesday.

Gusmao in his letter guarantees Suharto a total opening "to repair together the historic accidents which have involved the Indonesian and Timorese peoples."

According to the human rights group Amnesty International, some 210,000 Timorese from an original population of some 650,000 have died at the hands of Indonesian occupation forces since 1975.

The pro-independence leader also urged those African countries whose official language is Portuguese "to remind Suharto of the illegal situation prevailing in East Timor."

On the eve of the Jakarta summit, Timorese groups, backed by the Portuguese foreign ministry, called on Portuguese-speaking African countries – Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome-Principe – to include a debate on East Timor on the summit's agenda.

But a correspondent from Portuguese Catholic Church radio, said the states "have decided not to trouble Jakarta because Suharto has guaranteed them considerable economic support."

However Gusmao and others are still seeking to raise the issue of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor in informal discussions at the summit conference and have it at least mentioned by Portuguese-speaking African countries during the plenary speeches.

Gusmao added that the NAM summit "cannot organise a serious dialogue to save the third world, while Jakarta, which presides over this movement, continues pointing its weapons against the Timorese."

## BBC INTERVIEWS MICHAEL LEIFER ON XANANA'S CALL FOR TALKS

*BBC World Service Newshour, 4 Sept. 1992*

*The following is an interview of Dr. Michael Leifer, lecturer in International Affairs at the London School of Economics. Dr Leifer is close to senior Indonesian foreign affairs officials and recently visited Indonesia to talk at a meeting of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies.*

*BBC: Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the resistance movement of East Timor, has offered to attempt peace talks with the government of President Suharto. Indonesia has ruled East Timor since 1975 when the former Portuguese colonial rulers left. But its occupation has never been internationally recognised. And last November, a massacre by Indonesian troops of East Timorese civilians led to increased international pressure to regularise the situation. I asked the Southeast Asia specialist, Michael Leifer of the London School of Economics, what had led to today's offer of peace talks from the Fretilin rebels:*

ML: I think it's two things. One, they are encouraged by the continued pressure that Portugal is applying on Indonesia, though without any effect. And secondly, I think it's an expression in practice or in substance of their own weakness. The massacre last November took a heavy toll of the Fretilin side and I don't think the numbers are very large. And I think that they feel they have a better chance now that they could go to negotiations rather than to continue fighting.

*BBC: How do you think the Indonesians are going to react?*

ML: I think they are going to be very dismissive. They call Fretilin 'security disturbance perpetrators,' that's the translation of the Indonesian. They are not going to give them belligerent status. They argue that the people of East Timor decided to become a province of Indonesia. I think they might be willing to have peace talks at a military level but the idea of President Suharto sitting down to talk with the head of this, for them, bunch of guerrillas would be seen as somewhat ridiculous.

*BBC: What about the reaction among the broader international community. Is it now more likely, do you think, that countries like for example Portugal will*

*want to encourage the Indonesians to take advantage of this offer?*

ML: I think the Portuguese will, but I think that the Portuguese are to a great extent out on their own. After all, other countries reacted with Portugal after the massacre in Dili last November but they then backed off in a sense, after President Suharto dismissed a couple of generals, called for a commission of inquiry and endorsed its results which led to court-martials and some sentences. The Australians now seem to have restored their relationship with Indonesia and of course, the international financial community has given its seal of approval to Indonesia by accepting the repudiation of the old aid consortium chaired by the Dutch and re-establishing it in Paris under the chairmanship of the World Bank.

So to that extent, I don't think there is a major international pressure group led by Portugal, seeking to push Indonesia in the direction of independence for East Timor.

*BBC: If then, as you suggest, this gesture from the rebels is rebuffed, what then does this leave them as a future option for action?*

ML: Well, the only alternative option of course is for them to return to armed struggle but that has not got them very far. The general feeling in the international community, while disapproving of the human rights violations by Indonesia, is that there doesn't seem to be a practical alternative for East Timor except as a part of the Republic. I think what's at issue is the extent to which the sense of alienation, which was demonstrated last November, is further exploited by Fretilin so that they can sustain the momentum of their challenge. And at issue is whether they can do that through negotiation or whether it's possible practically through a return to armed struggle.

## ABRI CHIEF REJECTS FRETELIN PEACE OFFER

*Jakarta Post, 15 September. Dateline: Jakarta Abridged*

Commander of the armed forces (ABRI) General Try Sutrisno yesterday rejected a peace offer put forward by East Timor rebel leader, Xanana Gusmao.

"There is no such thing as negotiating for peace with Fretilin," Try told newsmen last

night. He was speaking to newsmen prior to a hearing with the House of Representatives.

He said Fretilin had virtually no strength left and ABRI was able to handle the situation. "The question now is whether he (Xanana) is willing to come down from the mountains or not." He said the government was willing to accept the Fretilin if they heeded the call to lay down their arms.

Xanana's peace offer was made in a letter sent to President Suharto, a copy of which emerged during the NAM Summit earlier this month.

#### Arrests denied

In the Hearing, Try told House members that no arrests had been made in East Timor during the NAM Summit. He said that after the tragic incident in Dili on 12 November last year, ABRI had been conducting civic operations (operasi territorial) in East Timor. The second stage of the programme, known locally under the acronym PKT [?] will be completed at the end of this month. He said the programme had gone well and its third phase will start on 1 October. ABRI had asked Coordinating Minister for Economics, Financial and Industrial Affairs to provide the Rp 10bn needed for the programme.

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## U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMISSION MEETS IN GENEVA

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### STATEMENT BY MRS. PASCOELA BARRETO

*Statement by Mrs Pascoela Barreto [an East Timorese living in Portugal] on behalf of Defence for Children International, at the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities Geneva, August the 14th, 1992*

Mr. President, Distinguished members of the Sub-Commission,

Allow me, first of all, to thank the Defence for Children International for the opportunity given to me to address this august body regarding the tragedy prevailing in East Timor and to appeal for justice and protection of human rights which have been trampled upon since 7 December 1975.

As a woman and mother I would like to draw your attention to the violation of the rights of the child in my country. Throughout the world the society places its hopes on the youth for they represent the future and the continuing renewal of the nation. However, in East Timor, the youth has become the primary target of the occu-

pation forces. Trough killing and disappearances of the Timorese children and youth, the Indonesian regime practices extermination of our people. We loose our youth and the students who should become educated and conscious citizens and the foundation of our hope on the reconstruction of East Timor.

Today Timorese youth are the second generation of victims of the colonial Indonesian regime. We think that during the first decade of the invasion the deaths were about 200,000 people (about one third of the population). But the violation of the human rights in East Timor is not an experience of the past. Hundred of children and youth have been arrested, tortured and executed. About a year ago we received a letter dated of 29 December 1990, which said:

"On Sunday at 10 pm, the students Eurosia da Silva Alves, aged 15, and Domingas, aged 16 were attacked by the Indonesian military. However they escaped. A month later they were attacked again by the military. They took Eurosia. Domingas was behind because she had fractured a leg. Eurosia was killed after cutting her vagina and breasts. They put the vagina in her mouth and placed one breast in each hand.."

We know that this isn't the only known case. It represents the systematic violation of human rights in East Timor. Meanwhile because the tight control and isolation of the half island, only a small part of this reality filters out.

On 12 November 1991, an international community that had been indifferent for too long, was jolted into reality. We now have precise information (names, ages, addresses and occupations) which enable us to declare that nearly nine hundred (900) Timorese were killed, arrested, wounded and disappeared that day. 24% of them were children.

In Dili alone,  
- 64 children were killed;  
- 38 disappeared;  
- 62 were wounded and hospitalised;  
- 20 were arrested;  
in that dramatic day of 12 November 1991.

The results of an inquiry ordered by President Suharto did not contributed to a clarification of the facts. Nine months later after the massacre of Santa Cruz, there isn't an indication of any name of the victims, the bodies have not been given back to their families, the burial-places were not identified and there are no news of the disappeared. The official inquiry having first admitted only 19 dead, decided later that "about" 50 deaths actually occurred. However, the most detailed survey carried out so far confirms that 64 children were murdered by the occupation forces.

President Suharto nominated a special Committee to clarify the whereabouts of the 90 disappeared but until now no information has been officially given on these cases.

Mr. President,

The human rights violations in East Timor covers also the enforced disappearance of children who are taken away from their parents to remote places where they never have any contact with their families. The case I am going to relate to you is a sample of what has happened in the last seventeen years to Timorese children.

"Olinda Morais was captured in March 1990 with her youngest son. She was interrogated, tortured and raped by agents of the secret police. When she was freed later on learned that her son Benvindo had been taken away by a Major who was later promoted to Lt.-colonel called Suryadi. She tried in vain to have her child return to her.."

Children like Benvindo are educated in a country without contacts with their relatives, culture and homeland. It must be noted also that Timorese children without exception are forced to accept a culture that has nothing to do with their historical routes, alienating them from their own country.

Mr. President,

The Convention on the Rights of the Child demands for each child happiness, love and understanding. It forbids torture, physical and mental violence, mistreatment and negligence. It encourages the preparation of the child for a responsible life, in a free society, in a spirit of piece, of tolerance and of respect of human rights.

Mr. President,

The colonial repression against children and youth has produced a spiral of violence with no end in sight. The more their rights are violated, the more young people fight back. For their lives, for the lives of their kind, for their occupied homeland.

We all, the East Timorese, more than ever we want peace restored to our homeland. Therefore we reiterate our commitment to cooperate with all the parties concerned, under UN auspices, to put an end to the human rights violations against our people.

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### STATEMENT OF MIGUEL SALDANHA

Mr President, Distinguished members of the Sub-commission

My name is Miguel Saldanha, I am a Timorese and left my country with my parents in 1986, because we couldn't live in a situation of permanent persecution and threat, as it has been since the Indonesian invasion in 1975.

I am testifying on behalf of the families of the detainees who fear for the lives of their loved ones in Indonesian jails.

I would like to talk about my brother's case, Josi Maria Pompeia Saldanha Ribeiro, 28 years old, a student at the University of Denpasar, Bali.

On 12th November 1991 the army shot unarmed civilians and killed about 200 Timorese at Santa Cruz cemetery, in Dili. 70 young Timorese studying in Indonesia at that time organised a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on 19th November 1991. Because of that, though they haven't taken part in it, my brother and five colleagues were taken by the Indonesian Intelligence from their house, on 24th November 1991. After searching the house, they took the six students to the police headquarters, where they were subjected to violent interrogation. The 22nd November 1991 my brother and three colleagues were taken handcuffed to Jakarta. In January my brother and two other students of this group came back to Bali and were released at the end of February.

Since my brother's arrest we haven't had any contact with him, nor directly nor by letter, because all his daily movements are controlled by the Intelligence. Allow me, Mr Chairman, to quote from Fernando Araujo's defence plea. Fernando Araujo was sentenced to 9 years under the anti-subversion law:

"(...) Along with the group of arresting officers was a group of civilians whose identify or origins I was not aware of; at the time of my arrest, the officer did not present a warrant they proceeded to raid the house, carrying out the search independently of any of the occupants of the house; (...) at that time the police officers threatened to shoot me if I moved; once I was in Polda Nusra, I was threatened by many people, ridiculed and humiliated with inhumane words; I was isolated in a large room and was prevented from receiving visits from my friends; (...) before putting me in my cell, I was stripped naked and forced to spend the night without clothing; (...) I was not allowed the use of writing materials in my cell."

My brother has to report to the police once a week. This is the case with all the other students. He lost his scholarship. Hence he is unable to complete his studies in Veterinary science. He cannot move about freely and cannot earn a living.

Mr President,

Like my brother, my brother-in-law Carlos dos Santos Lemos is also in prison. He is 31 years old, a driver with the "Territorial Government" in Dili. He was arrested on 6th December because he was

taking pictures of the demonstration of 12th November 1991.

My brother in law was one of the Timorese arrested in Dili after the 12th November and was mistreated and suffered pressures, as it happens with all the political prisoners. According to the news we got, he could have a visit of his relatives twice a week, but before each visit the relatives are interrogated. Because we aren't able to have direct news about his real situation, I'll mention a letter from another political prisoner, arrested at the same time, that describes well the arbitrariness and violence to which the Timorese who just want to express their opinions are exposed to:

"The lawyers were in fact good defenders and because of this they put their own physical safety at risk. During their stay in Dili, they were always followed and more than a few times they were subjected to intimidation and even interrogation. The occupants used various forms of persuasion to sabotage our intention of using these lawyers. For example, they came to us and said that using the Jakarta lawyers would make things worse for us. When "they" did not succeed with this tactic, they resorted to a terrorisation process. They gave orders for the sleepings mats to be removed from the cells so that we have to sleep on the ground without any cover; but the International Red Cross came and "they" had to give us back the mats. They also used other forms such as withholding water for drinking and washing. The lawyers themselves were also the target of all kinds of persuasion: "They" would go up to them and say that the Timorese have the bad habit that once you help them they never stop demanding things."

I would also like to mention part of the defence plea of Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, sentenced for life:

"(...) I was forced to say what the interrogator wanted, which was not according to the true fact (...).

In early December I was urged by the assistant public prosecutor, Tamher, to give names of youths in CNRJT, and to say that they carried firearms and knives on 12th November 1991 demonstration, with the guarantee that I would be free, or at least be reasonably treated. But because I felt this was not true, I refused.

In early February 1992, I was urged by Martinus Wae to give a false statement against a demonstrator called Antonio Belo, aged 30, illiterate, that he carried a banner and flag. The interrogator said Antonio had already confessed his involvement. But because I believe true evidence is that which is seen, heard and experienced, I refused.

In early May I was advised by the public prosecutor, Supardi, that I should choose a

local lawyer, Ponco. If I choose a lawyer from the YLBHI Jakarta there would be a conflict between the lawyers and the victim would be the defendant. This was repeated by police lieutenant Bambang. Prosecutors said the same thing to other defendants. Because I believe that the choice of lawyer is the defendant's right I said nothing."

On 9th July my brother-in-law Carlos Lemos was sentenced to 8 years. It's not acceptable that a person is arrested and sentenced only for expressing his/her opinion. May I remind you that the Indonesian government subscribed the Consensus Statement that was read in this room in March 1992, by the distinguished President of the Commission on Human Rights in which there was an appeal for the immediate release of the Timorese prisoners who hadn't participated in violent activities. Instead, the Indonesian court condemned those who participated in a peaceful demonstration to heavy sentences, including life, while some of the policemen and military who killed unarmed young people in Santa Cruz were sentenced to less than 18 months.

Mr President

Our suffering and worries are endless. The relatives of the political prisoners are also under every kind of pressure. The prisoners' incomes, in many cases the only support of their parents, brothers, wives and children, were stopped. Survival becomes very difficult. Wives and children always under threats and persecution. The prisoners know this reality very well and because of that one of them wrote to his family: "How terribly difficult it is for a nationalist to choose between the Family and the Fatherland." The Indonesian magazine "Tempo" of 11th July, quote Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha: "My detention will inevitably have adverse economic consequences on my family. This constantly worries me."

What angers us Mr President is that we are not even able to help our relatives in East Timor who are experiencing these enormous difficulties. The Timorese are afraid of getting any help from outside because the Intelligence and the military government that occupies our country are suspicious.

Since the 12th November massacre access to the Territory has become even more restricted and this makes repression more severe. Access to East-Timor has to be completely open to all humanitarian and human rights organisations. This would be a small step towards a peaceful and negotiated solution to the conflict.

The Santa Cruz massacre was only the tip of the iceberg. One day, Mr Chairman, truth will triumph and the full dimensions of



the tragedy will be there for all to see- and each of you, Ladies and Gentlemen, who are today in a position to make a difference and save lives but choose not to for political expediency will not escape judgment.

Thank you very much.

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## UNITED NATIONS URGED TO MAKE REPORT PUBLIC

Lisbon, Aug. 28 (IPS/Mario Dujisin) – The report on human rights in East Timor “is still kept locked away under seven keys in the office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations,” said the Timorese resistance spokesman José Ramos-Horta, Thursday.

“The U.N. sub commission on human rights wants to read the report, which is only known to (U.N. Secretary-General) Boutros Boutros-Ghali,” said Ramos-Horta, who represents several groups opposing the 1975 annexation of East Timor by Indonesia.

Publication of the report was requested in a resolution presented Wednesday to the U.N. Sub-Commission on human rights in Geneva by delegates from Belgium, Brazil and Norway.

In a telephone interview, Ramos-Horta said “another fundamental point is that Indonesia is clearly condemned (in the report) for the massacre of Dili,” the capital of East Timor.

Last November, Jakarta troops fired on pro-independence demonstrators in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, killing over 150 dead, according to international humanitarian organisations, but more than 200 according to opponents of the government.

In December 1975 Ramos-Horta was foreign minister in the republic of Timor, in existence for only one week before the former Portuguese colony was overrun by the Indonesian army.

“After the denunciations made by western journalists who were eye-witnesses to the Dili massacre, our drama became known abroad, but people still do not know that the November crime is only one chapter in the systematic genocide which has already eliminated one-third of the original 650,000 inhabitants of the island,” emphasised Ramos-Horta.

Portuguese diplomats have begun lobbying Portuguese speaking African countries in a bid to bring the case of Timor before the summit of Non-Aligned countries scheduled to be held in Jakarta from Sep. 1 to 5.

Portuguese-speaking African countries – Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome-Principe – have supported U.N. condemnations of Jakarta since the invasion. but Portugal has failed to

win the decisive support of Brazil, the world’s largest Portuguese-speaking country, which at first condemned Jakarta, but then decided to abstain in further voting. Lisbon analysts note Brazil’s “economic and commercial interests” in Indonesia.”

Lisbon has also complained of the passive attitude assumed by its western allies, in past statements noting how “they all did not hesitate to condemn Iraq for the invasion of Kuwait (in august 1990), which demonstrates clearly that a double standard applies when it comes to the subject of human rights.”

Last month, Portugal made use of its veto in the European Community (EC) to block the signing of a major economic and trade cooperation agreement between the EC and the members of the Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN) “because of the systematic violations of human rights by one of its members – Indonesia.”

Lisbon stood firm despite pressure from the two principal foreign investors in Indonesia, Britain and the Netherlands.

A U.N. security council resolution approved dec. 22, 1975 condemned the Indonesian annexation and conferred on Portugal the status of “adminstrating power” over Timor until the holding of a referendum on its independence.

Jakarta has accused Lisbon of having territorial pretensions in its former colony, emphasising that “Indonesia has done more for the development of Timor in 15 years than Portugal did in five centuries.”

While deploring “the abandonment of Timor by the Portuguese in 1975,” Ramos-Horta countered Jakarta’s claim, saying that “the lives of the 210,000 people assassinated by the Indonesian regime are worth more than 100 kilometres of asphalt roads and four public buildings.”

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## UN HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMISSION ADOPTS EAST TIMOR RESOLUTION

*Excerpt from UN Daily Highlights press release, 1 September 1992*

**Human Rights Subcommission adopts 21 texts on East Timor, states of emergency, rights of indigenous peoples, and other issues.**

In Geneva, the Human Rights Subcommission has deplored the 12 November 1991 incident at Dili in East Timor, which resulted in the deaths of civilians, including women and children, and called upon the Indonesian Government to cooperate fully with the efforts of the Secretary-General’s representative.

The representative of Indonesia said his Government had cooperated with human rights organizations to investigate disappearances connected with the incident and had helped the families of the disappeared. He said the text was one-sided and did not reflect the significantly improved situation in the area.

The text on East Timor was one of 21 adopted by the Subcommission. Other texts dealt with such matters as the right to a fair trial, states of emergency, impunity of human rights violators, violations of the human rights of United Nations staff members, the privatization of prisons, the right to adequate housing, human rights and extreme poverty, and the effect of structural adjustment programmes on the realization of economic, social and cultural rights.

The Subcommission also acted on such questions as human rights and the environment, discrimination against HIV-infected people or people with AIDS, and the right to restitution, compensation and rehabilitation for victims of gross human rights violations.

## UN CONDEMNS HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR (TEXT)

*Original document*

The UN Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, at its 44th Session in Geneva, adopted the following resolution on the Situation in East Timor, by 13 votes to 6, with four abstentions, on 27 August 1992:

The Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,

Recalling resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982 of the General Assembly in which it requested the Secretary-General to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned to resolve the conflict in East Timor,

Recalling its resolutions 1982/20 of 8 September 1982, 1983/26 of 6 September 1983, 1984/24 of 29 August 1984, 1987/13 of 2 September 1987, 1989/7 of 31 August 1989 and 1990/15 of 30 August 1990 concerning the situation in East Timor,

Bearing in mind the consensus statements by the Chairman of its forty-third session (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1991/SR.26) and the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, adopted on 4 March 1992, at its forty-eighth session (E/CN.4/1992/SR.54/Add.1),

Having examined the report of the visit to East Timor by its Special Rapporteur on the question of torture, Mr Peter Kooijmans (E/CN.4/1992/17/Add.1),

Appalled at the loss of life and injuries among civilians resulting from the violent incidents of 12 November 1991, and concerned at the fate of those who are missing,

Welcoming the decision of the Secretary-General to send Mr Amos Wako as his Personal Envoy to inquire into the violent incidents of 12 November 1991,

Regretting that the conclusions of the National Commission of Inquiry set up by the Indonesian Government failed, in its conclusions, to identify clearly those responsible for the killings,

Considering that the Government of Indonesia had undertaken to adopt the measures necessary towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture,

Disturbed by the heavy sentences passed on the East Timorese involved in political activities on the basis of the "Anti-Subversion Law" whose abrogation had been recommended by the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture of the Commission on Human Rights,

Disturbed also by reports of continuing human rights violations in East Timor,

Disappointed by the persistent denial of access to the territory to human rights organisations,

1. Deplores the tragic events in Dili on 12 November 1991, in which East Timorese civilians, including women and children, were killed;
2. Expresses its utmost concern at reports of continuing widespread human rights violations in East Timor;
3. Invites the Secretary-General to transmit the full report of his Personal Envoy, Mr Amos Wako, to the Commission on Human Rights at its forty-ninth session;
4. Requests the Secretary-General in the preparation of his report on the situation in East Timor for consideration by the Commission on Human Rights under item 12 to include an analytical compilation of all information received from, inter alia, Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations,
5. Commends the decision of the Government of Indonesia to set up a National Commission of Inquiry, but regrets that investigation of the actions of the armed forces on 12 November 1991 has not been followed through and invites the Indonesian authorities to cooperate in the preparation of the above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General by providing information on the

complementary measures to bring the members of the armed forces responsible to justice,

6. Urges the Government of Indonesia to provide the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances information regarding the missing persons;
7. Also urges the Indonesian authorities on humanitarian grounds to cooperate with the families of the victims by providing information about the dead and the whereabouts of their remains for proper burial;
8. Calls upon the Indonesian authorities to honour their commitment to facilitate access to East Timor by humanitarian and human rights organisations;
9. Decides to review the situation in East Timor at its forty-fifth session and to this end asks the Secretariat to transmit to it all available information concerning the human rights situation in the territory.

The members and alternates (\*) of the Subcommission are:

Miguel Alfonso Martinez, \*Mariana Ferriol Echevarria (Cuba); Awn Shawkat Al-Khasawneh, \*Waleed M. Sadi (Jordan); Judith Sefi Attah, \*Christy Ezim Mbonu (Nigeria); Marc Bossuyt, \*Guy Genot (Belgium); Volodymyr Boutkevitch, \*Olexandre Kouptchichine (Ukraine); Linda Chavez, \*Robert J. Fortman (United States); Stanislav Valentinovich Chernichenko, \*Teimuraz O. Ramishvili (Russian Federation); Erica-Irene A. Daes, \*Alexis Heraclides (Greece); Leandro Despouy, \*Juan Carlos Hitters (Argentina); Asbjorn Eide, \*Jan Helgessen (Norway); El Hadji Guisse, \*Ndary Toure (Senegal); Ribot Hatano, \*Yozo Yokota (Japan); Muksum-UL-Hakim, \*Tofazzal Hossain Khan (Bangladesh); Claude Heller, \*Hector Fix Zamudio (Mexico); Louis Joinet, \*Alain Pellet (France); Ahmed Khalifa, \*Ahmed Khalil (Egypt); Fatma Zohra Ksentini, \*Farida Aiouaze (Algeria); Ioan Maxim, \*Petru Pavel Gavrilescu (Romania); Claire Palley, \*John Merills (United Kingdom); Said Naceur Ramadhane, \*Abdelfettah Amor (Tunisia); Rafael Rivas Posada, \*Eduardo Suescun Monroy (Colombia); Gilberto Vergne Saboia, \*Marilia S. Zelter Goncalves (Brazil); Rajindar Sachar (India); Jin Tian, \*Daode Zhan (China); Halima Embarek Warzazi, \*Mohamed Benkaddour (Morocco); Fisseha Yimer (Ethiopia).

The officers of the Subcommission are: Chairman: Miguel Alfonso Martinez; Vice Chairpersons: Rajindar Sachar, Stanislav Valentinovich Chernichenko and Fatma Zohra Ksentini; Rapporteur: Marc Bossuyt.

## OPTIMISM OVER UN CONDEMNATION OF INDONESIA

Lisbon, Aug. 28 (IPS) – The United Nations Human Rights Commission's condemnation of Indonesia's repression in East Timor, "is a shame for a country that aims to take a leadership position in the third world," said a Timorese activist Friday.

"It is the first time that an absolute majority supported a condemnation of Indonesia for the violation of human rights in Timor," said José Ramos-Horta, spokesperson for opponents of Jakarta's illegal occupation of the country.

Ramos-Horta said that as Indonesia was preparing to host and lead the summit of non-aligned nations, to be held Sep 1-5, the U.N. vote was "a serious diplomatic setback" for Jakarta.

The resolution was approved 13 votes in favour, six against and with four abstentions, and also condemns Jakarta for "continuing to shut East Timor off from the eyes of international observers."

As a U.N. member Indonesia is now obliged to release political prisoners condemned for non-violent acts under the so-called 'anti-subversive law,' and to help families of those still missing after the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre of an estimated 150 pro-independence demonstrators in the Timorese capital of Dili.

According to human rights monitors Amnesty International and Asia Watch, 210,000 out of a total population of 650,000 were killed in the first 15 years after Indonesia's occupation in 1975.

Ramos-Horta was sceptical about whether Indonesia would honour the points in the resolution, "especially acknowledging the disappearances of people whom we know are buried in mass graves." He added that the Indonesians claim the missing have returned to their homes, "but their families have yet to see them."

The UNHRC vote was confidential, but Ramos-Horta claimed that Morocco, China, Egypt, Nigeria and Tunisia, were among those countries that voted against the censure motion. All of them, he noted, were countries "familiar with human rights violations."

The resolution requires U.N. Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to release a report by his special envoy to Timor, so far kept "under lock and key" until now, said Ramos-Horta.

It also urges Boutros-Ghali to gather all reports released on Timor by governments and non-governmental organisations (NGO's) so far, for discussion at the February meeting of the commission.

Until that time NGO's and humanitarian organisations must have free entry into eastern Timor, said Ramos-Horta, pointing out that "Indonesia agreed to this in march but has not yet honoured the compromise."

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## CNRM MEMO ON UN RESOLUTION

*Memorandum from José Ramos-Horta, official spokesperson for the National Council of Maubere Resistance to solidarity groups and friends of East Timor:*

Geneva, Thursday, 27 August 1992

Today, the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted a resolution on the Situation in East Timor by an impressive 13 votes in favour, six against and four abstentions. This is the best support we have had for any resolution on East Timor at the Sub-Commission. It is particularly remarkable that when the resolution was formally tabled, not a single expert-member of the Sub-Commission spoke out against it.

There are several points, I would like to make about this important decision:

1. Beyond doubt, East Timor was the most thoroughly discussed of all issues raised at this, the 44th Session of the Sub-Commission. There were a number of powerful submissions made by a variety of NGOs, all of which had a strong impact on the members of the Sub-Commission and on all those attending the Session.
2. In my own lobbying with experts, I stressed that it would be a disgrace if the Sub-Commission were to fail this time to adopt a resolution on East Timor, after all that has happened in East Timor since the Sub-Commission last met in August 1991.
3. On behalf of the CNRM, I would like to thank all those, whether present at the Session or assisting elsewhere, for their help and support in winning this important victory.
4. When the Sub-Commission came to vote on the resolution, the atmosphere in the hall was tense, attentive and serious. Clearly, everyone present was very concerned for the fate of the resolution.
5. As is the case in Washington where I decided to appoint a professional lobbyist to work on behalf of East Timor in and around Congress, I have appointed a part-time professional lobbyist in Geneva as Special Consultant for the CNRM. It is her job to follow up the resolution with UN bodies and NGOs and to assist in the preparation of documentation in advance of future meetings

of UN bodies concerned with human rights. Her name is Alexandra Aula. Her address and phone number: BP 315, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland, 41 22 700-0693.

6. I request all solidarity groups to make contact with Alexandra and keep her informed of documents that may be of relevance to our collective endeavor.

Thank you.

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## PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS

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### BOUTROS-GHALI SETS PORTUGAL-INDONESIA TALKS

*From U.N. Daily Highlights press release, 2 September 1992*

On the last day of his official visit to Indonesia, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali met today with a number of world leaders.

...

At a meeting with President Soeharto of Indonesia, the Secretary-General and the President agreed to hold continuous consultations in order to enhance the cooperation between the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement.

...

After his meetings today in Jakarta, he Secretary-General held a press conference, and in reply to a question on the possibility of changing the composition of the Security Council, the Secretary-General said that such a change would need a revision of the United Nations Charter and that would require the agreement of the Council's five Permanent Members.

Asked about East-Timor, the Secretary-General said he had discussed the question with President Suharto, and they had agreed that during the forthcoming General Assembly the Secretary-General would invite the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal to discuss the issue without preconditions.

On the peace process in Cambodia, the Secretary-General told correspondents that he had had a "positive and constructive talk" with Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and that there was political will among the different factions to reinforce the Paris Agreements and to cooperate with the United Nations.

### ACCORDING TO THE DPI DAILY PRESS BRIEFING 2 SEPT. 1992

"Francois Giuliani said that at a press conference in Jakarta "the Secretary General said he had discussed the matter with President Soeharto and they had agreed that during the General Assembly, the Secretary-General would invite the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal to discuss the issue without preconditions."

*The issue being of course East Timor.*

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### RAMOS-HORTA CAUTIOUS ON UN TALKS INITIATIVE

*BBC World Service report, 3 September 1992. By Iain Simpson, Abridged slightly*

*Throughout this report, Ramos-Horta is referred to as if he were the Fretilin representative. In fact, he is the official spokesperson of the CNRM, the National Council for the Maubere People.*

The UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Ghali (in Jakarta for the Non-Bloc Summit), has invited the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal to hold informal discussions on the question of East Timor. He said the talks would probably take place during the UN General Assembly in New York which starts this month. The last round of talks broke down late last year following the cancellation of the planned Portuguese parliamentary visit to East Timor and the killing of civilians on 12 November.

The latest offer of talks has drawn a cautious reaction from the East Timorese resistance movement:

José Ramos-Horta, the independence movement's European (sic) representative said:

"We will not accept more than one or two meetings between the Portuguese Foreign Minister and his Indonesian counterpart because I don't think they need more than one meeting or two to discuss the format for the Timorese to be involved."

He said the Portuguese are not only aware of the concerns of the East Timorese but are effectively following the proposal for talks laid down by Fretilin (sic). He says Fretilin (sic) are prepared to sit down for talks with the Indonesians at any time and without preconditions, as long as the talks are held under UN auspices. So far, Jakarta has not been willing to meet officially with representatives of Fretilin, apparently fearing this would lend the organisation some legitimacy. But Mr Ramos-Horta says the clock is ticking and Indonesia will soon have to agree to talks.

"Time is running out for Indonesia. There is a consensus in the UN in New York

among experts observing the situation in East Timor and in Indonesia that Indonesia cannot continue at this pace for the next three to five years," he said.

If it is eventually included in the talks process, Fretilin (sic) says it will demand an immediate end to the hostilities in East Timor, the release of all the people it classified as political prisoners and an improvement in the human rights situation on the island.

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## PORTUGAL PREPARED TO LIFT TRADE BOYCOTT ON INDONESIA

by Bob Mantiri

Brussels, Sep. 3 (IPS) – Portugal has softened its stance on Indonesia's policy in East Timor, which may pave the way for the signing of a new economic and trade agreement between the European Community (EC) and the ASEAN group of countries.

A senior EC official in charge of north-south relations, disclosed Thursday that talks on an economic and trade pact between the EC and ASEAN will be discussed at the next meeting between the two groups in Manila Oct. 29.

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) comprises Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines.

Previous talks had failed after Portugal boycotted a new agreement during a meeting of EC foreign ministers on Jul. 21 in Brussels. Portugal, at that meeting, strongly criticised the Dili massacre of last November, when Indonesian troops killed more than 150 pro-independent demonstrators during a peaceful rally.

Portugal demanded an international investigation into the massacre and a referendum of the East Timorese people in its former colony. Portuguese diplomats have since been lobbying Portuguese-speaking African countries in a bid to bring Timor's case before this week's Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit in Jakarta.

In December, 1975 Portugal withdrew from its former colony East Timor. One week later, Indonesian troops invaded and in July 1976, East Timor was annexed to Indonesia.

A U.N. security council resolution condemned the annexation and conferred on Portugal the status of "adminstrating power" over Timor until the holding of a referendum on independence.

Portugal's readiness to change its stance follows the announcement of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Jakarta Wednesday that Indonesia and

Portugal will resume talks on East Timor during the U.N. general assembly in New York, which will start in two weeks.

The talks between the foreign ministers of both countries will be held under the auspices of the Secretary General, who is now attending the NAM meeting.

"Now Lisbon is prepared to lift its (trade) boycott when the Indonesian government admits that it violated human rights in East Timor and that it is responsible for the Dili massacre," the EC official said.

"Jakarta has no objections against this formulation since the government of president Suharto openly stated that it will see to it that incidents like Dili will not happen again," a senior Indonesian diplomat said in an interview.

He also referred to a number of corrective measures president Suharto took after the massacre. among these – the reorganisation of the army's top officers in East Timor and "the sacking of all generals who were responsible for the incident," the diplomat said.

The Portuguese foreign ministry in Lisbon said that the meeting between foreign minister Joao Deus de Pinheiro and his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas is the result of informal talks of the U.N. ambassadors of both countries in New York.

The last formal meeting between the countries – under the auspices of the secretary general – was in June 1991.

During this meeting, Indonesia agreed to the visit of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation. but at the last minute, Portugal suspended the visit which was planned for the first week of November 1991, because Jakarta had refused to include a Portuguese journalist on the list of visiting delegates.

Earlier, Portugal proposed that Ramos Horta, chief of the left-wing Fretilin which is seeking East Timor's independence, be permitted to visit East Timor to observe the situation and to meet the Fretilin guerrilla leaders there to help reach a settlement. Indonesia rejected that proposal as "unacceptable and unproductive."

According to Lisbon, the foreign ministers, in their first meeting in New York, will have to "first discuss the agenda." Integration of the East Timorese people in Indonesian society will be one of the issues which we will put on the agenda, he added.

Western diplomats in Jakarta say the general opinion in Indonesia is in favour of giving East Timor its independence following the collapse of communism in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

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## PROPOSED TALKS HAILED

Lisbon, Sep. 3 (IPS/Mario Dujisin) – the Timorese resistance and the Portuguese

government have reacted favourably to a UN initiative to promote dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal on the future of East Timor.

The UN proposal was announced Wednesday in Jakarta, by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, when he addressed the 10th non-aligned summit in the Indonesian capital.

Ghali proposed a direct meeting between foreign ministers Ali Alatas of Indonesia and Joao de Deus Pinheiro of Portugal in New York in late September.

The two foreign ministers have accepted to participate in an "exploratory dialogue" which, Lisbon said, should not create "exaggerated expectations."

The announcement was greeted with optimism by groups which have been waging a 16-year struggle for the independence of the former Portuguese colony, unilaterally annexed by Indonesia in 1975, and occupied by the Indonesian army since then.

However, their support for it was conditioned on its being "a single encounter" between the two foreign ministers and not the start of a series of meetings from which the Timorese would be excluded.

The spokesperson of the Timorese independence movement, José Ramos-Horta, told ips that "Timorese should sit at the negotiations table."

Ramos-Horta is the diplomatic representative of guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao, who leads the 16-year Timorese resistance to the Indonesian occupation.

The view in Lisbon is that Indonesia may have accepted Timorese participation in the dialogue since there have been no signals to the contrary from Jakarta.

From a strictly formal viewpoint the Timorese are Portuguese – when the UN security council awarded Portugal temporary sovereignty over East Timor in a 1976 resolution, it also granted the territory's inhabitants Portuguese nationality.

However, Jakarta has always refused to accept participation by Timorese in any talks with Portugal on the future of the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 after the island's last Portuguese governor, general Mario Lemos-Pires, left.

Interviewed by Portuguese journalists in Jakarta, former Indonesian foreign minister Mochtar Atmaidja said it was impossible to "go backwards" on Timor, something he claimed he had told then Portuguese foreign minister Mario Soares, now president, in the aftermath of the invasion.

"Nothing would have happened in Timor if general Lemos-Pires had not left and if majors Jonatas and Mota (two officers who took part in the revolution that overthrew the Portuguese dictatorship one year after)

had not given weapons to the Fretilin (Timorese national liberation front)," Atmaidja said.

In 1975, the revolutionary council of the armed forces movement (MFA) in Portugal decreed the decolonization of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa and the far east.

In East Timor the MFA handed over power to the Marxist Fretilin, formed by indigenous Timorese and mestizos descended from Timorese and ethnic Portuguese.

During the 48-year dictatorship he installed in 1926, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar used East Timor as the dumping ground for opponents of his regime, which explains the high proportion of leftists among the Timorese.

A Portuguese foreign ministry source said it was very unrealistic to expect Indonesia to accept the 1976 UN security resolution and withdraw from East Timor after occupying it for 17 years.

The more pragmatic among Portugal's politicians admit in private that the only solution could be based on a semi-autonomous status for the territory within the Indonesian republic.

However, since Timor is an issue of "national honour" in Portugal, local politicians find it difficult to treat it with the pragmatism which international relations require and, publicly, they only recognize the United Nations as a valid mediator.

The Timorese, for their part, are pressing for the full application of the security council resolution, which calls for Indonesia to withdraw from the territory and the holding of a referendum on autonomy under provisional Portuguese flag and the supervision of the United Nations and independent international observers.

The Timorese are categorical on another point: the denunciation of what Ramos-Horta describes as "the greatest proportional genocide in the history of this century, formed by the 210,000 victims left by the Indonesian army, that is, a third of the population of East Timor in 1975."

Nevertheless, Portuguese analysts and Timorese leaders agree that the fact that Indonesian president Suharto "has given the green light to (foreign minister) Ali Alatas to meet with Deus Pinheiro" is a positive development.

It is the first time that Jakarta has "accepted to talk on Timor without prior conditions," analyst Oscar Mascarenhas commented Thursday.

...

But in an interview carried by the radio station of the Portuguese catholic church, Alatas recalled that similar initiatives had flopped in 1983 and 1991.

Nevertheless, he described his upcoming meeting with his Portuguese vis-a-vis as "a good beginning" since "only realistic solutions can provide a solution for the Timor case."

## PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE QUESTION EAST TIMOR

*Document A/47/435 (English)  
11 September 1992. Full text.*

*47th session of General Assembly; Item 103 of the provisional agenda (A/47/150).*

1. In the last progress report of the Secretary-General (A/46/456), dated 13 September 1991, my predecessor reported that the substantive talks between Indonesia and Portugal had continued under his auspices. He also reported that, on 27 June 1991, the two Governments had reached agreement, ad referendum, on a number of pending issues related to the terms of reference for a visit to East Timor by a delegation from the Portuguese Parliament and that the agreement had subsequently been approved by the competent authorities of the two sides. A copy of the agreement was annexed to that report. He further reported on the efforts that were being made to prepare the practical arrangements for the visit. He had expressed his hope that the proposed visit could help to create an atmosphere conducive to a comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor.
2. Regrettably, however, after much of the groundwork had been laid, the visit did not take place as planned. Its cancellation was attributed to a difference between the parties over a particular journalist nominated by Portugal to accompany the parliamentary delegation. Since then, the dialogue that had been held through the Secretary-General's good offices since 1983 has been interrupted.
3. Following the cancellation of the visit on 12 November 1991, Indonesian forces in Dili, the capital of East Timor, opened fire on a crowd of mourners who had gone to the Santa Cruz cemetery to place flowers on the grave of a student who had earlier allegedly been killed by Indonesians. The crowd was reported to have been shouting anti-Indonesian and pro-FRETILIN (Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente) slogans. A National Commission of Inquiry, established by the Government of Indonesia, concluded in its report, dated 13 April 1992, that about 50 people were

killed and the number of those wounded exceeded 91. Other accounts have given considerably higher casualty figures. The incident was widely condemned internationally.

4. On 3 February 1992, I announced my decision to send Mr. Amos Wako, Attorney General of Kenya and an international authority on human rights, to Indonesia and East Timor as my Personal Envoy to consult with the Government of Indonesia and to obtain clarifications on the tragic Santa Cruz incident. Mr. Wako visited Indonesia and East Timor from 9 to 14 February 1992 and submitted his report to me on 19 February. On 24 March, I transmitted to Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, the conclusions and recommendations contained in Mr. Wako's report. On 30 May, Mr. Alatas responded to me by providing, inter alia, his Government's reaction to Mr. Wako's conclusions and recommendations, the full report of the National Commission of Inquiry established by the Government, a copy of a statement by the Army Chief of Staff on the findings of a Military Council of Honour established in accordance with the instructions of the President to examine the 12 November incident and on the actions taken against some members of the armed forces in connection with that incident.
5. On 4 March 1992, the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights made a statement announcing what had been agreed upon by consensus by the Commission concerning the human rights situation in East Timor. The Commission, inter alia, deplored the violent incident in Dili on 12 November 1991, welcomed the early action of the Indonesian Government in setting up a National Commission of Inquiry, and stated that it was encouraged by the announcement by the Indonesian Government of disciplinary measures and military court proceedings regarding some members of the armed forces. It called for the humane treatment of those civilians arrested, the assurance of proper legal representation and fair trial for those brought to trial and the release without delay of those who had not been involved in violent activities. It also welcomed the appointment of Mr. Wako as the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General; encouraged the Secretary-General to continue his good offices for achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor; called upon the Indonesian Government to facilitate access to East

Timor for additional humanitarian and human rights organizations, and requested the Secretary-General to continue to follow closely the human rights situation in East Timor and to keep the Commission on Human Rights informed at its forty-ninth session. I consider it significant, in this connection, that the Government of Indonesia has given its acceptance in principle to my proposal that my Personal Envoy should visit the area again at an appropriate time.

6. With respect to the search for a comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution of the question of East Timor, since my assumption of office in January 1992 my senior colleagues and I have been engaged in consultations with the parties concerned in an effort to find an acceptable format and modalities for reconvening the substantive talks that had gone on since 1983 under the auspices of my predecessor until they were interrupted last autumn. It is my considered view that the renewal of these talks could lead to substantive progress in the direction of a comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution.
7. In this connection, Mr. Joao de Deus Pinheiro, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, wrote to me on 13 January 1992, expressing Portugal's readiness to cooperate with me in fulfilling my mandate under General Assembly resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982, which requested the Secretary-General to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned. He also proposed a format and modalities for the dialogue.
8. The ideas conveyed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal were transmitted to the Indonesian Government and have been discussed at length at my meetings with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, on 21 February in New York, on 15 April at Beijing, and on 2 September at Jakarta, as well as during meetings with Foreign Minister de Deus Pinheiro of Portugal on 24 January in New York and at the London Conference on Yugoslavia on 26 August. On several occasions in New York, other United Nations officials have held discussions on the subject with the respective Ambassadors and other officials of the two countries. Foreign minister Alatas of Indonesia also formally conveyed to me, on 30 May and again on 2 September, the position of his Government with regard to the basis and modalities of the proposed talks. In addition, I have had exchanges of views with other interested parties. Finally, I

had the opportunity to discuss the matter with President Suharto of Indonesia at Jakarta on 2 September.

9. As a result of these contacts, I have invited the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and Portugal to hold informal consultations in New York under my auspices and without preconditions, starting on the occasion of their presence at United Nations Headquarters for the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I am confident that such a consultation can lead to a mutually agreeable format for the substantive talks and set them on a solid and fruitful course. I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate my personal commitment to contribute my utmost to the search for a comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to a problem that has been on the international agenda for a considerable period of time.

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY PUTS OFF TIMOR ACTION

*Excerpted from U.N. press release, 16 September.*

#### GENERAL COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY 144-ITEM AGENDA FOR CONSIDERATION BY FORTY-SEVENTH SESSION

... The General Committee recommended that the Assembly include a total of 144 items in the agenda of its current session, which began yesterday, and that it defer until its next regular session the items on the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India; and the question of East Timor. ...

On item 103, "Question of East Timor," Mr. Hayes (Ireland) said a recent report of the Secretary-General on East Timor had indicated that there could be substantial progress towards a solution of the issue. The Secretary-General had invited the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia to hold talks at Headquarters, without preconditions, during the current session. Because those talks could lead to a solution of the question, the item should be deferred to the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

Ronald B. Allarey (Philippines) agreed that the item should be deferred to the next session. The renewal of substantive talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General could lead to progress on the issue, he said, and the United Nations could best aid that endeavour by deferring consideration of the item.

The item was deferred to the forty-eighth Assembly session. ...

[The General Committee] recommended that the Assembly allocate the proposed items to the Fourth Committee, taking into account its decision on the "Question of East Timor."

### INDONESIA WILLING TO TALK TO RESISTANCE

*Some of the details are wrong (i.e. that Ramos-Horta can speak for separatist groups outside East Timor), but a hopeful story, anyway.*

Brussels, Sep. 17 (IPS/bob Mantiri) – Indonesia is willing to discuss East Timor with resistance movements provided they are part of an official Portuguese delegation, a senior Indonesian diplomat disclosed Thursday.

"We are not interested in separate talks with any rebel movement in East Timor," the New York-based diplomat said.

According to the diplomat, who spoke to ips on condition of anonymity, Jakarta is willing to "hold talks at any place and at any time."

But he stressed that Indonesia is not prepared to give East Timor its independence as is demanded by resistance movements. In July 1976, Jakarta annexed East Timor seven months after Indonesian troops had invaded the island.

"What may be possible is that East Timor, like all other provinces in Indonesia, will be given more regional autonomy in the near future," he said.

The diplomat refused to name the rebel movements which are fighting for independence in the former Portuguese colony. The conflict is headed by the people's Maubere national union which is commanded by Xanana Gusmao.

José Ramos Horta, Gusmao's personal representative abroad, who is also spokesperson for anti-Jakarta separatist groups outside East Timor, has called on Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor and hold elections under U.N. supervision – a call strongly rejected by the government of president Suharto.

Indonesia's willingness to open dialogue with Portugal comes while in New York, Portuguese foreign minister Joao Deus de Pinheiro and his Indonesian counterpart are engaged in discussions about East Timor, under the auspices of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Both ministers are in New York attending the U.N. general assembly.

This is the first meeting on government level and under U.N. sponsorship since June 1991 when Indonesia agreed to the visit of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation. But at the last minute, Portugal suspended the

November 1991 visit because Jakarta had refused to include a Portuguese journalist on the list with the visiting delegates.

Foreign ministers of the association of south east Asian nations (ASEAN) will also meet their European community counterparts in New York to discuss a new treaty for economic and trade cooperation. ASEAN comprises Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines.

Previous talks about a new EC-asean treaty had failed after Portugal boycotted a new agreement during a meeting of EC foreign ministers on Jul. 21 in Brussels.

At the meeting Portugal strongly condemned the massacre in the Timorese capital of Dili in November, when Indonesian troops killed more than 150 pro-independent demonstrators during a peaceful rally. Portugal demanded an international investigation into the massacre and a referendum on self-determination for the people of the former Portuguese colony.

But earlier this month Lisbon softened its criticism of Indonesia and said that it was prepared to lift the boycott, provided the Suharto government took responsibility for the Dili massacre.

Indonesia reacted by saying that after the Dili incident president Suharto took a series of measures, including sacking all generals responsible for the incident, which could be interpreted as taking responsibility for the massacre.

An EC official in Brussels said that the EC-asean talks on a new treaty for economic trade cooperation would be held on Oct. 29 in Manila.

The meeting in New York between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal followed after a series of informal secret meetings between diplomats of the two countries at the U.N. headquarters in New York and after a visit of secretary general Boutros-Ghali to Jakarta during the non aligned summit earlier this month.

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### MEETING BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA CONFIRMED

Lisbon, Sep. 23 (IPS) – Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers Joao de Deus Pinheiro and Ali Alatas will meet in New York Saturday to discuss East Timor, official Portuguese sources confirmed here Wednesday.

The summit will be the first at ministerial level since Indonesia invaded and annexed this former Portuguese colony in the archipelago of Java in December 1975, one week after it had obtained independence from Lisbon.

The conference is under the auspices of United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who will be moderator.

In 1975 the U.N. security council approved a resolution urging Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor and conferring on Portugal the status of “administrating power” until a referendum on independence is held. Indonesia, however, has repeatedly stated that Timor is its 27th province and that its annexation meant the end of Portuguese colonialism.

It also maintains it intervened militarily in Timor at the request of the popular democratic association of Timor, a party favourable to the annexation.

Jakarta emphasises that the invasion was decided when the then Portuguese governor, general Mario Lemos Pires, “abandoned Timor, and two Portuguese army majors surrendered their weapons to anti-Indonesian Marxist groups.”

According to Jakarta, in 15 years it has done more for Timor than the Portuguese did in five centuries.

But the resistance movements do not agree. José Ramos-Horta, spokesperson for these movements, told ips Wednesday that “the 200,000 deaths caused by the (Indonesian) invasion and annexation cannot be bought with public buildings and asphalt streets.”

“Jakarta is playing with the sentiments of third world countries by trying to put the affair in terms of an alleged dispute between a European country, Portugal, and a country of the south, Indonesia.

“The flaw in this reasoning is exposed for two reasons: Indonesia invaded us when we were already a country independent from Lisbon, and the U.N. resolution does not defend the return of Portuguese colonialism, but only a Portuguese administration to last till a referendum is held. This Jakarta does not accept because it knows it will lose.”

Portuguese press Wednesday printed a declaration on East Timor by British foreign minister Douglas Hurd – current holder of the rotating European community presidency – which was distributed Tuesday at the U.N. general assembly.

Hurd condemned the Indonesian army for last November’s massacre of 150 pro-independent protestors in Dili, Timor’s capital and demanded “a complete investigation.” he gave his support to “a dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the secretary general of the United Nations.”

The EC declaration signed by Hurd was interpreted in Lisbon as support for the speech made hours earlier to the U.N. general assembly by Portuguese foreign minister Deus Pinheiro, who again called inter-

national attention to violation of human rights in Timor.

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### UN COMMUNIQUÉ ON TALKS

*From the UN Department of Public Information, New York, SG/SM/4824. 28 September 1992. Full text.*

#### Foreign Ministers Of Indonesia And Portugal Agree To Resume Dialogue On East Timor, To Search For Internationally Acceptable Solution.

The following statement was issued on Saturday, 26 September, by the spokesman for Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali:

The Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal met today at United Nations Headquarters with the Secretary-General at the latter's invitation. They agreed to resume the dialogue between the two Governments to search for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor under the Secretary-General's auspices,

The dialogue will be a continuing process. The Foreign Ministers will meet regularly. Talks will also be held between the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations. In both cases, the Secretary-General will participate personally or through his designated representative.

The Foreign Ministers will hold their first meeting with the Secretary-General in December.

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### INDONESIA, PORTUGAL AGREE TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE

New York, Sep. 26 (IPS) – For the first time since the crisis in East Timor erupted in 1975, Indonesia and Portugal have agreed to talks to resolve the problem.

In a meeting Saturday with the U.N. Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas and the Portuguese foreign minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro agreed to meet again in December this year.

After the talks, both ministers exuded optimism but cautioned against finding a quick solution. “I am more optimistic now than I was two hours ago but I know the negotiations are going to be long, complex and a difficult process,” Pinheiro told reporters.

So far there are no indications of any common ground between Indonesia and Portugal. As Alatas explained, Indonesia believed that the people of East Timor had “expressed themselves” 17 years ago by

opting for independence through integration with his country.

Asked whether they would be a referendum in East Timor, he replied testily, "can a decision taken by a majority be reversed by a minority? And were there referendums in Mozambique and Angola (when they became independent)?"

The Portuguese foreign minister said that the talks would "not preclude" the hearing of interested parties, including East Timorese.

Portugal had earlier wanted East Timor to be formally represented in the talks. However, in agreeing to talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General they appear to have given some ground.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony north of Australia, was occupied by Indonesia in December 1975. Ever since Indonesia has held the territory by force. According to a human rights group, the East Timor Action Network, the Indonesian occupation has cost 200,000 lives out of a population of 700,000.

International attention was drawn to East Timor last November 12 when Indonesian soldiers killed over 140 (some reports put the toll at 273) East Timorese in Dili, the capital of the territory.

Indonesia acknowledged excessive force was used after a government investigation was conducted. However, it has refused to allow independent human rights groups or the media to go there for investigations.

President Suharto ignored the problem of East Timor in his speech to the general assembly last week. But the issue has been discussed in the assembly before and as many as eight resolutions calling for the self-determination of the East Timorese have been approved.

*Comment from TAPOL: Wrong of course. Talks have taken place intermittently between Portugal and Indonesia since 1983 but were broken off after the Portuguese MPs' mission visit was cancelled and the Dili Massacre on 12 November 1991.*

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## TALKS TO RESUME ON TIMOR FUTURE

*The Age (Melbourne) 28 Sept. 1992. By Jill Jolliffe Dateline: Lisbon. Slightly abridged*

Portugal and Indonesia have agreed to resume negotiations in December over the political future of East Timor, after a meeting between the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, and his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Ali Alatas.

The exploratory meeting, classified by the Portuguese minister as "talks about talks," was held in the New York office of

the UN Secretary General, Dr Boutros-Ghali.

In an interview with Portugal's state-run RTP channel soon afterwards, Mr Deus Pinheiro said that he expected East Timorese representatives would eventually be involved in the negotiations.

Previous talks were broken off in October last year after more than two years of meetings when a planned Portuguese parliamentary delegation to East Timor was suspended by Jakarta.

The Dili massacre on 12 November, following the suspension, led to an atmosphere of open hostility between Jakarta and Lisbon, although the Portuguese leaders said they saw continued talks as the only possible solution.

Portugal appears determined to drive a hard bargain in the forthcoming negotiations. Mr Deus Pinheiro said Lisbon wanted a "comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution on East Timor" and that he expects "a long, delicate process."

He said their difficulty was heightened by the fact that Portuguese and Indonesian positions were "180 degrees apart."

To illustrate the point, Mr Alatas said Jakarta was not prepared to include East Timorese representatives in the talks, because East Timorese had already voted for integration with Indonesia, in July 1976. Mr Deus Pinheiro insisted that "the East Timorese have a right to be consulted."

Mr Deus Pinheiro said the talks in December would also start just between the foreign ministers, at a place to be decided, presided over by the UN Secretary-General or his personal representative.

He said it would be the first of a series of regular encounters.

In Lisbon the Timorese resistance representative, Mr José Ramos Horta, greeted the New York meetings as a positive development and said he expected that East Timorese would enter directly into the negotiations at a later stage.

He said there was a proposal on the table at the UN for a Vatican delegation including Timorese Catholic representatives to attend as observers.

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## A BREAKTHROUGH ON EAST TIMOR

*Sydney Morning Herald, 28 Sept. 92. Editorial Comment. Unabridged*

At the very least, Indonesia has saved itself from looking rather silly. Last Thursday, President Soeharto gave a rousing speech before the UN General Assembly in which he defended the "inalienable right to self-determination, independence and sovereign statehood" of the Palestinians. He

said nothing about East Timor which the UN still regards as being occupied illegally by Indonesia and which everyone knows is a considerable blotch on Jakarta's human rights record. But over the weekend, the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal (East Timor's former colonial power) met in New York at the invitation of the UN Secretary-General. And they agreed to meet again in December and set up a regular series of talks to work through their differences over East Timor.

That is welcoming news. So is the fact that both sides are on record as viewing the purpose of these talks as a "search for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor." They are extremely important adjectives. A "just" solution can only be one that acknowledges the legitimate aspirations of the East Timorese. A "comprehensive" solution must deal with the burdensome Indonesian military presence in the territory and produce a situation in which the Fretilin guerrillas lay down their arms. And, since most of the world doesn't recognise Indonesia's 1976 annexation of East Timor, it is reasonable to presume that an "internationally acceptable" solution will tackle the ticklish issue of self-determination for the East Timorese.

Any optimism over the prospect of a lasting peace in East Timor must be tempered with caution, however. This is not the first time Indonesia and Portugal have sat down to negotiate over East Timor and those talks have not progressed very far in the past. Indonesia already has ruled out Lisbon's call for a referendum in East Timor on the future of the territory. And according to Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, there will be no representatives of the East Timorese themselves invited to attend the meetings.

That may change, of course, if Indonesia and Portugal begins to make substantive progress towards a comprehensive settlement. And in the meantime other ways can be found to feed the perspectives of the East Timorese into the talks. All negotiations are to be attended, for instance, by the UN secretary-general or his representative. If Indonesia is flexible enough - and this will be one test of how sincere it is about these talks - it will turn a blind eye to regular contacts between the UN Secretary-General's office and representative leaders of the East Timorese and reconsider its objections to a UN presence in the territory.

The timing of this initiative also raises some doubts about how much of a breakthrough it actually is. With the anniversary of the November 12 Dili massacre fast approaching, the last thing Jakarta wants is mass outpouring of grief or resentment or



both inside East Timor. Being able to say talks on the future of East Timor are about to begin may help minimise that risk. Moreover, Indonesia is still feeling some diplomatic heat over the Dili massacre and the decision to talk to Portugal may be designed to deflect it. Still, the problem of East Timor will not go away until Indonesia accepts that its policies of forced integration and cultural annihilation in the territory are not working.

Eventually a compromise must be struck. These UN-mediated talks are as good a place as any to start striking.

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## U.S. CONGRESS CUTS MILITARY AID

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### REPORT ON MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVE JIM KOLBE (ARIZONA)

*From Matt Cheselka, ETAN/Southwest, Aug. 10 1992*

A member of Arizona Representative Jim Kolbe's staff, called me to talk about the IMET vote. I said that I knew about the vote and followed it very closely. I told him I was very pleased with that vote.

I then turned quickly to HR 5176. When I met with Rep. Kolbe at one of his town hall meetings, I gave him a packet containing a copy of HR 5176, the UN Security Council resolution about East Timor, and a couple other things.

Anyhow, he scrambled to get the copy they had there. I will try to summarize below. I didn't tape the conversation (which was a mistake on my part) but I asked them to send me a letter explaining to me again what he told me.

1. Rep Kolbe will not cosponsor the bill. He does feel strongly about the human rights abuses and does not agree with what is going on there. The bill is the not the right message, the IMET amendment is, he said.
2. Since the bill has been passed onto four committees and 20 subcommittees, it will most likely not get to a vote this year.
3. A bill like this is very complicated that it would take A LOT of work to actually implement all that is calls for.
4. The bill is poorly written and asks for things that can't be met.
5. If, in the future, Indonesia changes it's policy, there is no direction the bill tells us to go.

There was a lot said and I'm sure I missed a lot, but that's why I asked them to send me a letter about this.

My responses:

I'm really sorry he doesn't feel strongly enough about the human rights abuses not to cosponsor the bill. I told him I understood how complicated the issue was, but I didn't see that as reasonable enough to not consider stopping all aid to Indonesia as stated in the bill.

I told him that I personally feel responsible for the deaths in Dili on November 12, since the guns used in that massacre was most probably US-supplied. And, since I voted for Rep Kolbe in 1988, I feel that I have actually supported the Indonesian government and military.

I reminded him that even before the invasion in 1975, the US has supplied most of the arms that are now killing the East Timorese.

I did sound strong but at the same time I thanked him again and again for taking the time to call me. I have five reps and two senators. Only one senator (McCain) and Rep Kolbe has responded to my letters and calls. McCain sent a "form letter" and I've gotten a pretty good response from Kolbe as you can see. I am hoping to hear from the Kolbe office soon.

Peace to all! Make those phone calls!

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## ETAN/CANADA WRITES U.S. SENATE

East Timor Alert Network  
104-2120 W.44, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2  
Box 2002, Stn D, Ottawa Ont., K1P 5W3  
Box 562, Stn P, Toronto Ont., M5S 2T1  
August 5, 1992

Dear Senator,

The East Timor Alert Network of Canada fully endorses the Machtley-Hall amendment to Bill HR5368, which calls for an end to IMET (International Military Education and Training) funding to Indonesia. ETAN/Canada is a national network in support of East Timor's right to self-determination, founded in 1987 by the Canadian Council of Churches.

We see the suspension of IMET funding and weapons sales as an excellent way to convey to Indonesia the intolerable nature of its East Timor policy, especially with regards to the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12, 1991.

We hope you will be able to seriously consider supporting the amendment, which comes at a critical time for the people of East Timor. Since the Santa Cruz massacre, repressive measures by the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor have only intensified. As East Timor's Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, says, "We are dying as a people and as a nation."

The Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) have always displayed a total disregard for human rights. The IMET program has done nothing to change this. Over the last 25 years, ABRI has committed repeated and consistent atrocities, not just in East Timor (where one in three Timorese are dead since the Indonesian invasion), but also in West Papua, Aceh and other parts of the archipelago.

In spite of a long history of U.S. diplomatic and military support for the Indonesian regime, the suspension of IMET funds would allow the U.S. to set a precedent to those countries which also place importance on human rights and democracy. The shameful complicity in the past of states such as the U.S. is not irreversible. Indonesia's brutal occupation of East Timor should not remain an exception among the injustices in our world.

Cutting off IMET funds would be an unmistakable message to the Indonesian regime that it will not be able to defy forever international law and the UN Declaration of Human Rights. After more than 16 years of bloodshed and oppression, East Timorese nationalism is stronger than ever. It's time for the international community to impose sanctions against the Indonesian regime. An IMET cut would pave the way for concrete international action.

We urge you to support the Machtley-Hall amendment as a significant step towards peace and justice in East Timor.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Li-lien Gibbons For the East Timor Alert  
Network of Canada

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## AID CUT TO INDONESIA

*From September/October 1992 (Vol.9 #5)  
issue of the Nonviolent Activist, War  
Resisters League, US*

Congressional efforts to punish Indonesia for last November's massacre of over 150 civilians in East Timor were given substance when the House of Representatives agreed unanimously to delete funding for military training to Indonesia from the foreign aid appropriations bill. Though non-binding resolutions have in the past condemned Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, this was the first time that Congress had taken substantive action on the subject. The Senate was to take up the amended foreign aid bill in late July.

Earlier this year Representative Tony Hall (D-OH) introduced H.R. 5176. This bill would end U.S. aid to Indonesia until it withdraws from East Timor, stops human rights violations, and allows a U.N.-supervised referendum on self-determination. East

Timor activists see the legislation as the best hope for reversing Indonesia's illegal invasion which began shortly after the former Portuguese colony declared independence in 1975. 200,000 Timorese have died as a result of the occupation which has been condemned by the United Nations.

Charles Scheiner, coordinator of the East Timor Action Network, believes that "the Indonesian military is worried about the Hall legislation. Holding on to East Timor may not be worth trade sanctions and a cut off of arms. If the costs of keeping East Timor becomes too high, they may decide to give it up." The U.S. gives Indonesia about \$50 million in direct bilateral aid each year.

Recently, Indonesian courts have given sentences of up to life imprisonment to Timorese activists involved in demonstrations against Indonesian occupation and the November 11 massacre, while a handful of low-level soldiers involved in the massacre have received sentences of months.

For information or to join an alerts network, contact the East Timor Action Network, P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, N.Y. 10602, (914) 428-7299. —John M. Miller

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## SENATE TO DECIDE ON MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA NEXT WEEK

*ACTION ALERT from East Timor Action Network / U.S.*

*September 9, 1992*

The Indonesian government, corporate lobbyists, and the Bush administration are lobbying Congress heavily to get \$2.3 million in IMET military training restored to the Foreign Aid appropriations bill. Although this money was unanimously deleted by the House of Representatives in protest of Indonesia's massacres in East Timor, there is a danger that the Senate may restore it. Letters and calls are needed immediately to:

Senator Patrick J. Leahy (Democrat, Vermont), SR-433 Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC 20510, 202-224-7209. Leahy is chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Although he was previously committed to canceling IMET, recent information indicates that he might be hedging, agreeing to give Indonesia the money if they meet certain weak conditions. He should be urged to stand firm.

Senator Robert Byrd (Democrat, West Virginia), SH-311 Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, DC 20510, 202-224-7200. Byrd chairs the full Appropriations

Committee. He is likely to act as an advocate for Indonesia unless he hears from a lot of people. As a Committee chairman, he has a national constituency, so contact him even if you're not from West Virginia.

Senator Tom Harkin (Democrat, Iowa), SH-531 Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, DC 20510, 202-224-3254. Harkin has a good record on human rights in general and East Timor in particular. He needs support in his advocacy so that he can say that there is a national consistency in support of cutting aid to Indonesia.

The following is a letter sent to Senator Leahy by the East Timor Action Network. It mentions most of the key points.

Please communicate anything you learn to the East Timor Action Network. Thank you. This is the most crucial test and the most important opportunity we have had so far.

Charles Scheiner, Coordinator, ETAN

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Dear Senator Leahy:

As you know, your Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations will be considering H.R.5368, the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill, in the next week or so. Among the issues you will decide is whether to sustain the House's deletion of International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds for Indonesia.

The East Timor Action Network was formed at the beginning of 1992 by Americans outraged over the Santa Cruz massacre last November 12, when Indonesian soldiers methodically fired into an unarmed memorial procession and killed over 150 people. We have around 400 active members in more than 30 states, including Vermont. As they contact their Senators and Representatives, our members have been encouraged by the responses from both Democrats and Republicans. Senator Specter, for example, has written his constituents that he will oppose IMET funding. Both at the grassroots and in Washington, people are ready to take action to end the long nightmare of the people of East Timor.

We were encouraged to hear from several of our Vermont members that you have committed yourself to prohibiting IMET funding. However, in a letter you wrote to Robin Lloyd of the Burlington Peace Coalition on August 12, you talk about making such aid conditional on the administration's certification that Indonesia has met the requirements you placed in the Congressional Record on April 1, 1992. We are upset by this apparent weakening of your commitment, and urge you to reject such a compromise.

Your April 1 statement requested a report by August 1 that Indonesia had met various human rights documentation and access requirements. But the issue is not to document human rights violations, but to end them. Furthermore, Indonesia's actions since the Santa Cruz massacre, and especially during the Non-Aligned Conference last week, make it clear that President Suharto has no intention of listening to the protests of the international community.

The IMET funding provides an opportunity to save American taxpayers' money and act for human rights at the same time. Through its conduct over the years, and especially during and after the Santa Cruz massacre, the Suharto regime has forfeited any right to military aid from the United States. Our government has provided weapons and training for this military government since took power in 1965 — the means for killing over a million people, including 200,000 (one-third of the population) in East Timor.

Since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, Jakarta has sent more than 2,600 military officers to the United States for training under IMET. American citizens and taxpayers we have been unwitting partners in genocide. It is past time for this to stop.

We urge you to prohibit the use of foreign aid money to train Indonesian soldiers. It is too late for conditions and certifications.

By cutting IMET, the United States government can help bring the benefits of the New World Order to the people of East Timor. We urge you to do this, and to go future to restrict arms sales and other benefits to the Indonesian regime, as outlined by H.R.5176, a "Bill to Promote Self-Determination for East Timor." That bill restricts aid, trade, and weapons sales until Indonesia complies with U.N. resolutions calling for withdrawal from East Timor and a U.N.-supervised plebiscite to allow the people there to determine their own political future. Although I realize that this broader signal is outside the scope of your Subcommittee, it can be included in the committee report and in the discussion on the Senate floor. You, or other Senators, could offer such an amendment.

Thank you very much for your consideration, and I would appreciate hearing your position on this question. Please feel free to contact the East Timor Action Network if we can be of any service.

Sincerely,

Charles Scheiner, coordinator  
East Timor Action Network

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## ETAN/US ADVOCATES TOTAL AID CUTOFF

East Timor Action Network - U.S.  
September 11, 1992

Tim Reiser

Senate Appropriations Committee Staff  
by fax: 202-224-7914

Dear Tim:

Thanks for calling me back yesterday, and for taking the time to talk. I understand that you are under a lot of pressure, and that East Timor is not your only concern. The East Timor Action Network appreciates the attention you and Senator Leahy are giving to this issue.

I realize what bothers me about the conditions you are considering to attach to IMET. It would be very unlikely for Indonesia to comply with those conditions honestly. However, leaving it up to the U.S. President to certify that Indonesia has complied with conditions that largely deal with Indonesian government reporting of past human rights abuses, allows considerable room for doubt. The conditions do nothing to end abuses, but only allow the world to know about them.

The Suharto government's Commission of Inquiry produced false reports which grossly understate the casualties of the Santa Cruz massacre. They put low-level soldiers on trial for minor offenses when higher-level officers are guilty of major ones, and reassign generals to Harvard Business School. They continue to arrest, harass, and probably murder Timorese people who have done nothing other than be suspected of agreeing with independence for East Timor.

Under Indonesian law, you can be punished (some have gotten life sentences) for "inciting hostility" to the government, even if no violent act is alleged. You can be jailed for communicating with the outside world, for possessing printed materials, or for thinking about peaceful protest. Indonesia is unashamed of their policies, and has repeatedly lied to the international community. Recent U.S. administrations have often stretched the truth in certifications to Congress, as the Iran/Contra scandal amply demonstrates. Working together, both administrations could present a report to Congress that has little resemblance to reality.

It is not enough only to report abuses of human rights, as the conditions you have developed would require. The U.S. did not attack Iraq to force reporting of violations against the Kurdish and Kuwaiti people, but (ostensibly) to stop those violations and force Iraqi withdrawal. We do not advocate U.S. intervention against Indonesia, but it is

a sharp parallel. Asia Watch does an excellent job at monitoring and reporting human rights abuses. Unlike the United Nations, they take no position on self-determination for East Timor. There is a limited focus which should not restrict this legislation.

We support an unconditional cutoff of IMET and other non-humanitarian aid and arms sales to Indonesia. For 27 years (17 in East Timor) the Suharto government has blatantly violated international human rights standards. There is time next year for Congress to decide if things have improved, and then to put IMET and other aid in the 1994 budget. For 1993, it is already too late.

If Congressional strategy requires that there be conditions, we prefer something similar to Section (2)(a) of H.R.5176: independent verification of the cessation of human rights abuses, military withdrawal, and a U.N.-supervised referendum for self-determination. Encouragement of negotiations which include representatives of the Timorese people could be a step toward that process.

The conditions outlined in Senator Leahy's April 1 statement, which are similar to those you described to me yesterday, are necessary but not sufficient. Indonesia will claim to have met many of them. They allowed U.N. investigator Amos Wako and Asia Watch's Sidney Jones to visit East Timor in February. They let the International Commission of Jurists monitor the trials of Timorese accused in the aftermath of Santa Cruz, although their disinformation totally corrupted their report, which has been partially retracted. They put soldiers on trial, asserting that they disobeyed orders. They could easily produce partial lists of names for corpses and detainees, and claim they were complete.

They will have trouble with "free and regular" access for human rights observers, but they might do that as well. Before the aborted Portuguese parliamentary visit, many observers did visit. The agreement with the Portuguese specified that any Timorese would be allowed to meet with them freely, yet many have been convicted for planning to do precisely that. In late October 1991, ABRI visited families and threatened to kill their children "to the seventh generation" if they spoke with the visitors. Knowing the long-standing and pervasive terror which the Indonesian occupiers have created among the Timorese people, Suharto might gamble (as he did in 1989-91) that most would not risk speaking frankly with foreign visitors. An ETAN member who visited East Timor last month was struck by the all-pervasive fear.

Thank you for your attention and concern. I hope these suggestions are helpful, and would be glad to discuss them or supply documentation. If you have suggestions as to how the East Timor Action Network can help get IMET and other aid restrictions passed, please let me know.

Sincerely,  
Charles Scheiner, Coordinator

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## CONTACT SENATOR INOUE TODAY ON IMET

*East Timor Action Network/US, Sep. 21*

The Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee met Friday afternoon. Although they did not issue a report, the subcommittee is leaning toward approving IMET contingent on Indonesia providing certain information and allowing human rights observers into East Timor. ETAN would have preferred a total cutoff of military aid, but the proposed conditions are strict enough to show that Congress means business.

The full committee will meet Tuesday morning, September 22, to decide on IMET funding. Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii may try to weaken the conditions, reducing them to an Indonesian promise that Timorese human rights are improving and the inclusion of material on human rights in the IMET training.

These easily-met conditions would indicate that Congress is ready to go along with Jakarta and its emissaries; General Electric, AT&T, and the Bush administration. Suharto arrives in New York on Tuesday to address the UN; we must make sure he gets a better message.

Please call Senator Inouye today at 202-224-3934 or fax him at 202-224-6747 before Tuesday and urge him to support strong limits on IMET.

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## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA CALLS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATION

*MEDIA ADVISORY: September 21, 1992*

Amnesty International USA (AIUSA) today called on the United States Senate to urge the Government of Indonesia to improve its human rights record by taking strong specific steps.

On the eve of mark-up by the Senate Appropriations Committee of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1993, Amnesty International USA expressed its support for the recommendations proposed by Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chairman Senator Leahy.

The Leahy proposals are a part of several recommendations Amnesty International has repeatedly communicated to the Indonesian government to implement as future protection of human rights in East Timor and Indonesia.

"These represent the first steps that the Government of Indonesia could take to fundamentally change its human rights practices," said John G. Healey, Executive Director, AIUSA. "If the Senate weakens these steps, it's members will certainly send the message that it is not serious about seeing change in Indonesia's egregious human rights record."

Amnesty International USA noted that the Leahy proposals are obviously not an exhaustive list of actions the Government of Indonesia could undertake. The human rights organization would welcome Senate endorsement of additional recommendations that Amnesty International has conveyed to the Indonesian government.

Amnesty International does not take a position on imposing sanctions on government, but strongly advocates that human rights be an integral part of foreign policy debates, such as the foreign aid appropriations.

## IMET SENATE VOTE REPORT

*From ETAN/US, 22 September*

The Senate Appropriations committee voted 15-12 Wednesday for the weaker Inouye conditions over the stronger Leahy version. Senators most heavily lobbied by ETAN (D'Amato, Lautenberg, Specter, and Committee chair Byrd) all voted with Leahy; we won the Foreign Operations subcommittee 8-5. In a week or so, there will be a conference committee to resolve the differences between the House (unconditional cutoff of IMET) and the Senate bills. Because the vote was close and the chairman and subcommittee are on our side, we expect a compromise similar to Leahy's conditions.

Although the Senate vote may seem like a defeat, remember that our work made the original Administration/Indonesia position of maintaining or increasing IMET funding with no conditions so untenable it wasn't even proposed.

The IMET issue has generated a great deal of media interest, both worldwide and in the U.S. press. On Monday, ABC Television *World News Tonight* ran a long report on conditions inside East Timor, which was very critical of Indonesia. Charles Glass, a London-based ABC newsman, was in East Timor last month, disguised as a tourist.

Tuesday, the *Wall Street Journal* ran an editorial attacking "Leahy's isolationism" which criticized the IMET cut but advocated self-determination for East Timor. Wednesday, the *Charleston Gazette* (in Byrd's home state) editorialized about "Death - Made in USA" urging Byrd to oppose IMET. After the vote, ABC World News Tonight reported that the Senate had voted to "punish Indonesia" over East Timor.

Thursday morning, Indonesia (in the names of US oil companies) paid \$180,000 for full-page ads on the back pages of all four sections of the NY Times, probably the first time ever this has been done. Last week's pro-Jakarta article on East Timor (the first in more than six months) shows what this can buy.

Thursday, Suharto addressed the UN General Assembly. During his speech, Canadian Li-lien Gibbons (step-sister of Kamal Bamadhaj, the young Malaysian killed in the Santa Cruz massacre) stood up with a banner reading "Free East Timor" and was expelled from the UN. ETAN/US distributed a statement to the UN press corps and found a sympathetic audience to our dissent to Suharto's hypocritical advocacy of self-determination and human rights ... for everywhere except Indonesia. Friday evening, we will demonstrate outside the Waldorf-Astoria, where Suharto is being honored by the business community.

### U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE RESTORES MILITARY AID

*Holly Burkhalter, long one of the most effective human rights workers on Capitol Hill, is Washington Director of Human Rights Watch. Asia Watch is a part of Human Right Watch. While there is a long-established, low-profile, and too little-investigated pro-Indonesia lobby in the US, there are also many experienced specialized human rights monitors with demonstrated credibility who have labored long and hard both independently and in organizations to counter this "well-oiled" pro-Indonesia lobby.*

*— John MacDougall*

Washington, Sep. 23 (IPS) — a key U.S. senate committee voted here Wednesday to restore to Indonesia 2.3 million dollars in military training and aid that had been cut to protest last year's killings in East Timor.

The committee passed an amendment to the 1993 foreign aid bill requiring the U.S. secretary of state to "use all available means" to encourage Indonesia to make improvements in the human rights situation on East Timor and to promote dialogue between Indonesia and Timor's former colonial power, Portugal.

The bill will now be referred to the senate floor, after which it must be reconciled with another version from the house of representatives which voted earlier this summer to cut all military aid to Indonesia.

Human rights advocates expressed shock at the senate committee's action but predicted they will prevail when the amendment is taken up at a joint house-senate conference committee later.

"It's a black day when a majority of senators votes to restore military aid to a pariah like Indonesia which gunned down dozens of unarmed demonstrators in cold blood, slapped the perpetrators on the wrist, and then prosecuted and sentenced to long jail terms the survivors of the massacre," Holly Burkhalter of Asia watch told ips after the vote.

She was referring to the massacre last November 12 of dozens of Timorese at a cemetery in the capital, Dili. the Indonesian army said 50 people had died in the gunfire, while the catholic bishop of East Timor estimated that 180 were killed.

The State Department said last year it had received credible report of more than 100 deaths in the incident, which was followed by disciplinary proceedings against some officers and the arrest and trial of a dozen Timorese suspected of leading the demonstration.

Burkhalter said the Senate appropriations committee had come under "tremendous pressure" from lobbyists representing U.S. corporations active in Indonesia, one of the fastest-growing southeast Asian economies. the 'wall street journal' also published a strong editorial against an aid cut Tuesday.

Burkhalter said U.S. firms were motivated by language contained in the house bill that called for a review of the roughly 40 million dollars in economic aid Washington provides Indonesia if Jakarta fails to make progress in its human rights performance in Timor.

Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor after a nationalist movement declared the territory's independence from Portugal in late 1975.

### INDONESIA LOBBY SCORES

*Excerpt from report by William Scally of Reuter, Sept. 24:*

The [Senate Appropriations Committee] also voted 15-12 to eliminate a requirement that Indonesia agree to cooperate with an impartial international body in identifying victims of a massacre in East Timor last November and take steps to punish members of the military involved before it can receive \$2.3 million in military training aid.

*Excerpt: report by Jim Drinkard of AP:*

The panel took a series of other actions, many of them thwarting the wishes of foreign aid subcommittee Chairman Patrick Leahy, D-Vt. The committee: ...

Made it easier for Indonesia to receive \$2.3 million to help pay for U.S. training of its military personnel. Leahy had put strict conditions on the money to protest last year's massacre of civilians in East Timor by Indonesian troops. His opponents said the conditions would be impossible to meet, and the aid cutoff would eliminate an opportunity to educate Indonesian troops on human rights.

**BACKGROUND ON THE U.S. MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIA CONTROVERSY**

*From ETAN/US, September 28, 1992*

On September 23, the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee, on a 15-12 vote, conditionally approved \$2.3 million in IMET military training for Indonesia as part of the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill. They adopted the "Inouye conditions" and rejected the stronger "Leahy conditions."

Since the House of Representatives had previously unconditionally cut off this program (which is the only direct U.S. military aid program for Indonesia), a conference committee of both houses must reconcile the two versions. If a strong human rights lobbying campaign continues, the final result may be similar to the stronger conditions. ETAN/US spent most of our efforts contacting Senators on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, and they voted 8-5 for Leahy.

In the next week, we need to step up efforts on all conference committee members, to counter the efforts of the Indonesian government and their corporate emissaries. For more information, contact the East Timor Action Network/U.S. We have produced Action Alerts with more background information.

**INOUYE CONDITIONS, AS APPROVED IN THE SENATE:**

... none of the funds appropriated under this heading may be made available for Indonesia unless the Secretary of State certifies to the Committee on Appropriations that:

(1) special emphasis is being placed on education of Indonesian military personnel that will foster greater awareness of and respect for human rights and that will improve military justice systems;

(2) special emphasis is also being placed on education of civilian and military personnel that will foster greater understanding

of the principle of civilian control of the military, and

(3) the Secretary of State will use all available and appropriate means to ensure there is progress on the East Timor situation, such as the full availability of legal remedies under Indonesian law to all civilians convicted in connection with the November 1991 East Timor incident, increased access for human rights groups to East Timor, and constructive cooperation with the United Nations Secretary General's efforts to promote dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal to resolve issues concerning East Timor;

Provided further, That the certification required by the preceding proviso shall be submitted not later than December 15, 1992.

**LEAHY CONDITIONS THAT WERE REJECTED BUT COULD BE SALVAGED**

[none of the IMET funds for Indonesia may be made available until the President certifies that]

(1) the Government of Indonesia has published a list of names of all those killed and missing as a result of the November 12 massacre and indicated what steps are being taken to determine the identity of those responsible for disposal of bodies;

(2) the Government of Indonesia has identified all military personnel who were responsible for ordering, authorizing, or initiating the shooting of demonstrators at Santa Cruz, East Timor, and is taking steps to bring them to justice;

(3) the Government of Indonesia has undertaken to review the sentences of all East Timorese civilians convicted in connection with the November 1991 demonstrations in Dili and Jakarta for the purpose of their commutation, reduction, or remission;

(4) observers representing international human rights organizations are being permitted access to East Timor.

In the event the President makes this determination and certification, not less than 50% of any such IMET that is made available for Indonesia shall be for "expanded IMET" programs.

**MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE:**

DC address: All Senators are Senate Office Building, Washington DC 20510. All representatives are House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515. Any without phone numbers can be reached through the Capitol switchboard at (202)224-3121. All fax and phone numbers listed are area code 202.

The first column is how Senators voted. Y=Leahy, N=Inouye, A=absent.

**Conference Committee Senators:**

Name	St.	DC addr
fax	phone	staffer
Y Patrick J. Leahy,	Ch. VT D	433 Russ.
224-7914	224-7209	Tim Ri eser
Y Dennis DeConcini	AZ D	328 Hart
224-8698	224-4521	
N Daniel K. Inouye	HI D	722 Hart
224-6747	224-3934	
Y Tom Harkin	IA D	531 Hart
224-9369	224-3254	Jim Sweeney
N J. Bennett Johnston	LA D	136 Hart
224-5824		
Y Barbara A. Mikulski	MD D	320 Hart
224-4654		
N Warren B. Rudman	NH R	530 Hart
224-3324		
Y Frank R. Lautenberg	NJ D	506 Hart
224-9707	224-4744	
Y Alfonso M. D'Amato	NY R	520 Hart
224-5871	224-6542	Greg Rickman
N Don Nickles	OK R	713 Hart
224-5754		
Y Mark O. Hatfield	OR R	711 Hart
224-0276	224-3753	
Y Arlen Specter	PA R	303 Hart
224-9029	224-4254	
N Robert W. Kasten, rank	WI R	110 Hart
224-5323		

**Conference Committee Representatives:**

David R. Obey, chairman	WI D	2462
Rayburn 226-7922	225-2041	Bill Schuerch
Sidney R. Yates	IL D	2109
Rayburn 225-3493	225-2111	
Matthew F. McHugh	NY D	2335
Rayburn 225-1799	225-6335	
William Lehman	FL D	2347
Rayburn		
Charles Wilson	TX D	2256
Rayburn 225-1764	225-2401	
Lawrence J. Smith	FL R	113 Cannon
225-7931		
Peter J. Visclosky	IN D	330 Cannon
225-2461		
Bill Alexander	AR D	233 Cannon
225-6182	225-4076	
Mickey Edwards, rank	OK R	2330
Rayburn 225-2132		
John Edward Porter	IL R	1026
Ingwrth 225-0157	225-4835	
Bill Green	NY R	2301
Rayburn 225-0840	225-2436	
Bob Livingston	LA R	2368
Rayburn 225-0739	225-3015	

**Senators on Appropriations but not on conference committee**

N Ted Stevens	AK R
Y Wyche Fowler, Jr.	GA D
N Thad Cochran	MS R
N Christopher S. Bond	MO R
N J. Robert Kerrey	NE D
N Harry Reid	NV D
N Pete V. Domenici	NM R
N Ernest F. Hollings	SC D
N Phil Gramm	TX R
N Jake Garn	UT R
N Slade Gorton	WA R
Y Brock Adams	WA D
Y Robert C. Byrd	WV D
A Dale Bumpers	AR D
A Kent Conrad	ND D
Y Jim Sasser	TN D

**DEATH - MADE IN USA (CHARLESTON GAZETTE)**

*Editorial in the Charleston Gazette (the principal newspaper in West Virginia), 9/23/92:*

During the Cold War, America armed any cruel dictatorship that could be called an "ally" against communism. Predictably, the despots often used the U.S. guns to kill their own people.

A slightly different scenario happened in the southwest Pacific. Muslim Indonesia used its American weapons to seize Catholic East Timor and kill 200,000 Timorese.

(When Iraq seized Kuwait, President Bush said America wouldn't tolerate such outrages, and he mobilized an allied war against Iraq. But the White House hardly muttered when Indonesia did the same to its island neighbor.)

The U.N. Security Council ordered Indonesia to withdraw, but it refused. Ever since, the White House has continued arming and training Indonesians. This year, America will sell them \$70 million worth of weaponry, and will spend \$2.3 million on Indonesia in the International Military Education and Training program.

Church and human rights groups urged Congress to halt the IMET money for Indonesia. In June, the House voted to eliminate the funds. Now the matter is before Sen. Robert C. Byrd's Senate Appropriations Committee.

We hope Byrd heeds the humanitarians. Why should America continue arming and training killers?

—  
*This letter was sent to Senators on the Appropriations Committee by an American professor. In order to preserve his future access to the country, name and identifying details have been removed.*

23 September 1992

My regional specialty is Southeast Asia, and my country specialty is Indonesia. I have lived in Indonesia and conducted research there for extended periods during the last decade. Through direct contact with top government officials, the leadership of the armed forces, and leading business interests (both foreign and domestic), I have built up a considerable base of experience.

It is clear that a massive campaign has been launched by the Indonesian government to make sure that the \$2.3 million in military training not be cut this year. Indeed, the campaign is decidedly out of proportion to the level of funds in question. What matters both here in the U.S. and in Indonesia is the symbolic nature of your vote on this issue. If this paltry sum of money is suspended, it will be the first signal from the U.S. government in 17 years that Indonesia's policy in East Timor is unacceptable.

I am aware that an unusual array of forces has been assembled to lobby on behalf of the Indonesian government. A high U.S. military official phoned Senator Hatfield, for instance. Companies such as AT&T, GE, and Freeport have been prodded by the Indonesian government to con-

tact you. They have been issued threats, it is said, that if they do not do their very best to get IMET reinstated, they might no longer be welcome to do business in Indonesia.

Two issues are important here. First, this largely symbolic vote on IMET does not imply a major reorientation of U.S. policy toward Indonesia. The U.S. relationship with Indonesia is sound, and there is no need to fear a major backlash from Jakarta. The Indonesians depend on the U.S. to counter-balance the threats and influences from Japan and China. This is not going to change any time soon. It does, however, signal a change in policy on East Timor. If it is true that the U.S. went to war over Kuwait for principled reasons, then precisely the same principles should apply in the Timor case, and U.S. policy should be adjusted accordingly.

The second matter is the threat that Jakarta will retaliate against U.S. firms if the IMET money is blocked. This is an empty threat. The Indonesians have spent most of the 1980s and early 1990s mounting a major campaign to attract international capital. They will think twice before jeopardizing this effort through attacking major corporations, especially the big-name firms that have been lobbying so hard in recent weeks. My estimation is the firms know this, but they need to show a good-faith effort anyway. An additional sign that the Indonesians are bluffing is the fact that they count on having these major U.S. firms on hand as a counter-balance to firms from other countries, particularly Japan.

The real reason behind the desperate campaign being waged from Jakarta is that the Indonesian military is extremely concerned that even a minor shift in the international community in favor of defending human rights and self determination in East Timor will prove to be more than they can manage. I urge you to resist the empty threats and alarms being sounded, and send a clear signal to Jakarta that the U.S. will not condone the wholesale killing of unarmed, civilian protestors.

—  
*This "Review & Outlook" editorial ran in The Wall Street Journal on September 22, the day the Senate Appropriations Committee was to vote. Some of its errors are corrected in Leahy's response, which follows.*

#### **LEAHY'S ISOLATIONISM (WALL STREET JOURNAL)**

Here's a post-Cold War policy riddle: A group of foreign soldiers with no American training opens fire on demonstrators. The soldiers are disciplined or court-martialed

following an investigation by different officers who have had American training. What to do?

Well, if you're part of the growing neo-isolationist wing of the U.S. Congress, you cut off the foreigners from American training. No kidding. This is exactly what Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy wants to do to U.S. military training for the world's fourth most populous nation, Indonesia. Somehow isolating Indonesians from the disciplines, civilian-led U.S. military is supposed to make them more sensitive to human rights.

The Leahy effort doesn't save much money - only \$2.3 million in fiscal 1992 - but it's more important as an illustration of the isolationist logic that has seized much of Congress. Isolationists on the right now think the U.S. is too good for the world; isolationists on the left think the world is too good for the U.S., especially for the American military. The Leahy ban draws from both isolationist strains, and especially from their shared conclusion that the U.S. should wash its hands of a messy world. Secretary of State Leahy, meet Pat Buchanan.

Yet Indonesia is precisely the sort of regional power that the U.S. can't afford to ignore in the post-Cold War world. Its size (pop.: 180 million) and strategic location make it a potential Asian powerhouse. It is the world's largest Muslim nation, yet it has Christians in the cabinet and plays a moderating role in Islamic world councils. It is run by a dictator of long-standing, Suharto, who has nonetheless tolerated enough free-market economic policies to keep living standards rising. The Indonesian officers who train in the United States are precisely the future leaders we should want to expose to American democratic principles.

Mr. Leahy and Amnesty International prefer to ignore all of this to declare their moral outrage over a 1991 shooting incident at Dili in the island of East Timor. Accounts differ about who was to blame, but no one disputes that Indonesian soldiers opened fire on Timorese demonstrating for independence after an Indonesian officer was stabbed.

The military at first said that 19 Timorese were killed, but an investigating commission appointed by President Suharto reported that 50 were killed and 90 others were missing. The military has since relieved the regional commander of his duty, forced four senior officers into retirement, and court-martialed 10 soldiers for exceeding or failing to obey their orders. Thirteen demonstrators have also been convicted of political crimes.

There's no denying the Indonesian military has a poor record on Timor, going back to the mid- 1970s when it crushed the Fretilin separatist movement. Our own view is that Indonesia would be better off letting the Timorese hold a referendum on independence, rather than maintain a permanent military presence.

But refusing to expose Indonesian officers to the U.S. tradition of a civilian-led military isn't likely to resolve any of this. It will probably make things worse, by reinforcing the most anti-Western military elements in Jakarta. Shows of moral outrage have their place in foreign policy, but only when they have a chance of achieving the moral ends they seek.

*Senator Leahy wrote the following reply. I'm not sure if it was published:*

September 23, 1992

To the editor:

On Tuesday your paper accused me of being a "neo-isolationist" because of my position on military aid for Indonesia. If the writer had bothered to ask me what I am recommending and why, the editorial might have amounted to more than a string of inaccuracies and distortions, both about my position and the situation in Indonesia.

You argue that instead of cutting off Indonesia from US military aid, we should "expose them to American democratic principles." Not a bad idea in theory, but we have been doing that through our military training program since the 1950s. Since then, according to the State Department, the Indonesian military has engaged in "a pattern" of abuses of human rights of "perhaps thousands" of civilians, including summary executions, torture and rape. The State Department reports that "government forces appear responsible for the majority of civilian deaths."

Last November, Indonesian troops fired without warning on hundreds of peaceful, unarmed pro- independence demonstrators at a cemetery in East Timor. Estimates of the number killed range from 75 to over 100. Although the Indonesian government continues to blame the demonstrators, the State Department concluded "there is no evidence that the use of deadly force was justified." What has happened since?

The massacre was videotaped so this time the Indonesian government could not deny it occurred. You noted that the demonstrators were convicted of "political" crimes, but forgot to mention they went to jail for 9 years to life. A handful of soldiers who fired the shots were arrested, and the highest sentence given was 18 months for disobeying orders, not murder. The gov-

ernment has refused to say who ordered or initiated the shooting or what was done with the bodies of the missing. Human rights monitors are banned from East Timor to this day, and the United Nations has condemned "continuing widespread human rights violations."

What should our policy be, business as usual as you urge? I do not recommend an irrevocable cutoff of US military training, but I do say we should suspend it until the President certifies that certain basic human rights conditions have been met. Those conditions are that Indonesia accept the assistance of the UN to account for the missing, which they have so far refused; that they take steps to bring to Justice those who ordered or initiated the shooting; that they review the sentences of the demonstrators; and allow human rights monitors access to East Timor.

Isolationism? More like upholding the basic values our country stands for, rather than pushing a horrible bloodbath under the rug. I fully support the \$45 million in economic aid the administration plans for Indonesia next year, but all the military training in the world will do no good unless the government is determined to end these kinds of abuses. We saw that in El Salvador, where after a decade of US training an elite battalion of Salvadoran troops massacred six Jesuit priests and tried to cover it up. The choice is Indonesia's. The conditions I am recommending are the least we should expect if their army wants another \$2.3 million of our taxpayers' aid.

Patrick Leahy Chairman, Foreign Operations Subcommittee

## US CONGRESS CUTS MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA

*By Lorne Rider, Oct. 2 1992*

The US Congress today cut the International Military Education Training program to Indonesia out of the FY 92-93 Federal Budget without conditions, in reaction to Indonesia's continuing violation of human rights in East Timor. The decision, which came out of a conference committee between the House and the Senate, is stronger than most supporters of East Timor had hoped, and represents a major victory for the people of East Timor.

Last June, the House suspended the IMET program without conditions, but the Senate voted late in September to cut IMET, but with extremely weak conditions which would allow the President of the US to continue IMET after certifying that human rights conditions were improving. This stance was little solace to supporters of East Timor, since the Bush administration is

generally of the opinion that human rights conditions are perpetually improving when they are being committed by countries the US otherwise supports.

In the conference committee, the House members stood firm, and the Senate members overwhelmingly supported the House position, with the exception of Kasten (R-WI) and Inouye (D-HI). The committee adopted language which left room for other forms of aid to Indonesia to be reviewed at anytime during FY 92-93.

The IMET cut puts Indonesia in a tricky diplomatic position, since it has been fighting any linkage between economic aid and human rights. Last April, after the Dutch suspended some aid to Indonesia in reaction to the November massacre, Indonesia countered by refusing all Dutch aid in protest of what Indonesia considered colonial arrogance. Yet the amount of Dutch aid was paltry, and was compensated by other donors. It would be economically disastrous for Indonesia to be consistent in its righteousness by refusing American aid.

News of the cutoff has already been broadcast by Australian Broadcasting Company (ABC), which is often surreptitiously monitored by East Timorese within East Timor. Undoubtedly, this news will boost East Timorese morale.

US supporters of East Timor say that the next battle is to convince the US State Department that the time is ripe to stop shamelessly helping Indonesia hold onto East Timor. This may prove difficult, since East Timor is a cat that would be very embarrassing for the State Department to let out of the bag.

## HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE APPROVES UNCONDITIONAL IMET CUT

**There will be no U.S. military aid to Indonesia in Fiscal Year 1993!**

*Press Release from the East Timor Action Network/US, October 3, 1992*

In the late afternoon of Friday, October 2, a House-Senate Conference Committee deleted \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) funding for Indonesia from the Foreign Aid appropriations bill to protest human rights violations in East Timor. The committee also adopted notification and approval requirements on economic aid to Indonesia. This is the final decision on this issue for this year, as the bill will be passed by both houses and signed by President Bush in a few days.

The cutoff of the only US military aid program for Indonesia came after a hard-fought battle, in which Indonesia enlisted members of the US military, State and

Defense Departments, and major corporations to lobby for the program, which annually trains about 150 Indonesian military officers in the US. More than 2600 have been trained since Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor in 1975.

Charles Scheiner, coordinator of the East Timor Action Network/US, called the decision "a major victory for the people of East Timor. By resisting pressure from business interests and the Suharto and Bush administrations, Congress has sent a strong message that the ground rules have changed," Scheiner said. "This is the first time in 17 years that Congress has cut aid to Indonesia over East Timor. The American people and government have opened their eyes to Indonesian killings of the East Timorese people, 200,000 of whom have been killed since the invasion. Sanctions will continue and escalate until Indonesia stops violating East Timorese human rights and allows the people there to determine their own political future."

In June, the House of Representatives unanimously approved an amendment proposed by Ronald Machtley (R-RI) and Tony Hall (D-OH) to defund the IMET program. They also required that economic aid to Indonesia be approved by Congress. The issue was decided in three days, and pro-Indonesia forces did not make a serious effort to influence the vote.

In the Senate, however, they had three months to lobby, and chose to make this a major issue. Business representatives told Congress that Jakarta had threatened to retaliate against US firms if aid was cut, and Senators were visited and called by cabinet officials and admirals. Lobbyists for General Electric, AT&T, Freeport-MacMoRan, and McDonnell-Douglas, among others, went to work. The American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce wrote its members that the bill "could substantially affect the level of economic assistance," and that it "may directly or indirectly impact US firms doing business in Indonesia."

The debate garnered network television coverage, an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*, and widespread discussion. Senators heard from voters, as human rights, church, peace, and East Timor solidarity groups mounted an intense campaign. Although the grassroots groups couldn't match Jakarta's money and high-level contacts, they mobilized many Americans who had previously been inactive on East Timor.

On September 23, the Senate Appropriations Committee voted 15-12 to disallow IMET unless the State Department certified that certain conditions, proposed by Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI), were met. This was a defeat for East Timor, as the

conditions were weak and did not require anything concrete from Jakarta. The Committee voted down a proposal by subcommittee chair Patrick Leahy (D-VT) that required Indonesia to permit human rights observers into East Timor and to list people killed and jailed during and after a massacre there last November 12, when Indonesian troops shot into a peaceful memorial procession, killing over 140.

When the House-Senate conference committee met yesterday, House subcommittee chair David Obey (D-WI) fought for a total suspension of IMET, joined by Representatives Matthew McHugh (D-NY) and John Edward Porter (R-IL). Senator Leahy proposed conditions stronger than those narrowly rejected by the Senate Appropriations Committee, and was supported by Representative Mickey Edwards (R-OK), ranking Republican on the House subcommittee. When Inouye and his supporters saw that they did not have the votes, they agreed to a total cutoff, expecting that Suharto would reject conditional aid as an insult to national pride. Legislators from both parties warned of further cuts if Indonesia did not move towards human rights and self-determination for East Timor.

By fighting so hard, Indonesia's supporters have magnified the importance of the final decision. As Jakarta begins to negotiate with Portugal over the future of East Timor, this will increase pressure on them to come to a just resolution.

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### **SUHARTO VISITS NEW YORK, U.N., JAPAN**

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### **SOEHARTO TO SPEAK AT UN FOR NAM**

*Excerpt from Jakarta Post 10 Sept. 1992*

*This signals a move by Suharto to gain as much kudos as an international statesman as possible, in the wake of the NAM Summit earlier this month. -- JM*

Suharto leaves Jakarta on 20 September and will stay one night in Geneva. He is scheduled to arrive in New York on 22 September.

On 23 September he is scheduled to have meetings with his counterparts from South Korea and Armenia. Other heads of government have also asked to meet him but the schedules have not yet been arranged.

According to State Secretary Moerdiono, President Suharto will be the first to speak at the General Assembly session on 24 September. His speech is expected to include a proposal on the restructuring of the UN to democratise the world body, a prior-

ity set at the 10th NAM Summit in Jakarta. The speech is likely to last about 30 minutes.

After his speech, he is scheduled to hold a reception (time not mentioned, but presumably in the evening).

On Friday 25 September he will attend Friday prayers at the New York Mosque [we have previously been told this would be at the Islamic Centre] built with contributions from various countries including Indonesia.

On Friday evening, he will address a business meeting organised by the US-Southeast Asian Nations Council for Business and Technology in cooperation with the American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and the Asia Society.

Suharto will leave New York for Japan on 26 September for a working visit to Tokyo. He will have dinner with Emperor Akihito on 27 Sept. and a meeting with Prime Minister Miyazawa on 28 evening.

He will explain the results of the NAM Summit to Miyazawa in order to invite Japan to support the movement's campaign on North-South cooperation. He is scheduled to leave Japan on 29 September.

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### **ETAN/US CONDEMNS SUHARTO BETRAYAL OF NAM, UN**

#### **INDONESIA BETRAYS UNITED NATIONS AND NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT BY ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR**

*Press release from East Timor Action Network/United States. Released at the United Nations, September 24, 1992*

Today President General Suharto of Indonesia addresses the United Nations General Assembly in the name of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Suharto has betrayed the principles of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. In a naked act of aggression, Indonesia invaded East Timor on December 7, 1975, and has illegally occupied East Timor ever since, despite outstanding Security Council Resolutions 384 and 389 and eight General Assembly Resolutions, starting with 3485(1975), calling on it to withdraw from East Timor without delay.

The invasion and occupation of East Timor also betrays the principles of the NAM. One of NAM's original goals was "to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism, foreign occupation, and racial discrimination." Furthermore, the leaders of NAM affirm that the United Nations is the appropriate forum "for the achievement of freedoms and for securing the right to self-



determination of peoples under alien and colonial domination.”

Indonesian rule in East Timor has been maintained with genocidal killings and systematic repression of the East Timorese people, violating human rights which are recognized under international law, especially the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The invasion and occupation of East Timor has killed close to 200,000 people out of a population of about 700,000.

For 17 years, the international community has done little in response to the criminal occupation of East Timor - especially in comparison to the response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. However, East Timor gained the attention of the world last November, when Indonesian soldiers shot down over 140 people (recent reports put the death toll at 273) in an unprovoked massacre of a peaceful demonstration against Indonesian rule. Leaders of the demonstration who survived the massacre have been punished with sentences of up to life in prison, and a climate of terror remains. The U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities recently deplored the massacre and expressed its concern at continuing widespread human rights violations in East Timor.

Repression in East Timor intensified during and after the Non-Aligned summit in Jakarta. Armed troops were ubiquitous, and Jawa Pos described the military as being on high alert against possible demonstrations. Bishop Belo's masses on September 6 and 13 were cancelled for 'security' reasons. Although many uniformed troops were replaced by covert intelligence agents after the NAM meeting, in the last few weeks at least 50 East Timorese people have been arrested or forced into hiding for political reasons.

Despite Indonesia's trampling on the rights of the East Timorese, resistance leader Xanana Gusmao has appealed to Suharto "to accept the olive branch we are offering in a gesture of our good-will so that together we try to repair the historical accidents that have affected the people of Indonesia and the people of East Timor."

As United States citizens, we recognize that our own government also bears direct responsibility for the repression in East Timor, both by supplying weapons and opposing U.N. actions which could hasten a solution. Things are changing in Washington. In June, the House of Representatives unanimously suspended U.S. military training aid for Indonesia, and just yesterday, a Senate committee voted to suspend the aid unless certain human rights conditions are met. In this post-Cold War era, we hope the international community

will also bring pressure on Indonesia to move toward a just and peaceful resolution of this disastrous occupation.

The East Timor Action Network/United States is encouraged by recent mediation efforts by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and hopes that the United Nations will be able to help the people of East Timor achieve long-overdue self-determination. As Indonesia and Portugal begin discussions, representatives of the East Timorese people must also be included.

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### SUHARTO: UNFINISHED DECOLONIZATION (REUTERS)

*Excerpt from Reuter September 24 report on Soeharto UN General Assembly speech*

Speaking to the General Assembly on behalf of non-aligned nations, he voiced Third World perceptions of being pushed out of the mainstream now that many states no longer had a strategic value in super-power politics.

"We shall not be mere spectators nor accept to be sidelined in the currents of historical change now sweeping across the globe," Suharto said.

The Indonesian president also warned the world community that economic development was essential for a stable world order and said former colonial states were not really free until they had achieved economic independence.

"While it may be true that colonialism in its classical form has virtually come to an end, the process of decolonisation is not yet finished until economic independence is achieved, Suharto said.

While Suharto was speaking, a woman in the public gallery shouted "Free East Timor" - a territory annexed by Indonesia in 1976. She was immediately escorted out of the chamber by U.N. guards.

A friend identified her as Li-lien Gibbons, a Canadian student whose Malaysian step-brother, Kamal Bamadhaj, was killed in a massacre by Indonesian troops last November in Dili, the East Timor capital.

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### PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER JOAO DE DEUS PINHEIRO ADDRESSES U.N.

*Excerpt from UN Daily Highlights Press Release, 23 September.*

The Portuguese Foreign Minister also stated that it was necessary "once more" to alert the international community to the situation in East Timor - "a Non-Self-Governing Territory under Portuguese authority illegally occupied by Indonesia in

violation of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter." Portugal, he said, in its capacity as administering Power recognized by the United Nations, called for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution, with full respect for the legitimate interests of the East Timorese people, including the right to self-determination.

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### SUHARTO UN SPEECH

*Summary from U.N. Press Release, 23 September*

**Indonesian President Says Non-Aligned Will Play Active Role In Revitalizing UN, Calls For Security Council Expansion To Include New Permanent Members**

Mr. SOEHARTO, President of Indonesia, said his country had hosted the tenth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries earlier this month, and thus he was addressing the Assembly not only on behalf of the people of Indonesia, but also on behalf of the 108-member Non-Aligned Movement, representing the vast majority of humankind and close to two-thirds of the membership of the Assembly. As a political coalition encompassing more sovereign States than any other grouping in history, the Movement would not accept to be sidelined in the currents of historical change now sweeping the globe. It was committed to shaping a new international order free from war and poverty, intolerance and injustice, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and genuine interdependence, and taking into account the diversity of the social systems and cultures of the world. It pledged to seek that new international order through the central and irreplaceable instrumentality of the United Nations.

To a large extent, he continued, the Non-Aligned Movement had contributed to global transformations through its unrelenting support for the world-wide decolonization process and to the struggle against racism, which had hastened the demise of colonial empires, the rise of numerous newly independent States and the retreat of the inhuman policy of apartheid. However, the world today was far from being a peaceful, just and secure place. Simmering disputes, violent conflicts, aggression and foreign occupation, interference in the internal affairs of States, policies of hegemony and domination, ethnic strife, religious intolerance, new forms of racism and narrowly conceived nationalism continued to obstruct the building of harmonious coexistence among States and peoples and had even led to the disintegration of States and

societies. A profoundly anguishing example was that of the former Yugoslavia.

The Non-Aligned Movement had taken a clear stand on explosive and tragic crises in various parts of the world, he said, whether in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia, Palestine or South Africa. A world caught in the throes of pervasive change and transition was basically an unstable and unpredictable world. The Movement, therefore, had resolved to intensify its efforts in the field of disarmament.

While it was true that there had been encouraging progress in limiting nuclear and conventional armaments, the disarmament agenda was still largely unfinished, he said. A nuclear-weapons-free world had always been the vision of the Movement, and it had urged accelerated efforts on other priority disarmament issues, particularly the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction. Resources released through disarmament and arms reductions should be re-directed towards the social and economic development of all countries, especially the developing countries. The establishment of such a productive linkage between disarmament and development, would also make it possible to attain security at lower levels of armament.

Peace and security depended as much on socio-economic as on military factors, he continued. Sharply reduced prospects for economic and social advancement, large-scale unemployment, abject poverty, massive cross-border migrations and severe environmental degradation also endangered peace. There could not be comprehensive security and stable peace without substantive progress in the war against poverty, underdevelopment, disease and social injustice.

The world economy was mired in sluggish and uneven growth, he said. Most alarming was the prolonged critical situation in Africa, where the plight of millions required speedy and decisive action.

Developing countries were severely hampered by an unfavourable external economic environment characterized by inadequate access to technology, unabated protectionism, historically low prices for commodities and raw materials, severely contracted financial flows and the crushing burden of external debt, resulting in reverse financial flows to the developed countries and the multilateral financial institutions. Debt reduction schemes were needed to be broadened to include all kinds of debts and all categories of debtors, including those which had made great efforts to meet their debt obligations. A differentiated approach should be adopted that would allow debt cancellation for the least developed countries and more generous terms in both debt

servicing and new concessional loans to lower-income developing countries.

Even global developments that appeared to imply positive prospects could impact negatively on the developing countries, he went on. The transformation of Central and Eastern European economies and the formation of powerful groupings among developed countries could deflect the focus from poverty alleviation in developing countries and might adversely affect their trade and growth prospects. Particularly lamentable was the continuing impasse in the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). There must be a revival of the constructive dialogue between the North and the South, based on the imperative of genuine interdependence, mutuality of interests and benefits and shared responsibility, with the positions of each side clearly elaborated and presented and rationally discussed and negotiated. At the same time, South-South cooperation must also be intensified.

A global concern that required the heightened attention of the entire international community was the rapid degradation of the environment, he continued. The results of the Rio Conference confirmed the long-held conviction of the Non-Aligned Movement that the issues of environment and development were inseparable and should be integrally addressed on the basis of equitably shared responsibility. The Movement welcomed the establishment of the high-level commission on sustainable development. Its members also supported the convening of a world summit on social development, and planned to take part in the World Conference on Women in 1995.

At Jakarta, he went on, the non-aligned countries had reaffirmed that basic human rights and fundamental freedoms were of universal validity. No country, however, should use its power to dictate its concept of democracy and of human rights or to impose conditionalities on others. The non-aligned countries would coordinate their positions and participate actively in the preparatory work for the World Conference on Human Rights in June 1993. The objective of human rights was the realization of the full potential of the human being, and human potential was not confined to the political. The fundamental right to economic and social development, for example, could not be separated and could not be treated separately from the other categories of human rights. And, those rights applied to nations as well as to individuals. Equally, every nation had the right to determine its own political and economic system and to

preserve its cultural identity as shaped by its own particular historical experience..

The advanced countries of the West had been vocal in calling for democracy and "good governance" as an integral part of the development process, he said, especially in the developing countries. Some were even inclined to make it a new conditionality in development cooperation. The call for democratization and democratic reform in all countries was indeed valid as it related directly to the basic aspiration of individuals and nations. But democracy was not a static concept limited to certain established forms and practices. Its basic principles and tenets were of universal and immutable validity, but there was no single model of democracy because of the diversity of cultural values and historical experiences of the nations of the world. It would be a denial of the basic tenets of democracy if its values were to be strictly observed within nations while they were being ignored among nations.

The Non-Aligned Movement had always insisted that the United Nations should reflect the democratic spirit of equality, equity and transparency, in representation as well as in the processes of decision-making, he went on. The United Nations and its principal organs should periodically undergo a review process so that it could continue to play an effective role as the focal point for the management of critical global issues.

The Movement would play an active role in the revitalization of the United Nations system and had decided to establish a high-level working group to make concrete proposals. A balanced relationship among the Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Secretary-General was imperative. There should be greater accountability of the Security Council to the Assembly and the Assembly's role as a forum for deliberation, negotiation and decision-making must be enhanced. The United Nations' capacity for enhancing international development and cooperation should be strengthened by revitalizing the Economic and Social Council. The office of the Secretary-General should be provided the resources commensurate to its tasks and his mandate should be enlarged to enable him to take the necessary initiatives in the pursuit of preventive diplomacy and in enhancing the efficacy of peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building operations.

It was time to address the matter of the size and composition of the Security Council, he continued. The Security Council should be expanded to accommodate new members which, if they were not to be given veto powers, should at least serve as permanent members. They should join the Council on the basis of a combination of

relevant criteria that more faithfully reflected the world situation today. The criteria should also take into account the changing concept of security, which now had to emphasize economic and social aspects, as well as the military.

The economic policies of the industrialized countries and the economic weight of the developing countries, particularly the most populous among them, had as much bearing on international peace and security as the armaments of the military powers. The manner in which the veto powers were presently exercised should be subjected to a constructive review.

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## INDONESIA OPPOSES SEIZURE OF TERRITORY OF BOSNIA - SILENT ON EAST TIMOR (AP)

*By Peter James Spielmann, AP. Full text.*

*Thanks to the courage of Li-lien Gibbons, sister of Kamal Bamadhaj, who was shot dead in Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November last year, the question of East Timor was thrust onto the scene as Suharto addressed the UN General Assembly. Due to her intervention, this piece was 70 per cent devoted to what Suharto said nothing about - East Timor. Li-Lien's act was also reported in other wire service reports. - TAPOL*

(New York, Sept. 24, AP) Indonesia's President Suharto on Thursday condemned the policy of seizing territory by force - in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was silent on his own country's 17-year occupation of East Timor.

Speaking to the assembly on behalf of the 100-member Non-Aligned Movement, which Indonesia now heads, Suharto decried the tragedy unfolding in former Yugoslavia, a founder of the movement.

"We have called for speedy and resolute action to end the carnage in Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said.

"We have also condemned the repugnant policy of ethnic cleansing, reaffirmed the inadmissibility of aggression and of acquisition of territory by force, and called for the full respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and cultural identity of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

During his speech, a protester leaped from her seat in the visitor's gallery and shouted "Free East Timor!"

Guards quickly hustled her out of the hall. She later was identified as Li-Lien Gibbons of Canada, whose brother, Kamal Bamadhaj of New Zealand, was among dozens of people killed by Indonesian

troops who fired on a peaceful protest last Nov. 12 in Dili, capital of East Timor.

A group of 152 US Congress representatives and 142 Japanese legislators wrote to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Wednesday to protest Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and asking him to establish a U.N. presence there to monitor human rights and to sponsor negotiations leading to Timorese self-determination.

The letter was sponsored by US Congressmen Tony Hall (D-Ohio) and Ron Machtley (R-Rhode Island). It was released as the US Senate Committee on Appropriations prepared to cut \$2.3 million in military aid to Indonesia from the foreign aid bill, due to the occupation of East Timor.

Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor in 1975, when Portugal pulled out after 450 years of colonial rule. About 100,000 of East Timor's 700,000 people have died under the occupation and the guerilla war being waged against it.

The United Nations still recognizes Lisbon as the legal administrative power in East Timor.

Foreign ministers Ali Alatas of Indonesia and Joao de Deus Pinheiro of Portugal are to meet Saturday on the East Timor issue, with Boutros-Ghali mediating the talks.

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## NY TIMES EDITORIAL, ARTICLE, ADS

The New York Times has been through an interesting journey with regard to East Timor this week. The culmination was the following editorial, published on Friday, September 25, 1992.

### THE CEMETERY CALLED EAST TIMOR

Indonesia for the first time seems genuinely flustered by the world's protests over its invasion and long-term oppression of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony. But not enough to do anything about it.

Jakarta's 1975 conquest of 750,000 Timorese was just as heinous as the more recent and more highly publicized territorial grabs by Iraq and Serbia. And the evil continues. Last November foreign witnesses were present as Indonesian troops massacred from 50 to 100 nonviolent demonstrators who had gathered at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor's capital.

Yet there was no hint of contrition in yesterday's United Nations speech by President Suharto of Indonesia, leader of the 108-nation Nonaligned Movement. He castigated "policies of hegemony and domination" and gave unflinching support to the "inalienable right to self-determination,

independence and sovereign statehood" - for Palestinians. But there was nary a peep about East Timor, or what his officials term "the Nov. 12 incident."

Indonesia does not dispute that its troops ran amok (an Indonesian word) at that cemetery. Ten members of the security forces have been prosecuted for their role in the killings, and two generals have been removed from their jobs. But Jakarta continues to keep East Timor off limits to the foreign press, so that the world's attention will not focus on the punitive sentences (nine years to life) handed down against demonstrators at the November "incident."

Indonesia is a proud and important regional power; its 180 million people make it the world's largest Muslim nation. Yet with respect to tiny East Timor, Jakarta behaves more like a banana republic. It has rejected Portugal's proposal for a referendum in the former colony, and has stonewalled efforts to permit a U.N. presence in East Timor. All this while General Suharto ostentatiously demands the withdrawal of foreign troops from occupied territory - along the River Jordan.

### FOUR FULL-PAGE ADS WELCOME SUHARTO TO NY

The previous day (the day Indonesian President General Suharto was to address the U.N. General Assembly in New York), the Times sold four full-page ads, the back of every section, to supporters of the Indonesian government so that they could congratulate President Suharto. The \$180,000 purchase was the first time Times officials could recall that anyone had bought all four back pages. The ads were headlined as follows:

- \* "Indonesia: A powerhouse in the Pacific" included a map and a discussion of "the leadership role Indonesia is assuming," including its economy and oil industry, sponsored by Mobil.
- \* "Indonesia: A model for economic development" also included a map, above a discussion of Asia's next "economic miracle." It was signed by Chevron, Caltex, Amoseas Indonesia, and Texaco.
- \* "An Engine For Progress In Indonesia" features several photos of Indonesian employees and facilities of P.T. Freeport Indonesia. It describes the history of P.T. Freeport's mining operations in Indonesia and West Papua. The names at the bottom are P.T. Freeport Indonesia, Freeport-McMoRan Copper and Gold, and Freeport-McMoRan.
- \* "A nation must assume responsibility for its own development..." is topped by the official photo of General Suharto, which takes up half the page. It discusses the

NAM and quotes from Suharto's speech at that conference.

Inside the business section, two more half-page ads greeted Suharto:

- \* "Partners in Progress" was signed by Pertamina and UNOCAL/76.
- \* His Excellency was warmly welcomed by the Virginia Indonesia Company, together with OPICOIL Houston, Ultramar Indonesia, Union Texas East Kalimantan, Universe Gas & Oil, and Virginia International Company.

## INDONESIA SEEKS TO ATONE FOR A MASSACRE IN TIMOR

*On Thursday, September 17, the Times ran its first extensive article in 1992 on East Timor, which was accompanied by a map captioned "The aftermath of a massacre in East Timor last year haunts the Indonesian Government." The full text follows:*

*By Philip Shenon, Special to The New York Times*

SURABAYA, Indonesia - Seeking to assert itself as a leader of the developing world, the Indonesian Government is being haunted by the diplomatic aftermath of a massacre last November in which soldiers gunned down scores of protesters who had gathered at a cemetery in the province of East Timor.

Virtually everything that happened last Nov. 12 remains in dispute, including the number of civilians who died that day at the Santa Cruz graveyard in Dili, the East Timorese capital, when soldiers marched on the protesters and opened fire.

The protesters had gathered at the cemetery to commemorate the death two weeks earlier of a supporter of East Timorese independence.

Witnesses said the soldiers opened fire without provocation. A senior military spokesman said the soldiers acted spontaneously out of fear after they heard that an Indonesian soldier had been stabbed by one or more of the East Timorese demonstrators during a procession to the cemetery.

### 50-100 Killed

Government investigators said last December that about 50 people were killed by the soldiers, although the military spokesman, Air Vice Marshal Teddy Rusdy, acknowledged in an interview this month that he "would not be surprised if the number was 100.

Two human rights organizations, Amnesty International and Asia Watch, say the information they have received from East Timor suggests that the death toll may be higher still.

"We all regret this incident," said Marshal Rusdy, who described the situation in East Timor as still highly volatile. "It's a very dynamic and fluid situation."

Because foreign reporters are refused entry to East Timor by the Indonesian Government, it is impossible to confirm reports of continuing and widespread human rights violations there by army forces. Six Indonesian battalions, or about 6,000 soldiers, are stationed in East Timor.

### Diplomats Are Encouraged

The massacre, which is referred to in official Indonesian accounts simply as "the Nov. 12 incident," has put foreign governments and diplomats based in Indonesia in a bind.

Diplomats say they are encouraged that for the first time, the Indonesian Government has shown a willingness to take action - any action - against soldiers responsible for human rights violations.

Ten members of the Indonesian security forces were prosecuted for their role in the massacre and received prison sentences of eight to 18 months. Two generals were removed from their posts.

At the same time, diplomats say they want to make clear their disapproval of what they consider the Indonesian Government's blatant disregard for human rights in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia.

### Human Rights Report

In its 1991 annual report on human rights practices around the world, the State Department said Indonesia security forces are "responsible for numerous human rights abuses, including killings and torture of civilians."

The report said of the November massacre, "There is no evidence that the use of such deadly force was justified."

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony of about 750,000 people, was taken by force by Indonesia in 1975 as separatists were trying to proclaim independence. The United Nations has never recognized East Timor as a part of Indonesia, and the Portuguese Government has insisted that its former colony be allowed self-determination.

### Congress Cut Off Aid

In June, members of the United States House of Representatives noted the East Timor massacre in voting to cut off more than \$2 million in military aid to Indonesia.

Portugal blocked an economic and trade agreement this summer between the European Community and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to protest Indonesia's conduct in East Timor. Indonesia is a member of the association.

The diplomatic slaps came as Indonesia was preparing to host a summit meeting of the heads of state of the Non-Aligned Movement, held earlier this month in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta, and to take over as the leader of the 108-nation organization.

Indonesian officials seemed pained during the meeting whenever reporters raised the question of human rights in East Timor. At a hearing before the Indonesian legislature this month, Defense Minister Benny Murdani warned that Indonesia could expect more International political fallout from the Massacre.

Indonesia says it cannot allow foreign reporters to travel to East Timor because of the possibility that their presence might stir up new protests by separatists. "Give us a break," Marshal Rusdy said. "We are still trying to recover from this wound."

### Eyewitness Accounts

Many East Timorese live elsewhere in Indonesia, and two Timorese students who witnessed the massacre met with a reporter in this city on the central Indonesian island of Java to discuss what they had seen on Nov. 12.

"The soldiers just marched up to the graveyard and they opened fire, without any warning," said one of the students, who agreed to be interviewed on condition that her name would not be used. "Nobody provoked them to shoot."

The other student said: "As the shooting began, people started screaming and running to get away. There were so many people, it was impossible to move. The soldiers kept firing for maybe five or six minutes."

Alan Nairn, an American journalist who witnessed the massacre, said he, too, saw no provocation.

The soldiers marched past him in an orderly fashion, paused for moment and then opened fire, he said. "It was clear they had specific orders," Mr. Nairn said. "It was a very disciplined operation."

### Indonesia Army Version

Marshal Rusdy described Mr. Nairn's account as "100 percent lies," and offered the following account: A soldier, Major Gerhan Lantara, was stabbed in the side, close to the heart, and while Major Gerhan did survive the attack, rumors quickly spread among the troops marching toward the cemetery that he had died.

Marshal Rusdy said the jittery troops then began firing, without orders to do so, after they heard a loud explosion in the crowd. According the army's account, evidence of an exploded grenade was later found. Civilian witnesses say they heard no such thing.

"A spontaneous reaction took place among the security personnel themselves, without command, resulting in the excessive shooting," a team of government investigators said in a report on the massacre last December.

Although Marshal Rusdy insisted that the troops had been provoked, there was no second-guessing within the Indonesian military over the decision to court-martial several soldiers and to remove the two generals from their posts. "Somebody had to pay the price," he said.

Both generals remain in the military for now, however, and Marshal Rusdy said one of them is on leave in the United States, studying at the Harvard Business School at his own expense.

*Two weeks later, the Times ran a correction, saying that the general was at Boston College, not Harvard. They did not correct any other errors in the article.*

#### LETTER IN RESPONSE

*This letter was sent to the New York Times by a member of ETAN/Los Angeles who recently visited East Timor. It has not yet been published:*

20 September 1992

To The Editor:

While it was refreshing to see coverage of East Timor in the New York Times, ("Indonesia Is Seeking an Atonement for a Massacre in East Timor" 9/17/92), Philip Shenon's article falls far short of the mark. By juxtaposing seemingly irreconcilable positions regarding the Santa Cruz Massacre of 12 November 1991, Shenon leads the reader astray.

Despite what the Indonesian military states, all eyewitness accounts and independent investigations basically say the same thing: Indonesian soldiers shot and killed upwards of 200 men, women, and children peacefully gathered at the cemetery. More important than engaging in a numbers debate, however, is to focus on the context in which the tragedy took place.

Since December 1975, Indonesia, with the assistance of the U.S. and other Western governments, has occupied the former Portuguese colony in flagrant violation of a number of U.N. resolutions calling for its complete and unconditional withdrawal. Furthermore, since the invasion, about 200,000 people almost one-third of the 1975 population have been killed as a result of the invasion and ongoing occupation.

Contrary to what Shenon states, it is not "impossible to confirm reports of continuing and widespread human rights violations" in East Timor. Despite the ban on foreign journalists, a number of journalists and researchers posing as tourists have travelled

to East Timor since the Massacre, including this writer. If Shenon had wanted to do so, he easily could have obtained access to the many reports and articles by recent visitors.

Having travelled in East Timor in July and August, I can personally attest to the absolute climate of fear that pervades the country. I received many credible reports from East Timorese of continuing torture, detention, and extrajudicial executions. The existence of upwards of 30,000 Indonesian troops (no one accepts the figure of 6,000 quoted by Shenon) is indicative of the massive resistance to the Indonesian occupation.

To speak of Indonesian "atonement" while Jakarta continues its ruthless occupation is to do a great disservice to the people of East Timor, victims of one of the worst genocides of the late 20th century. Hopefully, the recent article on East Timor is indicative of increased coverage by the Times on this very important issue. I only ask that the next effort is a more serious one.

Sincerely, Matthew Jardine

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#### SUHARTO'S HYPOCRISY (BOSTON GLOBE)

*Editorial, 24 Sep. 1992*

The UN General Assembly will host a shameful bout of hypocrisy today when it is addressed by Gen. Suharto, the despot who has ruled Indonesia for 27 years. Suharto will speak to the General Assembly in his new role as chairman of the Non-aligned Movement.

At the movement's summit earlier this month, Suharto exhorted the members to "ensure that the new world order does not turn out to be but a new version of the same old pattern of domination of the strong over the weak and the rich over the poor." The sentiment was laudable, but since the fall of the Third Reich no strong state has committed genocidal crimes against a weak people to match Indonesia's butchery of the Timorese.

After Suharto's army invaded East Timor in 1975 - with US arms and a green light from President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger - between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese were uprooted (sic) out of a population of 700,000.

Human rights organizations report that Indonesia continues to subject the Timorese to extrajudicial executions, torture and arbitrary arrests. The massacre of more than 100 Timorese mourners in a funeral procession last November, filmed by a British cameraman, gave the outside world a glimpse of the inferno Suharto's occupation forces have created in East Timor.

A letter to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, signed by 150 members of Congress and 142 Japanese legislators, suggested that "a UN presence in East Timor should be established to monitor the human rights situation" and that the people of East Timor be permitted "to freely and fairly exercise their right to self-determination, a right affirmed by General Assembly and Security Council resolutions."

Suharto's regime has defied UN resolutions on East Timor, committed crimes against humanity and annexed a people that yearns for independence. He has no right to pretend to represent the weak who need protection from the strong.

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#### DEMONSTRATE AGAINST INDONESIA'S OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR

#### PROTEST SUHARTO'S VISIT TO NEW YORK

FRIDAY, SEPT. 25 5:30 - 9:00 PM.  
WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, 301 Park Ave. (bet. 49 & 50), New York City

Indonesian President General Suharto will be speaking at a dinner sponsored by the American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, the Asia Society, and the U.S. - Asia Council.

When Suharto first took over Indonesia 27 years ago, he ordered the killing of up to a million Indonesians labelled (many by the CIA) as "communists." His troops invaded East Timor in 1975, and have murdered 200,000 people, one-third of the population.

Express your outrage at his dining with American businesspeople. Join us in a peaceful picket, safe and legal in New York. In East Timor, Indonesian gunned down people in a similar march last November 12, killing hundreds.

The United States has long been Indonesia's principal source of weapons and diplomatic cover. But Congress is now making military training conditional on human rights improvements. The American people must press our government, and General Suharto, to stop the killing and repression in East Timor.

East Timor Action Network/US

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#### SUHARTO VISIT PROTESTED IN NEW YORK CITY

*Report from ETAN/US, September 27.*

On Friday, September 25, Indonesian President/General Suharto was hosted at New York's Waldorf Astoria hotel by the American business community. Several

hundred corporate leaders attended a gala dinner in his honor organized by the American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, the Asia Society, and the US-Asian Council.

In spite of the cold rain, about thirty supporters of East Timor stood in front of the luxury hotel for four hours, holding signs and chanting "Free East Timor" and other appropriate slogans. We also distributed flyers (text below) to people attending the event and to passers-by. Many were surprised to learn that a man responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths was being feted within feet of where they were standing. Some picketers wore Balinese wooden masks, while others carried signs with slightly-modified copies of the full-page ads Indonesia's corporate supporters had run in the New York Times the day before.

Access to the dinner was tightly controlled, with only invited media and guests being allowed. However, all inside knew of our presence, as we stood just outside the entrance next to their event. Two dozen nervous Indonesian security men patrolled the entrance and the mezzanine of the hotel, springing to tense readiness every time someone went in the door. Nevertheless, there was some dialogue between those inside and out.

The demonstration was covered by Portuguese and alternative U.S. media. It was organized on short notice by the East Timor Action Network/United States. The following is the text of the leaflet distributed at the demonstration:

### **PRESIDENT SUHARTO: GET YOUR TROOPS OUT OF EAST TIMOR**

Indonesian President General Suharto is speaking tonight at a dinner sponsored by the American business community. He wants a close relationship with American corporations, but is also concerned about his public image: oil and mining companies paid \$180,000 to support his government with full-page ads on the back of all four sections of yesterday's New York Times.

At the United Nations yesterday, General Suharto called for an international order "free from war and poverty, intolerance and injustice," and he spoke against "aggression and foreign occupation" and "policies of hegemony and domination."

We hope he can hear his own words.

When Suharto took over Indonesia 27 years ago, the U.S. CIA helped his military kill up to a million dissidents. In 1975, Indonesian troops invaded the tiny neighboring half-island of East Timor, and have killed 200,000 people, one-third of the population. Last November 12, they murdered over 140 people in a peaceful dem-

onstration in Dili - and then arrested the demonstrators, sentencing them to as much as life in prison. Since that massacre, military and civilian rulers over East Timor have been replaced by men taking an even harder line, and repression has increased markedly.

The United States is Indonesia's principal source of weapons and diplomatic cover. But Congress is now making military training conditional on human rights improvements. The American people must press our government, and General Suharto, to end the occupation. American corporations should not support a government which invades and oppresses a small neighboring country.

Tomorrow, negotiations begin between the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers here in New York. We fervently hope they lead to a peaceful settlement. The talks must include East Timorese representatives, for only they can decide their own political future.

The East Timorese cannot demonstrate against the policies of General Suharto: they would be shot. It is up to us. Tell the U.S. and Indonesian governments that the killing must stop. Call your Congressperson, Senators, and the White House to demand an end to U.S. aid and arms sales to Indonesia.

### **WARM WELCOME AWAITS SUHARTO IN JAPAN DESPITE TOUCHY ISSUES**

Tokyo, Sep. 26 (IPS) - Indonesian President Suharto is likely to get a warm welcome when he begins a three-day visit to Japan Sunday despite the East Timor issue and worries over the possible shipment of Japanese plutonium through Indonesian waters.

Suharto enjoys the respect of Japanese officials who consider him a successful leader and a fine diplomat, says Prof. Motoko Shuto, an expert on south-east Asia.

Economist Shintaro Oishi points out that unlike Malaysian prime minister Mahathir Mohamad, Suharto's style of diplomacy does not place Japan in the difficult position.

Japan considers Mahathir's outright condemnation of the United States too brash, leaving Tokyo torn between its wish to develop closer relations with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) while maintaining its special ties with Washington.

Observers say Suharto's visit will give Japan a chance to woo Indonesian support for its bid to gain a permanent seat at the U.N. security council. his recent call to ex-

pand the U.N. body's membership had raised Tokyo's hopes of joining the council.

As head of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Indonesia's backing is considered vital in allaying apprehensions of other NAM members.

At the NAM summit in Jakarta early this month, several NAM members had objected to Japan's inclusion in the security council because of its history of war atrocities in Asia. They also said Japan will not be able to represent the interests of the south.

Indonesia and China have always received top priority in Japan's official development assistance (ODA) budget since they are considered strategic allies in Asia, says aid expert Keiji Omura.

In fiscal year 1990, Indonesia accounted for 12.5 percent of Japanese overseas assistance, while China received 10.4 percent.

In July, Indonesia received 820 million dollars in Japanese aid to construct an environmental management centre for forestry research. last week, it was granted another 1.2 billion dollars to finance development projects in the country.

During his visit, Suharto is also expected to follow up Tokyo's pledge to support Indonesia's bid to diversify its exports to help reduce the country's swelling foreign debt.

Indonesia is urging Japan, which imports one-fifth of its oil, to buy more manufactured goods from the country such as textiles and shoes.

But despite the warm relations between Japan and Indonesia, analysts say there are some irritants that could spell more trouble than expected.

Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas has expressed Jakarta's concern over reported plans to transport a one-tonne shipment of Japanese plutonium from France through the congested Malacca Strait later this year.

Indonesia and Malaysia, the two countries bordering the strait, have warned of the risk of collision in the narrow waterway which is used by an average 2,000 vessels a day.

Fears of an accident involving the plutonium shipment were heightened last Sunday when a Japanese oil tanker burst into flames after colliding with a Panamanian-registered container vessel along the busy sea lane.

Indonesian sources said Jakarta would seek compensation for the oil spill resulting from the accident, which took place on the Indonesian part of the strait.

The East Timor issue also threatens to chill bilateral ties. Tokyo has just announced new guidelines linking aid to human rights, and is concerned about the international

outcry over last year's massacre of East Timorese civilians by Jakarta troops.

Another problem is competition in plywood exports. Indonesia feels threatened by Japanese exports of plywood made from Indonesian hardwood. Tokyo also slaps high tariffs on Indonesian plywood to protect the local plywood industry.

While all these issues will certainly cast a shadow over Suharto's visit, Omura says they are likely to be left on the sidelines during his meetings with Japanese officials.

*About 30 people picketed Suharto in Tokyo on September 28, in a protest organized by the Free East Timor Japan Coalition.*

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## EVENTS IN INDONESIA

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### SOEHARTO DEFENDS ABRI ROLE

*A recent rumor that Soeharto had been hospitalized for a heart attack (and left the hospital after a day) doesn't seem very plausible with this level of physical activity. Hospitalization maybe, heart attack no. — John MacDougall*

UPI, Jakarta, Aug. 10 - President Suharto has rejected criticism of military participation in politics, saying the soldiers represent an important aspect of Indonesian society in Parliament.

In remarks to military representatives carried Monday by all Indonesian media, Suharto defended the setting aside of parliamentary seats for the military, known as "ABRI."

"The appointment of ABRI representatives in the Parliament does not represent ABRI itself but the mission entrusted by the people to ABRI," Suharto told a group of officers nominated for the Parliament Sunday at his ranch about 25 miles south of Jakarta.

He said critics of the military's role in politics and government do not understand the history of Indonesia and its armed forces.

Suharto said the military's representation in the Parliament allows it to help determine state policy along with representatives of other groups in Indonesian society.

"We don't have to be worried and should explain it patiently and carefully," Suharto told the officers.

Critics have questioned the 100 seats set aside for the military in Parliament on grounds that the Indonesian armed forces total only around 400,000 to 500,000 personnel.

However, Suharto said the seats account for 20 percent of the total 500 members of

the legislative body and argued that the number does not constitute a majority in the assembly.

Suharto also called on the military officers to maintain national unity amid changes in the system of government and cited their role in maintaining state authority during an abortive communist-led coup in 1965.

Suharto, 71, is a retired army general. He rose to power following the 1965 coup attempt in 1965 that led to the downfall of President Sukarno.

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### JAKARTA LIFTS NEWSPAPER BANS

Reuter, Jakarta, Aug. 11 - Indonesia said on Tuesday it would allow the Asian Wall Street Journal and International Herald Tribune back into the country after both printed an apology by a courier firm for an offensive advertisement.

"The distributor...will again circulate (the newspapers) after the apology was published," Information Minister Harmoko told reporters.

Indonesia stopped distribution of the newspapers on Friday after they ran an advertisement by the courier company, DHL International Limited.

The advertisement showed portraits of five Asian leaders, with Indonesian President Suharto's next to that of a DHL employee.

It was first published in June, but complaints only surfaced in Jakarta last week when a local youth group said it had insulted Indonesia.

There has been no reaction from other countries whose leaders were shown.

Several local political analysts had criticised the ban, saying it detracted from Indonesia's attempts to appear more politically open.

Harmoko denied the government was responsible for stopping the circulation of the two papers.

"The distributor has a responsibility for what it circulates. Indoprom (the distributor) believed that the advertisement in those two newspapers, besides being unethical, was also not in line with our cultural values, so it stopped their circulation," he said.

The DHL apology was printed in the Asian Wall Street Journal on Monday and in the International Herald Tribune on Tuesday.

They have a combined daily circulation in Indonesia of about 2,000 copies.

The International Herald Tribune was banned for three months at the end of 1990 after publishing an article on widespread criticism of the business successes of Suharto's family.

The newspaper said later it regretted the incident.

Indonesia rarely bans foreign news publications but earlier this year it stopped entry of a Far Eastern Economic Review issue that reported on the Suharto family's business interests.

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### MILITARY DENIES TIMOR 'OFFENSIVE'

Reuter, Jakarta, Aug. 13 - The Indonesian armed forces on Thursday denied reports from Australia of major clashes with independence-seeking rebels in East Timor.

"We have always been chasing them but without contact," military spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Reuters.

Sources in the Fretilin rebel group said in Australia on Tuesday that guerrillas had been locked in battle with Indonesian troops for two weeks, fending off a military offensive to capture rebel chief Xanana Gusmao.

The sources said the battles were centered on the eastern Viqueque and Baucau regions of the island.

Fretilin organiser Alfredo Ferreira said from Darwin in northern Australia that seven guerrillas and 20 Indonesian soldiers had been killed in a major battle in the same region a week earlier.

Brigadier-General Nurhadi said on Thursday his troops were used to put out a major fire in the Baucau region, but that that had nothing to do with the rebels fighting to end Jakarta's rule over East Timor. He did not say when the fire started.

Western diplomats said the military had become more active in East Timor after an international uproar over troops firing into a crowd of mourners at a cemetery in the capital, Dili, last November.

"Perhaps this is what the offensives are but we have no information about any battles," one diplomat said.

Both diplomats and the military estimate the strength of the rebels at between 150 and 200.

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### SOEHARTO: SORRY, NO DEMOCRACY

UPI, Jakarta, Sukino Harisumarto, Aug. 15 - President Suharto admitted Saturday this year's elections reveal growing dissent against his 25 years of strict control over Indonesia.

But Suharto, in a nationally broadcast speech marking the 47th anniversary of the country's founding, nevertheless made clear he still believed the military deserved its paramount role in Indonesian politics and society.

"As the fighting forces that have helped to regain, defend and uphold the national independence, the armed forces are also responsible for the life of our nation and country," said Suharto.

Suharto said the military, by establishing the national philosophy Pancasila, a five-point creed that includes multi-religious tolerance, has become an integral part of the world's fourth most populous country.

"This is the essence of the armed forces' role as a socio-political force," Suharto said. "This is also the reason why they have seats in the people's representative bodies."

But, Suharto said, "The number of the (military) representatives in these bodies may well be adjusted to the prevailing situation."

Critics have voiced increasing unhappiness over the 100 seats reserved within the 500-seat House of Representatives for the Indonesian military, which has only about 400,000 to 500,000 members out of a total population of 183 million.

Suharto said the nation can develop a national consensus on the matter, to be sanctioned eventually by law by the next government together with the House of Representatives chosen in May's general election.

He said he was willing to discuss any changes as long as they are determined by what he considers a national consensus and they do not interfere with the country's development.

But Suharto ruled out any rush to full democracy in Indonesia.

"We still need a relatively long time to consolidate the political culture, tradition and behavior necessary for systems that are more democratic, more open and more responsible," he said.

## GOVERNMENT SETS UP RIGHTS BODY

*The Melbourne Sunday Age 23 Aug. 92. Remark: Unabridged*

Indonesia, frequently accused of human rights abuses, is setting up a parliamentary human rights committee in a bid to clean up its international image. The main task of the 15-member committee appears to be to explain Indonesia's human rights position and performance to the international community. Committee members will be taken from the three officially approved political parties and the armed forces (ABRI) which is also represented in parliament.

## 114 KILLED BY POLICE SINCE 1989

*The Sunday Age 23 Aug. 92. Remark: Unabridged*

Jakarta's police force has shot dead 114 alleged criminals and wounded 84 others in the past three years, press reports said yesterday. Jakarta police Commander Major General Marahudin Ritonga, said police had implemented the policy to shoot criminals on the spot in the capital, because criminals behave differently there than elsewhere in the country, the 'Media Indonesia' daily quoted him as saying.

## MILITARY PRESSURE ON INDONESIAN NGOS

*Berita Tanpa Sensor, Holland, from sources in Jakarta 24 August 1992*

The office of the human rights organisation INFIGHT (Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights) and the environmental organisation SKEPHI (NGO Network for Forest Conservation in Indonesia), which are both housed in the same building in Jakarta, have been put under strict military surveillance by the military authorities.

The telephone (and fax) line has been cut and many plainclothes soldiers are positioned near the building, watching both the office and the photocopying shops nearby used by activists from both organisations.

The head of the military region of Jakarta, General Kentot Harsono, has declared in several off-the-record meetings (though the information was intended to be passed on to NGO activists in Indonesia) that INFIGHT and SKEPHI are by far the most dangerous NGOs in Indonesia and have been placed at the top of the list of NGOs to be banned.

The activists of both organisations, as well as the Dutch-born Indonesian human rights activist Ponke Princen, are suspected by the authorities of being active in supporting the East Timorese student activists in Java, and also of being behind the planned strike of bus and taxi drivers which threatened to paralyse the traffic during the Summit Meeting of the Non Aligned Movement scheduled to be held in Jakarta next month (1 - 6 September).

Further to this report:

*The Jakarta Post* (13 Aug. 92) quoted General Harsono as stating that Jakarta military officers will not hesitate to shoot anyone who creates a disturbance during the NAM Summit. The Jakarta military will be deploying around 1,500 officers to safeguard the summit.

## THE MAN TO WATCH: LT. GEN. WISMOYO ARISMUNANDAR

*Asian Wall Street Journal, 24 August 92, excerpt.*

The promotion of Lt. Gen. Wismoyo Arismunandar to deputy chief of staff of the Indonesian army has generated the most interest among a number of senior military appointments in recent months.

"Wismoyo is clearly the man to watch," says a foreign military analyst. "He has gone places fast, and he's likely to go up a couple more places."

Gen. Wismoyo, who once headed the unit guarding President Suharto replaced Lt. Gen. A.S. Rajagukguk in the key job in the army, by far the most important branch of Indonesia's military.

The 51-year-old Gen. Wismoyo in effect becomes the No.3 man in the military hierarchy, behind Armed Forces Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno and Army Chief of Staff Gen. Edi Sudradjat. Gen. Try is considered a candidate to become vice president next year. If he does, analysts said, his job would likely go to Gen. Edi paving the way for Gen. Wismoyo to become chief of staff at a relatively young age.

Regardless of what the positions superiors move into, Gen. Wismoyo is widely perceived as heading for the command of the armed forces. Some Indonesian newspaper commentators think he also could be a candidate to succeed President Suharto, who has held power since 1966. The 71-year-old president is expected to seek and get a sixth five-year term in March.

Political and military analysts view Gen. Wismoyo, who became a brigadier general at age 43, as strongly loyal to Mr. Suharto. He was chief of the Presidential guard from 1966 to 1968, when then Gen. Suharto was consolidating his position after coming to power. Gen. Wismoyo is married to a sister of the president's wife.

For the past two years, Gen. Wismoyo commanded the Army Strategic Reserve, known as Kostrad. Among his previous positions were commander in Irian Jaya and chief of staff for the Bali-based regional command that oversees East Timor. In August, he was promoted to the rank of three-star general.

The general spoke only briefly to reporters at his Aug. 22 installation ceremony. He has had little contact with the press since becoming Kostrad commander in 1990.



## "INDONESIA - FACING THE FUTURE": ABDURRAHMAN WAHID IN AUSTRALIA

*Notes from a talk by Abdurrahman Wahid at Deakin University in Melbourne on the evening of 26 August 1992.*

*This was typed from hastily scribbled notes, so may contain some wrongly transcribed or misheard names, figures or points.*

*Abdurrahman Wahid spoke in English and most of the language I have used here is his.*

– David Bourchier

(davidb@vaxc.cc.monash.edu.au)

The 1992 election was a 'political earthquake' for Golkar. There were three epicentres: East Java, Central Java and Jakarta. In East and Central Java it registered about 7 1/2 on the Richter scale while in Jakarta it was about 6! Great implications. Golkar lost 10 seats in East Java and 8 in Central Java. Suharto told Anwar Anas, the man responsible for the Jakarta area on the leadership council (dewan pembina) of Golkar to ensure that Golkar won 60% of the votes in the capital. Despite intense efforts, Golkar only managed to win 50% of the vote.

This shows that Golkar has failed to penetrate the layers of old affiliations. Abdurrahman Wahid (ARW) attributed the swing in East and Central Java at least partly to the decision of local Nahdatul Ulama leaders not to urge people to vote for Golkar. They took a neutral stance and allowed their followers to vote for whoever they liked. In many parts of Sumatra however local NU leaders persuaded people to abandon the PPP and vote for Golkar. PPP lost a lot of seats there. Same story in Sulawesi.

It is clear that Golkar overall has failed to take root among the masses. It remains a party of the elite. Likened it to the old PSI, IPKI and Murba, which never succeeded in attracting the masses. Military support for Golkar is only half-hearted. PDI won many of Golkar's votes with populist rhetoric and policies. The parties which played up the old Sukarnoist nationalism and Islamic populism proved their strength while the pragmatic, program-oriented Golkar failed to produce meaningful results.

So will ABRI and the bureaucracy continue to use their time, money and moral influence on an organisation like this? The yield is clearly incommensurate with their efforts. The political earthquake could be a death sentence for Golkar unless it finds a way of instilling a sense of belonging among the masses.

This is closely linked to the question of succession. Suharto is no longer sure of the

support of the MPR - that's why he has been wooing the Muslims. With the final proof that Golkar has failed in its efforts it could be restructured or pruned, and adopt a new kind of leadership. The program oriented, non-ideological style of leadership will gradually be replaced by a more activist and ideological style, more populist and Islamic. If this indeed happens it will be a sign that the New Order's de-ideologisation will have failed. There will be more ideology, and a greater role for mass organisations in the future.

ABRI is locked in a bitter struggle to ensure that the next president comes from their ranks. That's why the current crop of appointments to senior military positions are very important. Many of Benny Murdani's followers have been relegated to the 'back benches.' This shows that Suharto is trying to find a new crop of officers who will follow his policy to try to develop a more ideological style of politics and a greater role for mass organisations. When Suharto steps down half way through his next term, or at the end of it, the struggle will be a bitter one. Several years of crisis. There is likely to be no decisive leadership. A period of impasse will be created. [Unclear whether he is referring to the period before or after Suharto's demise].

Suharto encourages resistance to the efforts by ABRI to control him in the bargaining process for the presidency. This has caused Sudharmono to try for another term as Vice President. Suharto often talks about the need for a good administrator as Vice President, which is widely understood as a green light for Sudharmono. So the bitter fight before the 1993 MPR session will be over the question of the Vice Presidency. Will Sudharmono be able to muster enough supporters before 1993? The list of Golkar candidates for the coming MPR will be of the utmost importance. This will indicate whether Sudharmono has been successful - i.e. whether he gets his own people in as opposed to CSIS people or Benny Murdani people. Sudharmono will most likely juggle his list to serve both himself and Suharto's interests. Sudharmono will ensure that some of Suharto's old cronies are put back into the MPR - like General Tjokropranolo. These clever machinations are to be expected from such a shrewd political operator as Sudharmono.

There is a danger for Suharto though, because ABRI will strike back more strongly [if he goes ahead with this plan]. Not only against Sudharmono. It will also weaken the power of the President himself. Suharto will be reappointed but will be weaker - when the time comes for the succession he will be resisted bitterly by ABRI. An ABRI general told me (ARW) bluntly

that Suharto must step down in a reasonable way [implied threat]. Suharto will find himself in an intractable conflict with ABRI if he gives too much support to Sudharmono.

This bitter fight between ABRI and Suharto will weaken the government as a whole. This in turn will allow a greater opportunity for initiatives from citizens, NGO's, the press etc to have an input and to affect changes in the future. The government will find it harder to resist initiatives from the outside. Cooperation between NGOs and their foreign supporters will be able to develop more intensely. So the prospects of more democratising efforts are improving. But we should not be hasty. When ABRI feels its interests to be threatened and its authority challenged it could take a more militant attitude. political conflict could easily develop into physical conflict. NGOs and those outside the government will not be able to withstand this kind of crackdown.

Indonesia has no mediating force - no King like in Thailand. Also no real competition between ex-generals and generals like in Thailand. So there is only guarded optimism about the future of democracy. The nearer the succession gets the more careful we will have to be.

What about the role of Forum Democracy (FD) and Muslim groups? FD is many up of members from several action-oriented organisations, but as a group we avoid direct action - we concentrate on reflection, formulating democratic strategies for the future, political forms for Indonesia for the next decade. We aim to give a focus and a sharp understanding of the issues to the people. This is a very difficult task. We will of course be accused of being cowards [for not taking a more aggressive stance]. But it will be tragic if a common understanding can not be reached.

Muslim groups: Should beware of the danger of becoming carried away with the current goodwill Suharto is showing towards them. They should use the opportunity to uplift themselves through education, self awareness, political spirit [?]. They should use the chance to work for long term advantage, not the short term benefits to be had. Very important that they do not let their affinity with Islam get out of control so that it leads to repression of other groups and intolerance. Many groups become so spirited that they forget the fundamental fact that Islamic movements form less than a majority of the population. Those actively promoting Islam formed only 45% or so of the Constituent Assembly in the late 1950s. Islamic strength is still too small to warrant a 'total onslaught.' Muslims should not become 'heady' with the smell of victory.

Should avoid exclusive issues. They should be able accommodate all groups, including the non-pri, the non-Malays [esp. the Chinese]. Only in this way can they become strong and influential. The interests of the entire nation must be kept at heart.

We want freedom of speech, freedom of association, human rights, rule of law, the uplifting of women and children, minorities and economically weak groups. So the situation is still open ended... The political struggle must not be allowed to break out into physical violence.

#### Questions:

On the need for a military government necessary to hold the country together and the danger of Indonesia disintegrating like Yugoslavia...

The regions of Indonesia do not divide up ethnically like they do in Yugoslavia. Can you imagine a Republic of Sumatra - Achenese Muslims in the North, Christian Bataks, Minangkabaus, and all the Javanese migrants in Lampung. There are regional demands in Indonesia but they are for local autonomy, not separatism. And no, we definitely don't need the military to enforce national unity. They are counter productive. Like in Aceh. The problem in Aceh could have been solved by politicians. The military are only making the problem worse.

About the Chinese dominating the economy and the position of Muslims...

...Don't blame the Chinese. Yes, certainly there are some criminal Chinese, especially those close to the President, but don't lump them all together. Most of them are hard working. And if we are talking about wealth, we have to ask who is behind the wealthy Chinese. Officers! Muslim officers! Who is using who? All the service heads and all the chiefs of staff are Muslims. The students who go overseas - most are Muslims. Muslims have to overcome the idea that Muslims are disadvantaged.

#### On ICMI...

The majority of ICMI members are sane. They are given a bad name by activists who have been on the sidelines for too long. They want to use Islam to break into the mainstream.

On the visit to the President's 'Tapos' ranch of over a hundred battalion commanders a couple of months ago...

The visit to Tapol..eh, Tapos! - if all those battalion commanders visited Tapol, in London, Carmel Budiardjo would flee! - was organised by Prabowo, Suharto's son in law, who knows them all personally. Not really all that important, except for a public relations exercise. Anyway, [Armed Forces Chief of Staff] Edi Sudradjat probably did best out of it, as it was he who gave the order for the Rp150 million from Yayasan [...?]

to be handed out to every battalion - not Suharto. Suharto has managed to keep Edi Sudradjat neutral in his fight with Benny Murdani, but the president's position is weakening. By promoting Wismoyo he loses control over Kostrad forces to somebody he knows less.

#### On the press...

Kompas will probably be more cautious now as it is down to its last warning [before being banned]. [Information Minister] Harmoko wants to be chairman of Golkar and would not hesitate to close down Kompas [for the political capital this could bring him in the wake of the Monitor affair]. There is talk that he wants to start his own ICMI newspaper [to replace it] which may be called 'Republik.' These days the biting criticism is not found in Kompas but in Bernas in Yogyakarta [part of the Kompas stable]. Press is likely to become more free in the future to do investigative journalism. Perhaps it will even do like in England with Fergie! But no, if the press were able to tell those sorts of stories in Indonesia - who is with who - the whole political system would crumble!

## ABDURRAHMAN WAHID INTERVIEW

*Unofficial transcript*

*ABC Radio program "Indian Pacific" - Monday August 31, 1992*

*Interview with ARW - interviewer is Peter Mares*

*PM: Good evening, welcome to Indian Pacific. I'm Peter Mares. Tonight a conversation with Abdurrahman Wahid, Indonesia's most important religious leader & one of the most influential figures in the nation outside the Government & the Armed Forces. In a frank & wide-ranging interview ARW talks about democracy & the role of the military. He comments on East Timor & he predicts that President Suharto is likely to step down in 1995.*

*ARW heads Nahdatul Ulama, a vast rural-based Muslim organization which boasts 30 million members yet he resists the push by some religious leaders to make Indonesia into an Islamic society. His voice is one of moderation and tolerance cherishing the idea of pluralism. ARW is also a key advocate of political reform in Indonesia. As the leader of Forum Demokrasi, a discussion group of prominent Indonesians hoping to encourage the development of a more democratic culture.*

ARW: We now are in motion in activities related to finding common platform for different organizations active in promoting democracy in Indonesia so we would like to have a kind of, you know, agreement on the scope of parameters of democracy acceptable to all.

*PM: So you are trying to define what democracy would mean for Indonesia ?*

ARW: Yes because my anticipation is that the current government would be more responsive to the needs of the people for more openness, more responsibility and accountability of the government to the people. But we should not expect too much. It's very slow progress.

*PM: So you're not expecting dramatic changes ?*

ARW: Not so but maybe improvements here and there along the way and that's why those who are active for democracy should reach consensus about minimum requirements for democracy so that the differences between those organizations or groups would not wreck the whole process.

*PM: Indonesia is currently in a state of anticipation leading up to the Presidential election of March next year. There seems little doubt that President Suharto will be confirmed in office for another term. There will be no popular vote in March, the President & Vice President are chosen by 1,000 carefully selected members of an electoral college called the MPR - the People's Consultative Assembly. The Armed Forces have a guaranteed share of seats in the MPR and as March approaches political debate in Indonesia is focused on this "dual function" of the military - its direct involvement in politics as well as in national defence. President Suharto himself kindled the debate this month by suggesting in his Independence Day speech that the military's political role could be gradually scaled back at some point in the future.*

ARW: Now different groups in Indonesia have their own different opinions about this dual function & concept of the armed forces in which the armed forces poses itself as the guardian of the Indonesian people in political as well as defense sectors.

*PM: What about the armed forces themselves - does that debate go on within the armed forces ?*

ARW: Ah, not on the very concept of the dual function for example but the extent to the involvement of the armed forces in the government - that's the debate and also in the role of the armed forces to prop power centres - for example those there are centres in the armed forces who would like to limit the armed forces involvement in the appointment of President Suharto next year for example. They don't want a direct role for the armed forces like in the past but more in, you know, ensuring that the MPR presidential appointment process would be stable, orderly you know constitutional.

*PM: So you say in the past President Suharto's re-election has been more or less guaranteed by the military and there are those who are questioning the military's role in supporting President Suharto today.*

ARW: Ya, more in this, that the Armed Forces should not be the guarantors but that the President himself should try, should make the effort to get the guarantee from the other, you know, groups in society. The armed forces could guarantee only that the process of appointing the President will be orderly.

*PM: But the President himself should look for support from broader society not just the military.*

ARW: Yes, that's it precisely, and that puts the President in a, you know, not difficult but anyway unusual position of having to deal with the different groups in Indonesian society

*PM: Well it would be a new position for President Suharto wouldn't it - he really hasn't had to think about those questions as long as he could rely on the support of the armed forces.*

ARW: Yes certainly of course its natural that now he has to cater to the needs of different groups and as I see it there are certain dangers possible to emerge - for example, there is President Suharto's wooing of Islamic groups- would end up by easing very much the basic policy followed so far of not, you know, allowing Islam to emerge as ideology, political ideology.

*PM: So in looking for popular support President Suharto could encourage a mixing of politics and religion which could be dangerous for Indonesia ?*

ARW: Yes, because it could result in misunderstanding between people of different faiths & religions. Because in the past the non-Muslims were very afraid of the ascendancy of Islamic ideologically motivated groups well connected with the, you know, countries like Libya, for example, and now those very groups are courted by the President. Such figures as Mohammad Natsir has direct contacts with the President.

*PM: But Mohammad Natsir is who ?*

ARW: Yeah we will say that he is the agent of the Saudis (chuckle) in Indonesia, so he looks towards the establishment of an Islamic society in Indonesia, not an Indonesian society where Muslims could, you know, implement the teachings of their religion. So it's a difference you know. The aim is an Islamic society as distinct from the Indonesian society.

*PM: You are the leader of NU, the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia but you don't want to see that. You don't want to see the Islamic society in Indonesia ?*

ARW: No. I'm an Indonesian and I realize that Indonesian society is pluralistic in nature, that they follow this tradition of religious tolerance and we are committed to a constitution which says that all citizens are equal before the law. Then why should we establish an Islamic society ? That kind of society would discriminate however minimally against the non-Muslims and well this kind of situation would bring a sense of apprehension so big that of course the unity of the nation would be endangered I think.

*PM: President Suharto is approaching the end of his fifth term - 25 years as head of state and although he will be re-appointed in March next year he is unlikely to complete a full sixth term in office according to ARW. The prospect of President Suharto stepping down in, say, 1995, throws the spotlight on the position of his constitutionally designated successor, the Vice President. As the March meeting of the MPR approaches it is the position of Vice President which will be most bitterly contested by factions within Indonesia's political elite. The prospect of a post Suharto era also raises the demand that future Presidents be limited to a maximum of two terms in office.*

ARW: I don't know whether the momentum now to limit the presidential periods

would be great enough yet to actually turn into a concrete thing ya. There are limits but we don't know what will happen. Though the need now to limit the presidency of Mr Suharto just to this presidency for example will not automatically be great enough to ensure that this kind of limit will be applied - we don't know yet.

I think - that's my opinion that if it's great enough the momentum will end up in limiting. But however the limitations will not apply to Mr Suharto anyway because everybody knows that the next term will be his last and he would be lucky if he got to, you know, terminate his term fully - maybe he has to think about contingency plans to step down in the middle for health reasons because he is already too old and he has his own health problems.

*PM: So you think that President Suharto may have trouble completing his next term in office ?*

ARW: Ya, ya I think so - I mean there is a great possibility that he would not be able to end his presidency fully.

*PM: Purely for health reasons or for other reasons as well ?*

ARW: I think he's already too old and he knows that the demanding job of the presidency is something that cannot be treated lightly so the sooner he sees that there are limits to his own individual capacity to carry out his duties then he would step down I think.

*PM: Does he see that yet ? Does he see that he has to prepare to hand over power ?*

ARW: Ah, not yet but from his, you know, veiled words, we could, you know, deduce this. Also from his own, you know, behaviour, like always stressing the need to prepare somebody that if anything happened, anytime you see - the stress on anytime. So I think that he has already been thinking about this possibility as well. So if that takes place then it will be in, I think, around '95 - 3 years before the end of this term - just 2 years after being re-appointed.

*PM: So that means the appointment of the vice-president in March is an extremely important appointment ?*

ARW: Yes, of course. I mean there is no other choice but to get a strong vice president, or, if not strong, then a vice-president acceptable to all.

PM: Finding a strong vice-president or a vice president acceptable to all is exactly the problem. There's no obvious candidate on the horizon and a deepening rift between the president and the military will make a compromise figure difficult to find. Until the events in East Timor last November, Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno, was considered a likely choice. He has the military's backing over the incumbent Vice President Sudharmono who's seen as a Suharto man and a representative of the bureaucracy.

ARW: Certainly the armed forces have favoured somebody from their circles to become vice president and that means later when Suharto steps down then you know this guy will be his replacement. So in that sense - yes they have General Try Sutrisno.

PM: General Try Sutrisno is the man they would like to be vice president after next march ?

ARW: Ya, but there are also civilian bureaucrats of course - naturally they would like to have somebody for themselves. Although will the nominal or titular position in the armed forces for example Vice President Sudharmono who is what we call a "table soldier" - never tested in battle.

PM: A "table soldier" ?

ARW: Yeah, a table soldier but never the less he's a Lt. General but he is known for his contacts with the civilian bureaucracy not outside the bureaucracy - so people like myself see him promote the same kind of authoritarianism as the military.

PM: So he promotes a kind of bureaucratic authoritarianism ?

ARW: Yeah, so I think for people outside the government - for the NGOs and groups, I think they are from the same mode - whereas VP Sudharmono is promoting the interests of the civilian bureaucracy - is difficult to see as being acceptable to the armed forces. That's why General Try Sutrisno was, you know, the logical choice. But with the - what happened in Dili last November with more than 100 people killed well the government said 53 killed and 60 missing but we know that all of them are dead. General Try's reputation is diminished I think.

PM: How big an influence has the Dili massacre had on debates about openness and democratization in Indonesia ?

ARW: The open debate is not so much but the whispered debate of course was very bitter sometimes took place and then the government had to take account of a great demand for openness and that's why the President was open from the very beginning in appointing this military commission and also demanding from the military accountability of the situation.

PM: Were you satisfied with the response to the Dili massacre ?

ARW: Well of course not, yet to be frank with you, that for example the sentences given to the demonstrators are not commensurate to their mistakes while we will see that sanctions given against the soldiers who did the shooting was too lenient. So, well, who could be satisfied with this ?

PM: Do you think that things like that, like the events in Dili, could happen again or do you think that because of what has been done the possibility of it happening again had been reduced ?

ARW: There is no guarantee that it will not happen again because as long as the armed forces are not accountable to the Parliament then its possible to assume that the future will be devoid of this kind of 'mistake.'

PM: What about the situation in East Timor ? Do you see a way of resolving the problems of East Timor ?

ARW: In defense of our perspective on East Timor - for example, I myself proposed to Amos Wako, the representative of the UN Secretary General at that time who came to Jakarta to investigate the matter, that the Church should be given more, you know, room for promoting 'cultural identity' of the East Timorese themselves, so that they could, after defining their own place in life, then they could develop a healthy attitude towards the question of whether they are Indonesians or not. They would like to be Indonesians or not. So this I said to Wako in front of one of the Directors of the Foreign Ministry in Jakarta.

Second, I asked Wako, also to consider the necessity of giving more local decentralization of the government to local level. This is known in your country as more

autonomy for the East Timorese but that very word is bad word in Indonesia because autonomy means another government in separation from Indonesian government so then my proposal was for decentralization of the governmental process so that decisions would be made more by the local government in East Timor. The third that the non-governmental organizations should be given more opportunity to promote the welfare of, you know, the East Timorese in different ways - promotion of technology, of public health, of nutrition programmes & so forth.

I think up to now that there are signs that the government are ready to accept this kind of proposals. All types of proposals are tabled to the government through, you know, intermediaries like Wako. So if you consider this fact then you could see that problems of East Timor are being resolved. But if you talk about the solution to the basic problem - that is the status of East Timor itself then I think it is, as you know, as stubborn as before. I mean it's difficult to solve because certainly the basic question is how to resolve the differences in perception.

The Government maintains that through its own deliberations with the East Timorese in 1975, the East Timorese had determined to become Indonesian citizens and East Timor became the 27th province of Indonesia. But of course there are quite, you know, big number of East Timorese who say that kind of deliberation didn't amount to self-determination. So as long as this dispute or different opinions are not resolved and I don't know how to resolve it except politically through dialogue or, you know, kind of lets say "give and take" process then I don't know how to solve it.

PM: Do you think that ultimately the people of East Timor should be given a choice in the form of a referendum on Independence ?

ARW: Well ideally this kind of referendum could decide but the problem is that this ideal situation is seen suspiciously by the Indonesian government as you know giving too much to the other side. So then I don't know how the problem should be resolved.

PM: So you mean a referendum isn't realistic as an option ?

ARW: It's not realistic at all. I mean the demand for a referendum is difficult to see as to be realized soon or in the near future.

PM: ARW, earlier in this interview you suggested that President Suharto would step down by 1995 - what are the changes that are needed in Indonesia today to prepare for that time, to prepare for a post President Suharto period ?

ARW: The coming of a new leadership could end, could result in positive consolidation of what's achieved so far at least the positive aspects of the whole development process or could be the reverse - that could bring more trouble and could threaten the unity and stability of life we have now. So I think if you would like to see the positive gains of our national development so far to be consolidated then I think more openness, more professionalism on the part of the Government, accountability to people's representatives and more, I think, consistency in carrying out changes in the implementation of law, of national law and political life and so forth so that we have to do many things at once

PM: Are you optimistic about the potential for achieving those things ?

ARW: I think that the chance for the transition to be a positive one rather than a negative one is about 60:40 and I'm a little more optimistic that this 60:40 situation will be for the benefit of, you know, a positive transition period because I think one thing is clear - that the armed forces cannot rely just on its own influence - it has to build trust with the people and with the new leadership. That it has to concede many things to the civilian side of Indonesian life.

PM: But no military ever gives up its political influence easily does it ? I mean if we look at the case of what happened in Bangkok recently it suggests that distancing the military from politics in Indonesia is not likely to be an easy or simple process ?

ARW: Oh yes of course it will be very difficult and I just hope that it will not be a bloody one but we have to be prepared for any eventuality. If we love democracy we have to be prepared to sacrifice ourselves for that. And I anticipate the situation could happen at any time be-

cause the so-called authoritarian side of any military establishment in the world is well proven throughout history you know.

PM: Muslim leader ARW: - a leading advocate of democratic reform in Indonesia. He was in Australia to attend the annual Indonesia update conference held on Friday at the Australian National University in Canberra.

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### RAINFOREST ACTION NETWORK SUPPORTS INDONESIAN NGO'S

This a letter we sent to the ambassador and other prominent folks in response to the news out of the Netherlands about the crackdown on SKEPHI and INFIGHT. For more information contact Martha at Rainforest Action Network, phone: 415-398-4404, fax: 415-398-2732, e-mail: en:rainforest.

August 27, 1992

Ambassador Abdul Rachman Ramly  
Indonesian Embassy  
202 Massachusetts Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
By Fax: 202-775-5365

Dear Ambassador Ramly,

I am writing in regard to recent reports which state that the Indonesian human rights and environmental organizations SKEPHI and INFIGHT have been put under strict military surveillance. We have learned that the telephone line in the two organizations' office has been cut, that plainclothes soldiers have been stationed outside the building, and that the Jakarta Military chief, Major-General Kentot Harsono has said that both organizations are dangerous and should be banned.

I urge you and your government to stop this harassment of organizations working to protect the rights of all Indonesians and, in particular, on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged. SKEPHI is an organization committed to preserving your country's remaining rainforests for the benefit of all people. By restricting this important work you, in effect, undermine your own work to protect Indonesia's dwindling rainforests, now disappearing at a rate of one million hectares every year. All non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Indonesia and worldwide deserve the opportunity to work for ecological and social justice. By limiting the autonomy of NGOs, you tarnish the image of Indonesia throughout the world.

As the host of next week's Non-Aligned Movement Summit Meeting, Indonesia will be in the spotlight of world attention.

President Suharto has stated that environmental issues should be discussed at the meeting and a priority for all members. At the UNCED meeting in July, Suharto himself called for NAM countries to establish a common stance on the implementation of sustainable development programmes. By allowing all Indonesians to freely speak and operate, you can show the world that your country's commitment to sustainable development and democracy is one that is based on the participation of all.

Sincerely,

Randall Hayes  
Executive Director

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### SUHARTO WANTS A NEW LEADING ROLE

*The Age (Melbourne), 7 Sept. 1992*  
By Lindsay Murdoch Abridged

(Jakarta, Sept. 6) At 71, with re-election to a sixth five-year term in office assured, Indonesia's president Suharto intends to lead the developing world in confronting what he calls "historic challenges" over the next three years.

"We should strive to develop the necessary concepts, strategies and initiatives that will enable us to exert a more direct and vigorous influence on the direction of international developments..." President Suharto told a Non- Aligned Movement summit in Jakarta, which ended tonight.

An American academic recently described President Suharto as a "dying king," or at least a ruler whose authority has begun slowly to ebb away.

But the six day summit, attended by more than 60 world leaders, has catapulted him on to the world stage at a time his critics wished he would be grooming a successor and preparing to retire.

President Suharto's chairmanship of the 108-member Non- Aligned Movement, taken up at the start of the summit last week, will change the way Indonesia conducts itself internationally.

It will also boost the president's prestige among Indonesia's 183 million people at a time of increasingly open debate over whether the country can safely move from his authoritarian-style rule to become a true democracy.

Diplomats and analysts say that even minority elements in the military, who wish he would stand down, appear to have acquiesced in the interests of the country.

Although President Suharto has actively tried to achieve unity and economic prosperity in South East Asia and IndoChina, he has given far greater priority to domestic issues than to foreign policy.

Assuming the Non-Aligned chairmanship at a time of major changes in the global balance will present an opportunity for him to add international diplomacy to his list of achievements.

The strategy for President Suharto's chairmanship has been mapped out and will be run by the Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, a consummate diplomat who sees it bridging a gap between developing nations and the big economic powers and lifting Indonesia's standing in the world.

One of Indonesia's top priorities will be to push strongly for consensus among developing nations on how best to restructure the UN Security Council.

President Suharto will balance his time between overseeing Indonesia's next economic phase and adopting a higher profile in world affairs.

Later this month he will address the UN General Assembly in New York and visit Japan, one of the Group of Seven major economic powers which Indonesia believes should have closer cooperation with developing countries.

Indonesian officials hope the NAM chairmanship will give President Suharto a say in world affairs commensurate with the size of his nation, the world's fourth most populous.

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## VEEPSTAKES

*Agence France Presse, September 15, 1992*

Armed forces chief Try Sutrisno was tipped again Tuesday to become Indonesia's next vice president and potential successor to head of state Suharto, but analysts said he was far from assured of the post.

It was the third front-page article in a week about the chances for General Try, 56, in the run-up to the October 1 opening of the new parliament that will play a key role in choosing the new president and his deputy next March.

Suharto, 71, is confidently expected to run for a sixth five-year term, although he has yet to declare himself, and in view of his age the choice of his running mate is crucial.

Tuesday's edition of *Jayakarta*, a daily close to the powerful military, quoted Try as saying he was "ready to serve in any post assigned to me" when questioned about the possibility of his running.

Last Thursday the same paper had set out a scenario in which Try would be named vice president, quoting a well-informed source as saying he would be named speaker of parliament when the assembly convenes on October 1.

In March he would cede the position to ruling Golkar party leader Wahono and stand for election as vice president by the

Consultative Assembly, comprising the 500-member parliament and 500 other representatives appointed by Suharto, the source said.

On Monday another Jakarta daily, *Berita Buana*, which has links to the military intelligence service, quoted former social affairs minister Alamsyah Ratu Prawiranegara as saying that Try would make a good vice president.

Other names have also been mentioned as possible candidates in recent weeks, including Home Affairs Minister Rudini, State Minister for Research and Technology Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie and Defence Minister Benny Murdani, as well as General Mohamad Jusuf, 68, prestigious chairman of the State Audit Board.

But political analysts said current vice president Sudharmono could equally well be re-elected to the post.

They said the apparent lobbying for Try was a sign that the vice presidential choice was the subject of intense negotiations behind the scenes among the various sectors of the establishment, and particularly the different factions of the armed forces.

One Indonesian observer discounted the possibility of Try succeeding, saying, "He discredited himself with his clumsy justification of the army's action in the bloody events in East Timor in November 1991 (when soldiers gunned down pro-independence demonstrators), and even before that no one considered him fit to run the country one day."

Another analyst added, "Paradoxically, the army's support means General Try has lost any chance of becoming vice president, whereas before the military saw him merely as a creature of the president.

"President Suharto is now mistrustful of military backing for his loyal follower."

A third observer commented that the army would seek a quid pro quo from Try, including his approval for the next round of appointments of senior commanders.

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## JAKARTA HIGH COURT UPHOLDS JAIL TERM FOR EAST TIMORESE STUDENT

*Jakarta Post 26 September 1992 Dateline: Jakarta Abridged*

*Here is a clear example of the judiciary deliberately failing to notify a convicted person and his lawyers of an appeal decision, so as to make it impossible for them to lodge an appeal within the allotted time for the next stage of the process!*

The Jakarta High Court has upheld the nine-year jail term for a 26-year-old East Timorese student who was convicted for

subversion, his lawyer said. "We have appealed against the High Court decision for Fernando Araujo," lawyer Luhut Panjaitan of the Legal Aid Institute YLBHI said.

Luhut told JP that he did not know why the Court had upheld the sentence because he had not received a copy of the decision.

The defence team knew about the decision from Salemba Prison when they picked up Agapito Cardoso, another E Timorese student, who was released after ending his term last week.

Luhut said he was told the Court had made the decision on Sept. 12, but when a colleague told the Central Jakarta District Court they would appeal against the decision, a registrar said he had not been informed about this. "She had to argue with the registrar before he at last accepted our statement to appeal," said Luhut.

A convicted person has two weeks to consider whether or not to appeal, according to the law.

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## IN THE INDONESIAN EMPIRE

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### ELEVEN ACEHNESE INCARCERATED UNDERGROUND IN PENANG

*TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release in London on 13 August 1992:*

Eleven Acehese men, all political refugees who fled from Aceh early last year seeking asylum in Malaysia, have been incarcerated in an underground prison on the island of Penang for the last 14 months. Like hundreds of other Acehese who fled their homeland in tiny boats, to escape the bloody crackdown under way in Aceh since 1990, they were arrested on arrival in Malaysia. Soon afterwards, the eleven men were separated from their compatriots and taken to an unknown place of detention. The apparent reason was to prevent them from standing in the way of attempts by the Malaysian authorities to cajole the refugees into returning 'voluntarily' to Indonesia.

In a letter smuggled out from the virtual dungeon where they have been held since 10 June 1991, they wrote: "For one year and two months we have not seen the sun, the sky or the earth.... Physically we are dissolving, our skins desiccating, our teeth are constantly bleeding, our health deteriorating and we have never been given a medical check-up since we arrived in Malaysia."

The eleven men are: Sjahbuddin Hasan, Yusof Idris, Ridwan Abu Bakar, Hamdani

Abdul Ghani, M. Kasem Amin, M. Nur Abdullah, M. Daud Abu Bakar, A. Jalil Yusuf, Shahabuddin Abu Bakar, Sulciman Ilham A. Ghani, and Djameluddin Usman.

The Malaysian government, under strong pressure from Jakarta, refuses to recognise the fleeing Acehnese as refugees, insisting that they are 'illegal immigrants' who must return home. The government has refused to recognise as refugees the 43 Acehnese now holed up in the Kuala Lumpur office of the UN High Commission for Refugees even though they who have been issued Refugee Identity Cards. If these men, women and children were to leave the office, they fear they could be arrested.

TAPOL is gravely concerned at the eleven men's physical condition and their chances of survival. It has asked the British Government, through its office in Kuala Lumpur, to seek information about the precise whereabouts of the men who, by rights, ought not to be in detention at all. It has asked the British government to press for the men to be medically examined, treated immediately for their deteriorating physical condition and moved without delay from their present place of detention.

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### OPM CHRISTIAN SUPPORTER JAILED

Reuter, Jakarta, Aug. 13 - An Indonesian court on Thursday jailed a Irian Jaya resident for eight years for helping rebels in the province, the official news agency Antara reported.

Theo Rumbaku, 35, treasurer of the local Christian Education Foundation, was found guilty of subversion for helping the Free Papua Movement (OPM) which seeks independence for Irian Jaya from Jakarta's rule.

Antara quoted Judge Suradiman as telling the court in Irian Jaya's capital of Jayapura that Rumbaku had supplied food and ammunition to rebel leader Martin Luther Prawar, who was killed in a clash with Indonesian troops two months ago.

Jakarta crushed armed resistance to Indonesian rule in the remote eastern province when it took over the territory from the Dutch in 1963. But the OPM still retains many sympathisers.

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### INDONESIA REWARDS IRIAN KILLER

*PACNEWS ED-1, AUGUST 24 1992*

Authorities in Indonesia's province of Irian Jaya are reported to have financially rewarded the killer of an alleged member of a local separatist movement.

The Antara news agency says Binifasius Jarakert has been given two-thousand dollars for killing a man who turned out to be a member of the Free Papua Movement.

The man - who has not been identified - asked Mr Jarakert for food and somewhere to sleep.

Jarakert killed him while he was asleep and then reported the murder to police.

A senior Indonesian official in the south-coast town of Merauke said Jarakert deserved a reward, because he had shown loyalty to the country by helping security forces overcome separatism.

The Free Papua Movement has been waging a rebellion for a separate state in Irian Jaya since the former Dutch colony became Indonesian territory in 1964.

### MAN REWARDED FOR KILLING ALLEGED SEPARATIST

*Radio Australia 21 August 1992 Monitored on BBC*

Authorities in Indonesia's province of Irian Jaya are said to have financially rewarded the killer of an alleged member of the local separatist movement, Radio Australia reported, quoting the Indonesian news agency, Antara. The radio said Binifasius Jarakert had been given 2,000 dollars for killing a man "who turned out to be a member of the Free Papua Movement."

The man, who has not been identified, asked Mr Jarakert for food and somewhere to sleep," the radio said. "Jarakert killed him while he was asleep and then reported the murder to the police."

A senior Indonesian official in the south coast town of Merauke said Jarakert deserved the reward because he had shown loyalty to the country by helping security forces overcome separation," the radio reported. It recalled that the Free Papua Movement has been waging a rebellion for a separate state in Irian Jaya since the former Dutch colony became Indonesian territory in 1964.

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### WEST PAPUANS DEMONSTRATE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

*by Guido de Bruin*

The Hague, Oct. 1 (ips) - Maria Kaisiepo (21) was born in the Netherlands, but as a Papuan she feels she has a mission to fulfill on behalf of her suffering brethren in Indonesian-occupied West Papua.

The grand-daughter of a well-known activist for Papua self-determination who fled former Dutch New Guinea in 1962, she feels that "using my right to speak out" is her

duty towards her people "whose rights have been taken from them."

In a demonstration held last Thursday by representatives from Dutch Papuan organisations, some 150 West Papuans vented their anger and frustration with decades of international neglect.

Similar demonstrations were held in London, Paris, Madrid, Sydney and Davao in the Philippines. Some 40,000 petitions were handed in at U.N. offices and Indonesian embassies worldwide.

These call on the U.N. to send observers to West Papua - now the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya - to investigate alleged human rights abuses by the Indonesian authorities, forced migration and exploitation by mining and oil companies.

Thirty years ago on Thursday, under the New York agreement between Holland and Indonesia, the Netherlands transferred the administration of its last colonial possession in the Indonesian archipelago to the United Nations, which in turn handed it over to the Indonesian government in 1963.

Indonesia failed to implement the self-determination provision in the agreement, orchestrating a so-called people's consultation in 1969 which produced a claimed consensus that West Papua should remain within Indonesia. This was severely criticised at the time by special U.N. representative Ortiz Sanz.

Under Indonesian occupation, 900,000 Papuans currently living in West Papua are being driven from their lands by the 700,000 Javanese settled under the Indonesian transmigration programme, and by Indonesian and western mining, timber and oil companies eager to exploit the island's rich natural resources.

Kaisiepo estimates that some 10,000 Papuans have fled to neighbouring Papua New Guinea while according to a recent Amnesty International report, several activists for Papuan self-determination have been shot, imprisoned or tortured.

Kaisiepo said scope for political protest under the umbrella of the organisation for a free Papua (OPM) is very limited, prompting some in the isolated interior to take up bows and arrows in an unequal struggle against Indonesia's modern military.

In the words of anthropologist Jan Nederveen Pieterse, the Papuans have always been "victims of 'development'" - whether at the hands of colonists, of national Indonesian development, or of multinational mining and logging interests.

Kaisiepo and her fellow-activists want the U.N. to take action and, even after 30 years, to insist on implementation of the self-determination provision, by publicising their cause and lobbying the U.N. working

group on indigenous populations they hope to muster international support.

But Nederveen Pieterse attributed the flagging international interest in West Papua – as opposed to the massive outcry over Indonesian repression in East Timor – to the image popularised by former Dutch colonists, who portrayed Papuans as a stone age people engaging in cannibalism and head hunting.

Nederveen Pieterse believes the image is still pervasive, if nowadays used in a slightly less negative sense, exchanging the old “savage brute” for the “noble savage.”

Nederveen Pieterse said that even nowadays Dutch media reports from the region still focus on weird cultural practices rather than on the current political struggle. “as long as this kind of stone age tale persists, Papuans still have more chance of ending up on the cartoon pages than on the political pages,” he added.

Kaisiepo suspects that another factor is Dutch unwillingness to be become aware, both of this and of the way they left the Papuans to fend for themselves. “in the Netherlands, the Papuan issue has been hushed up,” she said.

But she is confident that international pressure will ultimately bring freedom to West Papua, though the 35 organisations representing the 1,000 Dutch Papuans need to undertake more concerted action than they have so far.

Kaisiepo thinks young Papuans have to take over from the older generation, because the latter has spent more time fighting among itself than campaigning for the Papuan cause. for them, she says, freedom has become a mere “far-away dream.”

Thursday’s demonstration in the Hague coincided with another in Amsterdam commemorating the military coup of October 1, 1965, which brought President Suharto’s repressive regime to power. the bloody consequences of that coup are still being felt today by minorities and critics of the Indonesian government.

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## EVENTS IN EUROPE

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### FIGHTING BRITAIN’S HAWKS

IPS, London, John Tanner, Aug. 7 - British Aerospace is close to finalising a deal with Indonesia to provide 44 Hawk fighter/trainer aircraft. but on human rights grounds, there is growing opposition in Britain to the 1.2 billion dollar package.

In November last year, the Indonesian army killed more than 100 pro-independ-

ence East Timorese demonstrators in Dili. And since 1976, when the province was annexed by the Indonesians, a third of the 710,000 population are believed to have been killed.

“We’ve evidence of Hawks being used in East Timor,” said Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign. She argues the British Aerospace deal will help the military, and give the British seal of approval to Indonesia.

Britain is the second largest supplier of armaments, after the United States, to President Suharto’s regime. British Aerospace, the United Kingdom’s largest defence contractor, has also recently sold ‘Rapier’ air defence missiles to Indonesia.

“The Indonesians don’t like us to talk about what they’re ordering,” said a spokesperson for British Aerospace. But the Hawk deal is believed to include both the supply of aircraft and setting up of a production line in Indonesia.

British Aerospace is suffering its share of the slump in orders since the cold war ended. But the Hawk is proving a success with some 500 manufactured so far, and another 250 on order.

Primarily a training Aeroplane, the Hawk at around 19 million dollars each, is a tenth the price of a modern fighter. It can attack targets on the ground although it is no match for a sophisticated enemy fighter.

Indonesia has already bought 20 of these trainer/fighters and is evidently pleased with the equipment. What is of concern to groups like CAAT and TAPOL is that the planes will be used for internal security in Indonesia.

Lord Finsberg, a member of the ruling Conservative Party in Britain’s second chamber, shares that concern. Finsberg has been active in the Council of Europe where he was alerted to the plight of East Timor by Portuguese parliamentarians.

“The contrast between the world’s immediate reaction to Iraq’s annexation of Kuwait and what happened to East Timor makes us wonder whether there are double standards,” Lord Finsberg said in the House of Lords recently.

“Let us at least do something for the people of East Timor,” he added, urging the British government to support an arms embargo against Indonesia, which would of course prevent the sale of the Hawks from going ahead.

The British government believes Suharto should withdraw from East Timor but at the same time recognises Indonesia’s right to defend itself.

However, there is the question of an export licence. In 1989 British Aerospace wanted to sell Hawks to Iraq but an export licence was withheld after protests by Iraqi

Kurds. The British Foreign Secretary at the time was John Major, now the Prime Minister.

“We scrutinise all applications for exports of military equipment,” said Foreign Office Minister, Baroness Trumpington, who denies that British military equipment has been used against the East Timorese.

One defence industry source in London believes the Hawk sale will get an export licence. “The government will make some sort of token gesture. But let’s face it, Britain needs the export orders, don’t we?”

Aerospace has already sold 175 Hawks to the UK’s Royal Air Force and as many as 260 to the U.S. Navy. Other buyers include Switzerland, Finland, Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, Zimbabwe, Kenya and South Korea.

If the Hawk contract does get the green light, it is also possible that the planes will be used internally. As well as in East Timor, there are insurgents fighting for independence in both northern Sumatra and West Papua.

Since 1986 Britain has sold more than 522 million dollars worth of weapons to Indonesia, says the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. But, unlike Australia, it has refused to recognise the annexation of East Timor.

The United Nations register of arms sales, set up after the Iraq war, will not impact on the Hawk sale to Indonesia. Under the terms of the register, exports and imports have only to be reported after they have taken place.

Budiardjo admits getting the British Aerospace deal halted will be an uphill struggle. But she stresses that an export licence will be a clear signal to the Suharto government to press ahead with the assimilation of East Timor into the rest of Indonesia.

### HAWK DEAL ‘AT CRITICAL PHASE’

*Flight International 12-18 August 1992  
Unabridged*

### IPTN PRESSES ON HAWK DEAL

British Aerospace is trying to finalise offset contracts with Indonesia’s Industri Pesawat Terbang Nusantara (IPTN) within the next few weeks to clinch an order for up to 44 of its Hawk 100/200 trainer/fighter aircraft.

Indonesian air force Chief of Staff, Marshall Siboen says that a memorandum of understanding (MoU) to buy the aircraft may be signed by the end of the year with negotiations now reaching a critical phase. The UK manufacturer and the IPTN signed an initial MoU in June 1991, agreeing to discuss areas of “potential co-operation” in relation to a possible Hawk deal.



Indonesia operates 16 Hawk Mk.53s already but needs a replacement for its 32 McDonnell Douglas A-4E/TA-4H Skyhawks. The main fighter capability is 12 General Dynamics F-16s. Siboen says he is considering a follow-on order for an undisclosed number of F-16s.

A senior IPTN official says new detailed workshare proposals are due to be presented in mid-August. Final assembly of Hawks by the state-owned IPTN in Bandung is possible but will depend on the number of aircraft ordered.

The official says: "BAe is ready to give us a proposal about possible collaboration and transfer the final assembly work to IPTN. But IPTN may also be making some other components for BAe, not just for the Hawk." He adds: "We are still looking for which will be the best for us and hopefully this month we can have the proposal and get approval from Dr Habibie [the IPTN chairman]."

The air force is understood to be planning a firm order for at least 24 aircraft, with 20 options. If final assembly in Bandung is not feasible, the offset deal will comprise component work by the IPTN, plus additional training in the UK for the IPTN staff and possible help with the N-250 turboprop.

BAe is helping the IPTN with European certification for its version of the CASA/IPTN CN-235. The IPTN makes components for BAe's Rapier missiles, which Indonesia also operates.

The UK company has already scored two successful Hawk deals in the region, selling 28 Hawk 100/200 to Malaysia and 20 Hawk 60s to South Korea. It also has an MoU for up to 16 aircraft with Brunei.

### INDONESIA TO BUY 24 HAWK FIGHTER JETS

*Jakarta Post 21 September 1992 Dateline: Jakarta Unabridged*

*There has been no report of this deal in the British press, not even in Jane's Defence Weekly which records arms deals. We have been unable to get confirmation of the deal from the Ministry of Defence. Either Siboen is distorting things or there is a cover-up by the government/British Aerospace. Only yesterday, the company announced poor interim results and the closure of a major plant plus redundancies. One would have thought they would have proclaimed this deal to the rafters.*

The Indonesian air force has signed a contract to buy 24 Hawk fighter aircraft from British Aerospace. Air Force chief-of-staff Marshal Siboen said here on Saturday the contract for the purchase of 14 Hawk-

100 and 10 Hawk-200 was signed in London on September 10.

"The fighter planes which are expected to arrive here within two or three years, will strengthen our air force's ability both in the tactical and strategic operations to maintain the sovereignty of our country," Siboen was quoted by Antara news service as saying.

Siboen said two navy pilots accompanying his entourage to Britain tested the two types of double-engined aircraft. The Hawk aircraft use Rolls Royce-made engines.

According to Siboen, the Hawks were chosen because they were easy to handle and maintain even though they have advanced technology.

The government, he said, considered several factors, with emphasis on maintenance efficiency, before deciding on purchasing the British Aerospace aircraft. "Maintenance is always one of the important aspects taken into consideration in purchasing main utilities in the armament system."

Siboen, who was accompanied to Navy spokesman Col. Yosep Paryanto, declined to disclose the financial aspects of the contract, except that "for sure, they are more expensive than Russian-made fighter aircraft."

He said that as part of the deal, a number of navy technicians had been sent for training in Britain. We will send several more technicians and pilots for training in the future."

### JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA MEETS IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER

*Press Release issued by the East Timorese Ireland Solidarity Campaign on 15 September, 1992*

The Irish Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr David Andrews today restated his Government's support for the right to self-determination of the people of East Timor in a meeting with special representative Mr José Ramos-Horta. Mr Horta met the Minister in his capacity as special representative of the National Council of Maubere People, the umbrella organisation of all opposition groups in East Timor. The meeting took place in the Department of Foreign Affairs in Dublin on the first day of Mr Horta's five-day visit to Ireland.

Mr Andrews said that he would continue to raise the issue of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor at international fora, such as the E.C. Council of Ministers and the United Nations.

He invited Mr Horta or members of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign or AFri (a Third World development agency) who accompanied Mr Horta at the meeting,

to make whatever representations they felt necessary, on behalf of East Timor to his Department in the future and they would be "pushing at an open door."

Mr Horta expressed great satisfaction with the meeting, with Mr Andrews' unambiguous support for East Timor and his expression of concern for the gross violations of human rights by Indonesian forces in East Timor.

Mr Horta also met other leading politicians. He was assured of cross party co-operation for the cause of East Timor.

### TIMOR ENVOY SUGGESTS IRISH F.M. ANDREWS AS MEDIATOR

*The Irish Times, by Colm Boland. Abridged*  
*The is a four-column story with a large photo of Horta.*

(Dublin, 18 Sept.) Taken by surprise by the level of interest and concern in Ireland about the plight of his people on the other side of the world, Mr José Ramos-Horta said he believed this State could play a pivotal role in ending Indonesia's 17-year occupation of East Timor.

In Dublin, Mr Horta met the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Andrews. "He could not have been more straightforward in voicing his outrage," he said. The Minister had undertaken to raise the matter in all international forums, particularly the EC and the United Nations at every opportunity.

"We would like to see Ireland playing a more active role," said Mr Horta. He suggested Ireland could work with Portugal and other smaller countries of the EC and believed that the UN should appoint a special representative or a mediator from outside the UN itself. Having met Mr Andrews, he would like him to be the mediator.

Mr Horta also addressed public meetings in Dublin and Cork.

...  
A report released in Lisbon earlier this month on the [Santa Cruz] atrocity gives the highest casualty figure yet and lists the names of 273 people killed, 355 "disappeared" and 376 wounded. New deaths are reported daily.

"We remain ready for the process of dialogue without pre-conditions," Mr Horta said. However, this week Jakarta again rejected a call from resistance leaders in East Timor for negotiations.

....  
The current British presidency of the EC, [he said] had "not moved one fig" to implement a call by the EC Council of

Ministers for an independent investigation into the massacre and for access to the territory by human rights organisations.

He also criticised the Portuguese government for not achieving more during its presidency of the EC in the first half of this year.

Mr Horta's host for the five-day visit to Ireland is Mr Tom Hyland, director of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign. Mr Hyland said the group was founded in response to a television programme. He said that there had been a remarkably clear-cut response from politicians in Ireland to their lobbying. "There is cross-party support, not only for the human rights element but on the right to self-determination."

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### INDONESIA MAY INVITE PORTUGUESE TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

Brussels, Sep. 18 (IPS) – the Indonesian government may invite Portuguese politicians to visit East Timor next week diplomatic sources suggested Friday.

the four Portuguese politicians are members of the European parliament and part of a 20 strong delegation traveling to Jakarta for informal talks with members of parliament from the six nations of the association of south east Asian nations (ASEAN) next week.

the meeting of MPs, which includes talks on human rights is scheduled for Sep. 22, could be the first visit of Portuguese politicians to the former Portuguese colony since Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor in 1975.

last year Indonesia invited a Portuguese parliamentary delegation from Lisbon for a official visit to East Timor, but Portugal cancelled the trip after Indonesia refused to give a visa to a Portuguese journalist who was included in the group.

the possible visit could be a breakthrough in the strained diplomatic relations between the two countries since Indonesia annexed the territory. tens of thousands died in Indonesian repression after the invasion and last December troops opened fire on a peaceful protest in the Timorese capital of Dili, killing over 100 people.

Lisbon's concern about continuing human rights abuses in East Timor led it to block a trade and aid agreement between the European community and ASEAN, which groups Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines.

but under pressure from its EC partners Lisbon has softened its position towards Indonesia, opening up the possibility of an cooperation agreement to be finalised with ASEAN at the end of October in manila.

the announcement that Portuguese politicians may be invited to make a short trip to Dili, came while the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal met in New York under the auspices of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

the meeting was the result of a series of secret diplomatic talks in New York and the visit last month of Boutros-Ghali to Indonesia during the recent summit of non aligned nations in Jakarta.

Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart are now tentatively planning to meet at the U.N. in New York between 26-29 September.

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## EVENTS IN CANADA

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### CANADA AIDS INDONESIAN ARMY

*By Maggie Helwig The ACTivist, July/August 92*

According to reports from a British freelance journalist, Canada may be directly involved in assisting the Indonesian war against the East Timorese people, by providing information on guerrilla encampments to the Indonesian government.

Max Stahl, the Yorkshire TV cameraman who filmed the Santa Cruz massacre last November 12, had spent several months in East Timor during the fall. In late September, he told The ACTivist, he met employees of an unidentified Canadian company in the eastern part of the island. They were engaged in taking extremely high-resolution

photographs of the territory from fixed-wing airplanes, as part of a mapping project funded by the Canadian International Development

Agency (CIDA). They were mapping this particular area under the direction of the Indonesian government.

At that time, the FALINTIL guerrillas, the armed wing of the Timorese independence movement, were operating mostly in the mountains in this eastern area. Stahl believes that the Indonesian government had requested the Canadians to take their 'mapping project' specifically to this area so that they could obtain

information about guerrilla positions with technology otherwise unavailable to them (the Canadians described their ultra-high resolution camera as one of only two or three of that quality in the world). He believes that the Canadian government has either refused to examine the implications of their project, or is aware of the use to which

it is being put but prefers to maintain a friendly relationship with Indonesia.

CIDA has claimed, when approached in the past, that they do not fund any projects in East Timor.

Though FALINTIL is a small and poorly armed band of guerrillas, the Indonesian army continues to wage a bloody counter-insurgency campaign aimed at wiping them out completely – as well as using the guerrilla movement as an excuse to brutally repress the unarmed independence activists based in the larger cities and towns of East Timor.

This is not the only case in which Canadian aid is being used to further the ambitions of the Indonesian government and military. Another CIDA-funded project involves building a road to Aceh, in the western part of Indonesia, where a Muslim separatist movement is being savagely attacked. The road would facilitate the transport of troops and weapons to this remote area. And CIDA is helping to fund a birth control program being inflicted on the women of East Timor against their will (see The ACTivist, April 92).

Canadian activists are continuing to investigate Stahl's report, hoping to identify the company involved and obtain further information on the 'mapping project' and other CIDA projects in Indonesia.

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### SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY TOLD TO CANCEL INDONESIA PROJECT

*Editorial in The Peak (Student newspaper at Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC). July 9, 1992.*

*Comment: Simon Fraser University has just established a committee to look into its aid to Indonesia project, following the lead of Guelph University. We will be providing more information on this shortly.*

### SFU CANNOT IGNORE EAST TIMOR

How can a university as a supporter of intellectual and personal freedom continue to be involved with the government of Indonesia, a notorious abuser of human rights? Since the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia it has been reported that over 200,000 people have been killed under a military government. Thousands of others have been tortured, relocated, kidnapped and terrorized.

On Monday Senate passed a detailed but muddled policy that human rights be a consideration in the acceptance or renewal of international contacts at SFU. "It is the university's responsibility to determine to the best of its abilities that the activities it engages in contribute to the dignity and

well-being of its foreign partners and do not act as instruments of abuse.” Sounds good. But the policy also says the human rights violations must also be sensitive to a country’s culture (section 5.5 of the policy). Does this mean it’s okay for the military to murder innocent civilians because it’s part of a country’s culture?

Another guideline says that individuals in abusive regimes must not be further penalized by being denied access to international assistance. This means that international assistance can not be used as sanctions. But Canada has done and continues to use sanctions in South Africa and they at least played a helpful role in forcing South Africa along the long and slow path of dismantling apartheid. SFU’s policy does not allow for its assistance to be used as a sanction against a brutal and repressive regime.

The new Senate Committee on International Activities must be vigilant in its investigation of SFU’s international activities. It must ensure the good name of SFU not be associated with human rights abuse. The Indonesia project must be reviewed and a new contract not signed.

Indonesia, through CIDA, has a five year twenty million dollar contract with SFU. The Eastern Indonesia University Development Project is supposed to assist the Government of Indonesia in its development program by applying Canadian capabilities to the upgrading of selected universities in eastern Indonesia. Despite Canadian expertise the East Timor Alert Network claims “students are often too frightened to attend classes in East Timor because the schools and the universities are swarming with Indonesian military intelligence. After 4 pm many young Timorese leave their homes, they sleep in a different place every night to avoid kidnapping by the military.”

The government of Indonesia illegally occupies East Timor. In November of 1991 over 100 people were murdered and foreign journalists were shot (sic) by Indonesian soldiers at a peaceful protest at Dili, the capital of East Timor. If SFU renews its participation in Indonesia it is providing legitimacy to a repressive and dictatorial regime. As an institution promoting freedom of thought and justice SFU must not involve itself in repression and injustice.

## EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

### HUMAN RIGHTS, SENATOR EVANS AND TIMOR

*Green Left Weekly #66, Aug. 12, 1992*

*By Val Plumwood*

The ANU provided a pleasantly legitimating academic atmosphere for the Centre for International and Public Law’s conference from July 15 to 17 entitled “Australia and Human Rights: Where to from Here?”

The conference showcased bureaucratic efforts to conform to international human rights principles and legislation, and failed dismally to address the main human rights issues in Australia. It ignored activist groups, and largely ignored the key issues of police racism and violence to Aboriginal people, and of the absence of adequate checks on police powers, as well as growing human rights abuses involving homeless, unemployed and young people.

It also ignored two crucial areas in which Australia is currently a defendant before the International Court of Justice: the Aboriginal claim to sovereignty and Australia’s de jure recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor.

The keynote speaker on the third day was foreign minister Gareth Evans, who often adopts the stance of a human rights advocate. Evans lifted the government’s record of hypocrisy on human rights to a new level by speaking of the need of countries to be self-critical and to be consistent in condemning human rights abuses.

He did not explain how he reconciled that with the blatant inconsistency between Australian support for Indonesia in the East Timor case and the principle invoked to justify involvement in the Gulf War, that small nations should be protected from invasion by larger and more powerful neighbours. Nor did he explain how Australia’s continued recognition of Indonesian sovereignty could be reconciled with the 1970 Australian-sponsored UN resolution that territory obtained by aggression should not be recognised.

At the conference, Evans amplified his previous record of apologising for the Indonesian role in East Timor and minimizing the effects of the terror there. Evans has referred since December 1991 to the Dili massacre as an “episode” and an “aberration.” He still maintained on July 17 that the Dili massacre was an action in which the army was “out of control,” and not an act of policy of the Indonesian state, which, according to Evans, is distinct from the military.

Evans claimed that it was important to distinguish between cases, such as in China and Tibet, where human rights abuses were state policy and cases where they were not. This distinction provides the basis on which Evans regularly condemns the Chinese role in Cambodia, while discounting the similarity of Australia’s role of support for an equally genocidal regime on its own borders in East Timor.

How can repressive policies which have been in place since 1975 and have wiped out one-third of the Timorese population be referred to as an “aberration”? How can the 25-year military rule of the Indonesian state be overlooked? How can Evans overlook the official announcements that the policies of repression will continue and intensify, and the replacement of the commander whose troops carried out the massacre by another one (General Syafei) who has promised even tougher action against dissidents, and said that “the army is determined to wipe out anyone who disrupts stability”?

Evans prefers to place weight on President Suharto’s official “distancing” from the Dili massacre, and to draw a sharp moral distinction between states (such as China and Burma), which admit their human rights abuses as policy, and others. But this distinction may simply accept and reward hypocrisy and concealment of abuses.

According to Senator Evans, there is nothing Australia can do except try to influence Indonesia. The Australian government has adopted the right course in expressing its views on the massacre to the proper (Indonesian) authorities, who promised to conduct an investigation and bring those responsible to justice.

But the results of the “investigation” are now known and make nonsense of the Australian claim to influence. The captured Timorese who organised a peaceful demonstration have been savagely punished; the soldiers who shot them down received minor punishments or none at all. Evans described this as an “unhappy disparity” (thus accepting a peaceful demonstration by the Timorese as a crime and one of comparable severity to that of the massacring soldiers). Evans repeated the Indonesian “explanation” that this disparity was due to “the fragility of the state and the fact that there were two different systems of law under which the two groups were tried” without critical comment on the way this reflects a colonial system.

Evans conceded that the Indonesian response was “not perfect,” and spoke of his “heavy heart.” But these alleged qualms did nothing to stop him announcing at the same time new levels of cooperation and a “joint defence” pact with the Indonesian military.

Defence ties too were presented as “a good way to influence and moderate behaviour.” But presumably they are only so if Australia has the courage and principle to withdraw from them when it is clear that no moderation has occurred.

People with experience of East Timor who have recently returned report that the repression is worse now than ever before (Sydney Morning Herald Letters, July 30). Continued Australian silence and announcements of increased military cooperation must be interpreted as further acceptance of and complicity in the terror in East Timor.

## ICJ TIMOR REPORT OUT

Reuter, Geneva, Aug. 13 - Trials carried out by the Indonesian government following a massacre last year in Timor “turned justice on its head,” a respected panel of judges and lawyers said on Thursday.

The International Commission of Jurists issued a report pointing out that Indonesian troops involved in homicide and serious assault got maximum sentences of 18 months while unarmed Timorese involved in a peaceful demonstration received sentences from five years to life in prison.

At least 50 people died when troops fired on demonstrators at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, last November 12. The troops claimed they acted in self-defence. The trials ran from March to June this year under ICJ observation.

The report referred to “the grim reality of the consequences of raising a voice in dissent in Indonesia with respect to the sensitive matter of East Timor.”

## ICJ: MASSACRE ‘ROGUE’ INTEL OPERATION?

*Remark: Abridged news story. Materials in brackets [-] inserted by poster. In some sets of Indonesian subversion trials following incidents of regime violence, there has been a cooperating or absent witness who could reasonably be suspected of having acted on behalf of the Indonesian Army, in particular its intelligence apparatus. Constancio Pinto has often been named in the Indonesian press as someone who led the Executive Committee which planned the November 12 demonstration but whom the Army curiously did not produce during the recent spate of Dili trials. Sometimes in the past, the Army has sacrificed its ‘plant’ or ‘agent provocateur’ and placed him on trial, but this has yet to occur for Constancio Pinto whom the Australian ICJ report considers to have been an Army agent. It is not clear whether Constancio Pinto is even dead or alive. A host of other Army officers who would have known about any intelligence operatives involved in the October 28 and November 12 incidents also were never produced at the Dili trials. These factors lend some credibility to the ‘spy’ allegation in the following story. We await the full draft report to see what evidence and argumentation the Australian ICJ has produced, including any and all involvement by Army officers and personnel quickly withdrawn from East Timor under various pretexts soon after November 12, and by any persons involved in Lt. Col. Prabowo’s earlier clandestine activities in East Timor.*

– John (apakabar@igc.org)

Reuter, Sydney, Wilson da Silva, Aug. 14 - A spy for Indonesia orchestrated the protest last November which sparked an army massacre in East Timor, according to an Australian report to the International Commission of Jurists released here on Friday.

The report, prepared by the Australian section of the commission, says Constancio Pinto was the key Fretilin rebel official who masterminded the protest while working as an agent for an Indonesian intelligence service.

It also says there appears to be credible evidence that Indonesia’s military intelligence had “been aware of and may have actually encouraged and perhaps even directed the demonstrations through their agent Pinto.”

Six Timorese civilians were recently jailed for between six years and life for organising the Dili protest. Ten Indonesian soldiers and police were sentenced to up to 18 months for misconduct over the killings.

Commission lawyer Rodney Lewis, who also represented the LawAsia Human Rights Committee, the International Bar Association and the Law Council of Australia, attended some of the Dili trials and spent four months sifting through the hundreds of documents introduced at them.

The International Commission of Jurists is a global association of lawyers concerned with human rights which has consultative status with the United Nations.

The report says evidence at the trials showed Pinto headed Fretilin’s organising committee for the protest and decided on its date and its make-up, yet was never charged or questioned and has since disappeared.

Other trial evidence suggests that Pinto was not the only Indonesian agent at the Dili cemetery, the report says.

Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, sentenced to life for subversion, testified at his trial that a Lieutenant Edy of Dili’s local intelligence unit showed him a photograph of a Timorese man atop the cemetery wall waving a banner during the protest, the report says.

Saldanha claimed Edy boasted that the man had been an intelligence agent named Ajenuño but the court did not question this further.

Saldanha also said the senior intelligence officer [in East Timor] Colonel Purwanto [apparently since dismissed from the Indonesian Army] told him that Pinto was one of his agents.

The military “were not only aware of the demonstration...but may have planned both the demonstrations...and been responsible for the provocation...which has been set forth as justification for the use of firearms at the Santa Cruz cemetery,” the report says.

## TAPOL COMMENT ON CLAIMS THAT CONSTANCIO PINTO WAS AN ‘INDONESIAN SPY’

I believe this assessment should be treated with scepticism. Indonesian intelligence claims to this effect may well have been aimed at causing disarray among members of the *Comite Executivo* before they came on trial. Why, otherwise, should Gregorio have been told this early on in his own contact with intel officers?

I, like John/Apakabar, need to suspend judgment of the analysis produced by Rodney Lewis in his ICJ report until I have read his document, but in anticipation of that, I should say that nothing I have yet seen of the trial documents of Gregorio convinces me that he, Gregorio, believed this. The fact is that Constancio has ‘disappeared’ and is most likely to have been killed, destroying any real evidence of

his role. There is, I believe, evidence about Constancio's contacts immediately prior to the Santa Cruz demonstration that would have made it possible for him to betray people doing sensitive work in East Timor at the time, but he clearly did not do so. Perhaps, we shall be able to speak more about this later.

Carmel/TAPOL

### PINTO 'SPY' STORY FALSE

*Protected source. Source has first hand knowledge of the events leading up to the November 12 massacre and of the parties concerned.*

*20 Aug. 92. Remark: The source does not make perfectly clear whether Pinto is now dead or alive.*

The army did not encourage or direct the demonstration, and Constancio Pinto is not an army agent. He had, in fact, become, in the time leading up to the massacre, a prime army target, second only to Xanana Gusmao. In an attempt to aid their hunt and sow confusion in the underground, Col. Gatot Purwanto began to pass the word that Pinto and others were working for him. He continued these statements after the massacre. Some Timorese heard and believed these stories, but, as Gatot knew and said to others: they were disinformation, they were not true.

The army was indeed aware in advance of the November 12 demonstration, as were many in Dili. It was an open secret in political circles at the time.

The army did decide to let the demonstrations go forward. They had made advance preparations as to how they would respond.

There is nothing curious about the army's failure to produce Pinto at the trials, because he was not available for them to produce. The Intel began an intensive search for Pinto two weeks before November 12. They have experienced deep frustration due to the failure of their efforts.

The circulation of these false stories is most unfortunate.

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### ICJ LAWYER ON 'DOUBLE AGENT' CLAIM

*Media Release issued in Sydney on 26 August 1992 by Rodney Lewis, the lawyer who attended trials of East Timorese in Dili earlier this year and who wrote part of the report on the trials in Dili and Jakarta, issued in Geneva last month by the International Commission of Jurists:*

Accusations that an East Timorese activist was a 'double agent,' made by the Indonesian military intelligence, may be

deliberate disinformation, the author of the report on the Timor subversion trials, Rodney Lewis, said today.

"Since the publicity given to the report for the Indonesian Commission of Jurists in Australia and Geneva, I have received further information about Constancio Pinto, who took a leading part in organising the demonstrations in Dili and in Jakarta which, in November 1991, led to the shooting and arrest of scores of East Timorese," Mr Lewis said.

"Sources familiar with events leading up to the Dili massacre have now advised me that Major Purwanto of the Indonesian INTEL in Dili was engaged in spreading rumours about Pinto in order to sow confusion and suspicion in the Timorese resistance movement."

The report released to the [UN] Commission on Human Rights in Geneva on 14 August draws attention to claims made by Gregorio Saldanha - the defendant who received a life sentence for subversion - that an Indonesian INTEL officer had told him that Pinto was "one of theirs." It is obvious that Saldanha believed the story of Pinto's involvement.

Mr Lewis continued, "these latest claims of spreading disinformation by Major Purwanto reinforce the need for a further Commission of Inquiry to be established by President Suharto to discover the truth about the Dili massacre.

"It is quite clear from the eyewitness reports we have (and which were not sought by either the Djaelani Commission or the Military Court which tried the troops in Bali) that the crowd did not provoke the troops the day they used their M-16s to kill and maim scores of people. The question which remains so far unanswered is 'Why did they shoot?'"

### TAPOL COMMENTS ON RODNEY LEWIS' CORRECTION:

1. Having read Saldanha's defence plea I do not see anything there to suggest that he believed the story about Pinto's involvement. He simply reported what he had been told, without comment. Maybe he was perplexed by the claim, maybe he wished people to know what the 'intel' were saying - nothing more than that.

2. I would question the call for that Suharto to set up another Commission of Inquiry. That would lead nowhere, as the previous Commission led nowhere. Only an independent commission of inquiry can be trusted to investigate the truth about the massacre.

Carmel Budiardjo, TAPOL

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### IN SALUTE TO FALINTIL

*Written on 19/8/92 by NOSCA.*

Sydney, 18/8/92 - on 15/8/92, the celebration of the 17th anniversary of FALINTIL (ARMED FORCES FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION OF EAST TIMOR), organized by the Fretilin Committee in NSW was held in Sydney. Included among the attendance of an estimated 500 people, were those who travelled from Melbourne and Brisbane for this special occasion.

The performances organized by the East Timor Cultural Centre in Sydney were received with great enthusiasm by the audience, especially the children's items and the finale "The Marches of FALINTIL." Many agreed that it was a successful evening - certainly one to remember.

The celebration not only showed great performances but also marked a time of inspiration and pride to the FALINTIL fighters back home in East Timor. This memorable evening was in salute to FALINTIL. It is in their hopes that brings our efforts together to call upon everyone's attention their courageous determination in seeking independence for our homeland.

By Lia de Almeida Sydney.

### EMILIA GUSMAO'S SPEECH AT ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION IN SYDNEY

*Speech translated and made available by Fretilin Committee of NSW*

First of all I would like to thank the Fretilin Committee of NSW, Australia for inviting me to speak in this celebration of FALINTIL'S DAY.

The armed forces for the liberation of East Timor - FALINTIL - were created in East Timor during a period of conflicts.

The acronym of FALINTIL are still being associated to the painful period of August 1975 by many of us. Many of us, under the influence of this or that party, or resented by the isolated atrocities committed by some members of the political parties in the period after the 11 Aug. 1975, insist on remaining passive instead of being active in this circumstances, they not only fail to liberate their intellectual capabilities but also contribute to prolong the suffering of our people under the domination of Indonesia.

We should free ourselves of the painful remains of the past which only serve to restrain the process of unity. As Timorese living abroad, we have to act in a way that will not restrain the process of independence for the Maubere people. In East Timor, unity is an unquestionable matter. There are conditions, created by the resistance for every Timorese to be involved in the

struggle. In East Timor we have the National Council for the Maubere Resistance - CNRM - an umbrella structure which is a synthesis of every Timorese interest regardless of their political affiliations.

Fretilin no longer is the only representative of the people of East Timor since the proclamation of the policy of national unity. Therefore, Fretilin took a decision to transform FALINTIL into a nationalistic force.

We have shown the capacity to secure a stable society in East Timor by the way in which our resistance is being reorganized. We ought to unite our effort in order to convince the international community that we can lead the destiny of our country.

I would like to quote an extract from the message of our heroic commander-in-chief Xanana Gusmao, written on May 1 1992, to all Timorese living abroad.

"Today, everyone is aware of the fact that FALINTIL were deposed of any political party affiliation. Therefore, I don't think there is any reasonable ground for those who repulse the name FALINTIL. I would like to ask those people to ponderate their feelings. They have to respect, at least, the blood of those who felt in the confrontation with the occupationist forces. Whoever they are we will persist, as the rocks of mountain Matebian, to maintain the name FALINTIL."

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## FAX-IN AGAINST INDONESIAN AIR SHOW IN OZ

*Green Left issue 68, August 26*

By Alex Young

SYDNEY - The Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition is running a fax-in campaign to try to stop the Indonesian military being involved in the air show at Avalon, Victoria, October 21-25. "To include the Indonesian airforce in the air show after such abuse of human rights is unacceptable," says Denis Doherty, national coordinator of the campaign.

Doherty is referring to the atrocities the East Timorese have suffered at the hands of the Indonesian military, the most recent being the Dili massacre on November 12, 1991, in which more than 100 civilians died.

The Indonesian airforce has abused human rights in East Timor, including by the use of napalm, for 17 years. The Indonesian plane CN235, planned to be displayed at the air show, is purposely designed to carry close to 50 fully equipped troops into rough areas for the sole purpose of suppressing any signs of unrest from the people.

"We're not against an air show," Doherty stresses, "but against the military aspect and the military sales aspect which will be displayed."

The fax-in is aimed at minister for foreign affairs Senator Gareth Evans, and will be staged on September 12 and October 12.

The aims are to swamp Senator Evans with faxes, showing that there is a large number of people concerned, and make the government experience some inconvenience as a result of its policies, particularly the continuation of the arms trade with Indonesia.

Fax Evans' office on (06) 273 4115 or phone (06) 277 7500. If you prefer, write to Senator Evans at Parliament House, Canberra ACT 2600. Send copies of your faxes or letters to the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition, PO Box A899, Sydney South NSW 2000.

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## AUST. PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO DILI CONFIRMED

*The Australian, 22 September 1992. Unabridged*

(Jakarta, AAP) The Indonesian Government has approved a visit to East Timor by an Australian parliamentary delegation - the most senior foreign delegation allowed in since last year's Dili massacre.

A spokesman for Indonesia's Foreign Affairs department yesterday confirmed members of the parliamentary foreign affairs and defence committee, which is investigating Australia's relations with Indonesia, would be allowed to visit the trouble province (sic).

But details of the visit were still being worked out.

A United Nations special envoy was allowed into East Timor for a brief visit in February.

But no other high-level foreign delegation has been allowed to visit the province (sic) since Indonesian troops fired on civilians in November, killing at least 50 people (sic).

The Australian Ambassador to Jakarta, Mr Philip Flood, yesterday confirmed the visit.

The delegations will be led by South Australia Labor MP Senator Chris Schacht late next month.

## VISIT APPROVED

*The Age (Melbourne) 22 Sept. 1992 Newsbrief, unabridged*

An Australian parliamentary group will become one of the first groups of foreign representatives allowed into East Timor since the Dili massacre last November when it visits the island as part of a 12-day study tour of Indonesia next month. The Indonesian Government said yesterday that it had approved the visit by members of the

federal joint parliamentary committee on foreign affairs, defence and trade. The committee chairman, Chris Schacht, said the committee was studying all aspects of Australia's relations with Indonesia, not just the East Timor issue.

## UPCOMING AUSTRALIAN MISSION INCREASES TENSION IN EAST TIMOR

*TAPOL Report from protected sources. 30 September 1992*

The mission of Australian parliamentarians which is scheduled to visit East Timor in the second half of October has already resulted in 'large numbers of youths' being rounded up in East Timor. The security forces are taking extensive precautionary measures to ensure that no hint of protest or dissent is evident while the parliamentarians are in the territory.

Meanwhile, intense pressure is being exerted on East Timorese to enlist in the army. They are being promised six months' training, land, a house and money to entice them to fight against the guerrillas in the bush. This may be part of Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei's plan to try to cut down on the number of combat troops brought in from outside the region, enabling him to announce the disbandment of the special military command, Kolakops, by March next year.

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## EVENTS IN THE USA

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### ETAN/US PETITION

#### Petition to President George Bush and the Congress of the United States Concerning the Illegal Indonesian Occupation of East Timor

Whereas Indonesia has brutally occupied East Timor for more than 16 years, killing approximately 200,000 people (one-third of the population),

Whereas the United States continues to supply weapons which make this occupation and genocide possible, and

Whereas the United States government voted against and refuses to work to implement United Nations resolutions calling for Indonesian military withdrawal and self-determination for the people of East Timor.

Therefore, we ask you to take immediate administrative and legislative steps to suspend United States military aid, economic aid, military training and weapons sales to Indonesia until Indonesia complies with United Nations resolutions and

\* Permits unrestricted access to East Timor by international human rights organizations

- \* Ends all forms of inhuman treatment, including torture, extra-judicial executions, and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment,
- \* Withdraws its military occupation forces from East Timor, and
- \* Facilitates a U.N.-supervised plebiscite in the territory as part of a process of decolonization.

Signature      Name (print)      Address

## ETAN/US TAKES ACTION ON EAST TIMOR

*by John M. Miller for the Portuguese-American, August 29, 1992.*

*John M. Miller is Director of the Foreign Bases Project and a member of the East Timor Action Network.*

When the Indonesian military opened fire on an unarmed funeral procession in Dili, East Timor, it assumed that any outside condemnation would soon whither. But the November 12 massacre, in which up to 200 people were killed, was witnessed by western journalists, and their reports provoked a reaction that has yet to die down. Soon after the massacre, the East Timor Action Network (ETAN) was formed to change U.S. government policies that support Indonesia's aggression against its small neighbor.

Before founding ETAN, Charles Scheiner had long been active in support of self-determination for the peoples of the Pacific. Soon after the Dili massacre, answered messages put up by Richard Koch on several computer bulletin boards. From the responses came ETAN, an organization that encompasses concerned groups and individuals.

"There was a vacuum in this country," says Scheiner, now national coordinator of ETAN. "Nobody was doing broad-based, grassroots organizing against the Indonesian occupation and genocide in East Timor. The media exposure and public outcry over the Santa Cruz massacre last November 12 was an opening to raise peoples awareness and activism to one of the worst ongoing crimes in today's world." Changing U.S. policy is key to the effort to end Indonesia's occupation, says Scheiner. "We knew that the U.S. government was Indonesia's prime weapons supplier and diplomatic supporter."

Since last November, ETAN's mailing list has grown to over 400 activists in 27 states. Local groups have formed in Rhode Island, Boston, New York City, New Jersey, Los Angeles, Washington (DC), Seattle, San Francisco and southwestern states, with more in the works. ETAN helps

individuals and local groups by providing printed resources, speakers, information, videos, and encouragement.

Lorne Rider of ETAN/RI calls ETAN's national network "vital." Without it "we would feel totally isolated. It is hard to fight Goliath, if you are not even David, but only David's hand." Communication by computer networks has been especially valuable, Rider adds. By using electronic mail and other means, ETAN shares information and spreads action alerts.

ETAN members are lobbying for passage of H.R. 5176, the bill that would impose comprehensive aid, trade and arms sales sanctions until Jakarta withdraws from East Timor, respects human rights in the territory and allows UN-supervised referendum. Recently, the House unanimously decided to cut military training funds, known as IMET, for Indonesia from the foreign aid bill. Journalist Allan Nairn, a witness to the November 12 massacre, calls removal of the training funds ETAN's "first major victory." The group wants to see H.R. 5176 adopted as a whole or relevant parts added as amendments to other legislation

ETAN gets its message across in a variety of ways. Since its founding it has organized or assisted a number of community and university forums. Events have been held in New York City, Harvard University, Lehigh University, Los Angeles and elsewhere.

On December 10, 1991, Human Rights Day, ETAN members handed out leaflets at the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations in the first of a number of demonstrations ETAN has initiated or organized. In February, Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was picketed as he spoke at the National Press Club in Washington, DC. In Los Angeles, an Indonesian trade and tourism promotion was leafleted.

In March, ETAN organized protests at Indonesian diplomatic office in New York, Washington, and Los Angeles as part of worldwide protests against Indonesian trials of Timorese activists. These demonstrations were coordinated with similar events held in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Portugal, Japan, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain and elsewhere.

International coordination is invaluable, says Scheiner. "We have a lot we can learn from each other and resources we can share. An international network can pressure government officials and the Indonesian government from many directions." In February, ETAN was represented in Geneva at the annual Consultation of East Timor Solidarity Groups. The first time in years that a US group had participated. More recently, ETAN hosted a reception for people testifying before the United

Nations committee on decolonization in New York.

At the local level, ETAN activists and chapters have accomplished much in a short period of time. In New Jersey, Richard Koch has gathered a series of endorsements of HR 5176 from a wide range of organizations including the statewide chapters of peace organizations like SANE/FREEZE, Veterans for Peace and Pax Christi. The New Jersey League of Women Voters, the Peace and Justice Commission of Newark Archdiocese of the Catholic Church, and the Social Concerns Office of Trenton Diocese of the Catholic Church have also endorsed. The New Jersey Portuguese-American Congress is active on the issue, as are a number of local Amnesty International chapters.

Founded by students at Brown University shortly after the Santa Cruz massacre, ETAN's Rhode Island chapter remains campus based. Students and leaders of the Portuguese-American community met with Senator Pell in January, and several Brown students participated in the voyage of the Lusitania Expresso, the boat that was turned back by the Indonesian navy when it attempted to sail to East Timor. Brown student Rider spoke to a program of 1000 people in March shortly after the voyage was aborted. Through the spring, ETAN Rhode Island members organized letter writing to congressmembers. Students lobbied both Rhode Island's legislators and those in their home towns.

ETAN's San Francisco chapter is relatively new. Formally constituted in June, it has arranged a showing on a Portuguese-American television program of Cold Blood, the British documentary with eyewitness footage of the Dili massacre. California has the largest Portuguese-American population of any state, and ETAN's Ann Treseder says that mobilizing that community is a high priority. Over the summer ETAN San Francisco hosted a visit by Liem Soei Liong of Tapol, the European-based group that promotes human rights in Indonesia. Bay Area ETAN activists have also supported the efforts of David Karp, the Mayor of San Leandro. Karp wrote the resolution passed by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, which urged the President and Congress to take action in support East Timorese self-determination.

"We've done a lot, but we need to do a lot more," says Scheiner. Up until now, ETAN has functioned entirely on volunteer labor and small contributions, but "we need to step our activities, mobilizing all those that care about peace and justice to support East Timor." The upcoming debates in the Senate make this all the more urgent, according to Scheiner.

While the State Department and other supporters of Indonesia ignored the debate in the House, efforts to restore IMET funding are now underway in the Senate. Robert Kasten (R-WI) and Robert Byrd (D-VA) are being pressured to restore IMET funding. ETAN is targeting these two senators, as well as Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Mark Hatfield (R-OR), for letters and phone calls urging them to uphold the House aid cut. All are members of the Senate Appropriations Committee. ETAN is also producing a video to be made available via satellite for use on cable television. The half-hour show will be transmitted in late September or available on videotape. (Contact ETAN for information on how to download the show for local airing.) ETAN is also planning local events to commemorate the first anniversary of the November 12 massacre.

Scheiner says that while there is a growing interest in the East Timor issue, "with more funds we could reach a lot more people."

Contact: East Timor Action Network, P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602; (914)428-7299; fax: (914)428-7383; e-mail: cscheiner@igc.apc.org. Tax-deductible contributions for educational work can be made payable to WESPAC Foundation/ETAN. Other contributions should be written to Foreign Bases Project/ETAN.

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## REPORT ON VISIT WITH NANCY YOSHIHARA, L.A. TIMES EDITORIAL BOARD

August 24, 1992

Visit by Matthew Jardine, Lisbeth Ryder, Joe Maizlish Report by Joe Maizlish.

The three activists visited with Nancy Yoshihara, *Los Angeles Times* Editorial Board member, for an hour. Ms. Yoshihara described her areas of interest and responsibility as being Asia, and another the Economy. It appears that she is to do research and prepare and/or propose editorials on these massive subject areas. She spoke of the difficulty of getting Asia dealt with on a more than business level; it was obvious that this was a struggle she herself is involved in. With the influx of Asian immigrants over recent years, especially to the L.A. area, we all felt this might change, but not quickly.

Ms. Yoshihara explained some workings of their editorial system: editorials tended to be associated with news items and published at the times the news items broke. We all knew (Nancy too) that an ongoing military occupation – especially when combined with difficulty in getting news-

people into the territory – made for incomplete reporting and missed events. (We had begun the meeting by showing a few minutes of the NBC tape of the Nov. 91 massacre and interview with Allan).

Ms. Yoshihara said that the most likely times by far for placing editorials and opinion-editorial articles would be when the U.S. Senate was considering the House-passed appropriation bill with the IMET cutoff, when the House Resolution on all aid was coming up, or when the new Ambassador was coming to the U.S.

Specific topics Ms. Y. wanted information on were the identities of the two generals who had been in command last year in E.T. and who were now studying in the U.S. (actually only one is here as of now, later information tells us), the identities of the U.S. oil companies involved with Indonesia in oil exploration or exploitation near Timor, and the specific past role of the new Ambassador, who we said had been a commander in E.T.

In discussing the availability of information concerning E.T. and more generally concerning the human stories of S.E. Asia, Liz discussed the material available on the electronic networks, including but not only the PeaceNet conferences. Nancy was interested in having information sources, and said she had found it difficult to keep herself as aware as she would like to be of S. Asian affairs, and in turn to keep editorial board aware.

The visitors assessed the meeting as very worthwhile, opening information to Ms. Y., helping her get into a position to get further information herself and with our help, and beginning a relationship in which all of us shared the goal of making the Timorese (and Asian people generally) more alive and real to the press and public. We are sanguine about the space contest in the paper.

Activists please note that this meeting developed from a letter from Joe N. to the editorial board last March. Perhaps it is the development of L.A. as an Asian center, and the good fortune that an Asian woman has joined the editorial board, that were of help in getting this connection, factors which might not be present in other parts of the U.S. or in other lands. We cannot know. We do feel that giving a try at contact is a good idea!

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## LETTER TO NEWSDAY: RUN FROM INDONESIA

By John M. Miller

Letter to the editor published September 3, 1992 in *New York Newsday*.

On August 27, 1992, "Inside New York" described how Nike moved its manufactur-

ing and jobs to Indonesia. Nike's actions in Indonesia do more than exploit the local work force at low wages. They also serve to prop up one the world's worst human rights violators.

In 1975, Indonesia swallowed up its tiny neighbor East Timor just as it was on the verge of independence. An estimated 200,000 Timorese, nearly a third of the population, have died as a result of bombings, starvation, torture and shootings.

Last November 12, more than 100 East Timorese in a funeral procession were murdered by Indonesian soldiers, using U.S.-supplied M-16s.

Indonesia's annexation of East Timor is illegal. The United Nations has condemned it. However, unlike two years ago when Iraq similarly swallowed its smaller neighbor, no sanctions were ever imposed. The United States, refusing to formally recognize Indonesia's aggression, continues to send arms and provide military training to the Indonesian soldiers who have been so efficient at killing unarmed civilians.

This summer, the House of Representatives – reflecting its disgust at November 12 massacre – unanimously decided to delete funds for military training from the foreign aid appropriations bill. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato sits on the Senate subcommittee that will take up this measure, and he should take the lead on this important human rights issue. Soon after the November 12 massacre, the senator joined 51 of his colleagues in signing a letter calling on President Bush to "end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the territory."

Since then the Bush administration has done little. The Congress can put real pressure on Indonesia by voting to end all aid to this genocidal government. Or perhaps it should just vote to supply Indonesian-made sneakers to East Timorese youth – the better to run from Indonesian-fired bullets.

John M. Miller  
Brooklyn

*Editor's note: The writer is a member of the East Timor Action Network.*

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## LETTER TO LOS ANGELES TIMES: UN RESOLUTIONS

Published September 10, 1992

The headline "U.N. Resolutions Must Be Enforced" (editorial, Aug. 18), is one with which no decent person can disagree. But the U.N. Charter does not make provision for "first class" and "second class" resolutions. You may have heard this before, but it cannot be said or printed too often.

If we cannot act to lead in the enforcement of other resolutions, such as, right



now, the ones dealing with Timorese rights (the culprit is Indonesia) and Palestinian rights (hmmmm!), wherefrom the enthusiasm about Shiite rights?

HOWARD N. MEYER  
New York

## ETAN NETWORK NEWS #2

*Newsletter of the East Timor Action Network / U.S. September 1992.*

### WRITE SENATORS ON IMET

(Redundant with articles above)

### NEWS BRIEFS

*Network News* does not attempt to cover events in East Timor or in the international arena – there is simply too much to cover. We recommend TAPOL's Bulletin or electronic sources for fuller information, or the monthly document compilation published by ETAN/US. This newsletter will concentrate on reports of ETAN activities and action alerts for U.S. residents:

- In the last issue, we reported on the upcoming aid consortium meeting in Paris. At that meeting, Indonesia was promised nearly \$5 billion in economic aid and loans for 1993, a 4% increase. Most of the money is from the World Bank, Japan and the Asian Development Bank. The U.S., with \$94 million (down from \$133 million last year) is the sixth-largest donor, after France and Germany. Demonstrations and press releases from solidarity and human rights groups raised the issue of East Timor, but it was largely ignored inside – except for a statement read by the US delegation expressing concern about the discrepancies between civilian and military verdicts in the trials following the Santa Cruz massacre, and the failure of Jakarta to account for the dead and missing.

In late July, Portugal blocked a major economic cooperation agreement between the European Community (EC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). As ASEAN met in Manila, Portugal held up the trade pact because of Indonesia's "unacceptable violation of human rights in East Timor."

- On July 27-28, the United Nations Decolonization Committee held its annual East Timor hearing. East Timorese representatives spoke for Fretilin, the UDT, and the National Council of Maubere Resistance. Supporters of East Timor from Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, the United States, Portugal, Australia and several international organizations came to New York to present testimony. ETAN/US hosted a reception for Timor supporters, provid-

ing an opportunity for networking and for members of our newly-formed U.S. solidarity group to get to know the international movement. For a fuller report, or a copy of the ours or others' testimony, contact ETAN.

- Following the hearing, TAPOL staffer Liem Soei Liong, an exiled member of the Front Demokrasi Indonesia, travelled through North America, meeting with Timor supporters in Toronto, Ithaca, New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Vancouver. His extensive expertise and perspective motivated the activists and updated them on current developments.
- Matthew Jardine, a founder of the Los Angeles local of ETAN, spent three weeks inside East Timor in July and August. He describes an atmosphere of fear caused by the ubiquitous presence of the Indonesian military. Nevertheless, many Timorese took tremendous risks to speak with him about their situation. Matthew has written a report on his trip which is available from ETAN.
- In early September, the Non-Aligned Movement met in Jakarta. The conflict in former Yugoslavia and the role of NAM in the "New World Order" took up most of the discussion, and Suharto's hope to legitimize his leadership of the Third World was only partially realized. ETAN and other supporters of East Timor issued press releases and statements to people attending the Jakarta conference, pointing out the blatant inconsistency between NAM's call "to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism, foreign occupation, and racial discrimination" and Indonesia's own behavior in East Timor.

While in Jakarta, the U.N. Secretary-General proposed ministerial-level talks between Indonesia and Portugal over East Timor. Both parties agreed, and the negotiations will begin shortly in New York. Exiled Timorese leaders welcome the upcoming talks and urge that representatives of the Timorese people be included as soon as possible. Portugal has already offered to drop EC trade restrictions against Indonesia to set a positive atmosphere for the discussions.

- New reports put the number of Timorese people killed during and after last November's Santa Cruz massacre at more than double the 100-200 previously estimated. Although these testimonies have not been positively verified, they add to the feeling that many Indonesian atrocities in the territory go unknown to the outside world.

### Upcoming events

The next ETAN **organizing meeting** will be on Saturday, September 19, at 1:00 pm at the home of Max Surjadinata, 100 LaSalle Street (apt 21B), west of Broadway near 123 Street, Manhattan, (212)222-1899. We'll preview our new video and plan for future events, including the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre.

Indonesian President Suharto will visit New York in late September to address the United Nations General Assembly. We are considering holding a vigil, demonstration, press conference, or other protest event to mark his visit, which is the first to the U.S. in over three years. If you can't make the meeting, call or write with your suggestions.

ETAN will hold a **teach-in** on East Timor at Manhattanville College, Purchase, NY on Monday, September 21, at 7:00 pm in the West Room of the Castle (Ophir Hall). Featuring Amy Goodman, Lorne Rider, Sr. Marian Bohlen, and others. For information: Eleanor Hoffman (914)235-1797.

We have produced a new **half-hour television program**, *Aggression and Self-Determination: Massacre in East Timor*. The show will be nationally distributed by satellite on September 29 and October 1, and can be downlinked for local broadcast on public access cable television.

Videocassette copies will also be available **Dance for Survival: benefit for ETAN** produced by the Culture & Conscience Network. Sunday, October 11, 7:30 pm at Cafe Bar, 115 Ocean Avenue, Long Branch NJ. Dance to the music of Daily Planet and others. Amy Goodman will speak at 8:00 pm. Tickets \$7 in advance, \$9 at the door. Call (908)747-4597.

### EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK AT A THRESHOLD

As you can read, we've had a busy summer. The East Timor Action Network, less than a year old, now has over 376 members in more than half of the United States. ETAN functions entirely on donated labor and facilities. Our expenses, mostly for printing, postage and preparation of the video broadcast, comes entirely from individual donations (we have not been able to interest any funding agencies) and sales of T-shirts, books, and buttons.

If you agree with us that the United States government is the key to pressuring Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor, please send a contribution to help educate and organize Americans, and to let Washington know that their economic, military, and diplomatic support for Jakarta's occupation is unacceptable. Make your check out to *Foreign Bases Project/ETAN*. If you would like to make a

tax-deductible donations for ETAN's educational work, write it to *WESPAC Foundation/ETAN*.

Since none of our money goes to landlords or paychecks, your contribution to ETAN/US goes much farther than money you give to most other organizations.

## INDONESIAN GENERAL SUED IN BOSTON COURT

*From: Center for Constitutional Rights, New York, September 18.*

### LAWSUIT SEEKS DAMAGES FOR CIVILIAN DEATHS

BOSTON, September 18, 1992. An Indonesian general was sued yesterday in U.S. federal court for a bloody massacre in which as many as 200 East Timorese civilians were murdered.

The lawsuit was filed as the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee is poised to vote on a cutoff of military training assistance (IMET) to Indonesia. The cutoff had already passed the House.

The Center for Constitutional Rights filed the lawsuit on behalf of the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, a New Zealand citizen who was killed in the massacre. The suit charges General Sintong Panjaitan as one of the Indonesian military leaders responsible for the execution of Bamadhaj. Panjaitan came to the United States earlier this year, reportedly to study at Harvard University. He is currently living in Boston.

Kamal Bamadhaj was visiting East Timor at the time of his death. He was killed on November 12, 1991, after hundreds of Indonesian soldiers opened fire without warning on a peaceful memorial procession. Bamadhaj was shot twice and died shortly thereafter.

Helen Todd, Bamadhaj's mother and the plaintiff in the lawsuit, stated that the dozens of young Timorese killed along with her son were peacefully protesting "sixteen years of organized military brutality against the people of East Timor." She noted that the threat of reprisals by the Indonesian military prevented the mothers of the other victims from joining her in this lawsuit, and stated that she will share any money judgment with their families. (Helen Todd's full statement is attached.)

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, just 10 days after the former Portuguese colony declared independence. Since that time, murder, disappearance, torture and political repression which has led to the deaths of as many as 200,000 Timorese, out of a population of only 600,000. Indonesia continues to occupy East Timor in defiance of the U.N. Security Council, which has

twice demanded that Indonesia withdraw its forces "without delay."

The lawsuit was filed under two U.S. laws which allow victims of gross human rights violations to bring suit in U.S. federal courts no matter where the violations occurred, as long as the defendant is in this country. One of those laws, the Torture Victim Protection Act was recently signed into law by President Bush.

Beth Stephens, a CCR attorney working on the case, said, "We hope with this case and others like it to make it clear that the United States is no longer a safe refuge for the torturers and murderers of the world." Michael Ratner, also an attorney with CCR, added, "The Timorese people have a right to struggle peacefully for democracy without being massacred. We hope this lawsuit teaches the Indonesian military a lesson - stop the killing and get out of East Timor."

General Suharto, the president of Indonesia, who oversees the program of systematic human rights violations against East Timor, will be in New York next week to address the United Nations.

### STATEMENT OF PLAINTIFF HELEN TODD

My son is dead. There is nothing, certainly no sum of money, that will compensate for his loss - or for the loss to him of the life he could have led. But those who killed him and those in power who set the policies that killed him, have not even acknowledged that a crime has been committed. They lead privileged lives; the policy of repression continues; the military culture which systematically tramples on human rights flourishes.

General Panjaitan represents that system. I am bringing him to book not just as Kamal's mother, but in the place of hundreds of East Timor mothers who are forced to grieve in silence for their dead children. Our grief and anger is the same, but unlike them, I can bring a case against a military officer without putting the rest of my family in danger.

There must be some accounting as many as 200 unarmed young people shot and stabbed to death by the military in Dili that morning, simply because they dared to raise their voices against 16 years of organized military brutality against the people of East Timor. At the very least the Indonesian Government, of which General Panjaitan is an honoured and well-rewarded servant, must recognise that their colonial occupation of East Timor is a mistake. It will never be accepted; it can only be kept in place by systematic violence. Their regime there not only violates every norm of civilised government, it is an affront to the ideals on which the Indonesian state was founded.

Whatever compensation is awarded by the court in this case will belong to the mothers of all the victims of the Dili massacre and I will find a way to get it into their hands.

Signed: Helen Todd

(Helen Todd is currently living in Malaysia)

*For more information, contact Beth Stephens or Michael Ratner at the Center for Constitutional Rights, (212) 614-6424/614-6485/243-3805.*

### 1789 U.S. LAW HAS FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSERS NERVOUS

Washington, Sep. 25 (IPS/Jim Lobe) - A law passed by the U.S. Congress in 1789 as a weapon against pirates operating on the high seas is getting increasingly heavy use by victims of human rights abuses overseas.

Thursday, a federal court jury in Honolulu, Hawaii ruled that the estate of former Philippines president, Ferdinand Marcos, who died in the United States in 1989, must compensate thousands of torture victims back home. The court will decide soon on how much the Marcos estate must pay.

Last week, an Indonesian general who came to Boston to study at Harvard university earlier this summer was served with a lawsuit for responsibility in the killing last Nov. 12 of a young student in East Timor. The student was shot down when Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators in a cemetery in the capital, Dili.

Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, who one year ago was the top military officer in the Portuguese territory invaded and annexed by Indonesia in the mid-1970s, will now either have to leave the United States or defend himself against the charges by the boy's mother, Helen Todd.

His is only the latest of a string of cases filed since 1980 under the alien tort claims act of 1789.

Besides Marcos and the general, the more famous defendants include Haitian Gen. Prosper Avril, Argentine Gen. Carlos Suarez mason, and Guatemala's former defence minister, Gen. Hector Gramajo, who, like Panjaitan, was sued while studying at Harvard.

The defendants also include officials from Chile and Ethiopia.

The act provides that any person - citizen or non-citizen - can sue any other for wrongful acts committed outside the United States, so long as the wrong was also "committed in violation of the law of nations or a treaty of the United States."

In 1977, the New York-based centre for constitutional rights (CCR) revived the act on behalf of the family of a Paraguayan man, Joel Filartiga, who had been tortured and killed by police. The alleged torturer was then residing in the United States.

A jury awarded the plaintiffs a 10.4-million-dollar judgment which was affirmed in a landmark decision by a federal appeals court in New York in 1980.

Although the defendant-torturer was deported from the United States before the verdict was upheld on appeal, the "Filartiga principle" has become the basis for a series of lawsuits against alleged rights abusers.

Earlier this year, however, Congress decided to give it new life in the form of the torture victims protection act which restates the 1789 law and applies it to torture victims.

The case against Panjaitan is based on both the 1789 and the 1992 laws, according to CCR spokesperson David Lerner.

The case is based on a well-documented massacre which has caused major headaches for Indonesia over the past year. More than 100 people were shot down, according to most human rights monitors, although the Indonesian government has insisted there were no more than 50 victims.

Although absent at the massacre, Panjaitan occupied a key position in the chain of command from Jakarta to Dili.

Allan Nairn, a reporter for the *New Yorker* magazine and eyewitness to the massacre, told us Friday that the general implemented a policy of threats and intimidation against all Timorese during the months before a planned visit to the territory by a U.N. delegation.

"They warned Timorese all over the island not to meet with the delegation or they and their families to the seventh generation would be killed," Nairn said by telephone.

After the massacre, a military commission disciplined some of the officers involved, and president Suharto removed Panjaitan from his post. The latter came to the Boston area earlier this year, apparently intending to study at its business school.

After a brief stint at the John F. Kennedy school of government, however, Panjaitan apparently dropped out to improve his English, according to CCR staff attorney Beth Stephens, who said her office located him through the Boston telephone directory. Since he was served with the papers on Sep. 18, however, he appears to have dropped out of sight, she said.

The victim, Kamal Bamadhaj, was a citizen of New Zealand who was visiting friends in East Timor at the time of the massacre. He died from multiple bullet wounds some time after the shooting, according to Nairn, who said this fitted the

definition of torture under the new protection act.

Suharto himself felt the wrath of Bamadhaj's family Thursday when he addressed the U.N. General Assembly in New York. After denouncing "ethnic cleansing" in Yugoslavia and the use of force to acquire territory, he was surprised to hear shouting from the gallery. It was Bamadhaj's Canadian sister, Li-lien Gibbons who was quickly escorted out by security officers.

Unlike his general, Suharto enjoys sovereign immunity. But he might not wish to move here when he retires.

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## RESOURCES AND EVENTS

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### RESOURCES FOR SALE FROM EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK OF TORONTO

*PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, Canada,  
M5S 2T1*

Please send payment with your order in Canadian or US funds only. Make cheques/money orders payable to "East Timor Alert Network."

#### T shirts

"Free East Timor" White T shirt with 3-colour East Timor flag design. Caption on back: "To Resist is to win - Xanana Gusmao." [\$15, plus \$2 postage if mailed.]

Unbleached T shirt with Elaine Briere photo (4 different designs) & caption "Living Tribal Culture" (front) and "Free East Timor" (back) [\$20, plus \$2 postage] Bulk orders of T shirts: \$10 each.

#### "Free East Timor!" buttons,

With photo of smiling Timorese girl. [\$1]

#### "The Indonesia Kit"

By Elaine Briere and Susan Gage, with photos by Elaine Briere and illustrations by Dan Devaney. Published by ETAN and the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace. A 48-page booklet on Indonesia's history, politics, human rights and environmental situation. Written from a Canadian perspective and suitable for use in the classroom. [\$7, plus \$1 postage.]

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## ART FOR TIMOR

*Green Left Weekly issue 67, August 19*

"Our Silence - Your Silence" is the title of an exhibition by Artists for East Timor, August 25-September 6, at the Bondi Pavilion Exhibition space.

When Archibald Zammit-Ross, president of the Sculptors Society of NSW, called for artists to support the struggle in East Timor, the response was overwhelming. More than 300 works of art, including photography, sculpture, painting and pottery have been donated and will be on sale.

Organised jointly by the East Timor Cultural Association, the exhibition will be opened at 6 p.m. on August 25 by Anthony Bond, curator of contemporary art, Art Gallery of NSW. Proceeds from sales will help Community Aid Abroad's work for East Timor.

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## SENATE HEARING PUBLISHED

*Crisis in East Timor and U.S. Policy Toward Indonesia* (hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Washington, DC 20510), 27 February & 6 March 92) US GPO: 1992, 112 pp. is now available. Single copies can probably be obtained (while they last) free from the Committee; otherwise, check the library or order through the Government Printing Office.

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## NEW CHOMSKY FILM INCLUDES EAST TIMOR

*Peace Magazine, Toronto. Sept./Oct. 1992 (Cover story).*

*Benefit screenings of Manufacturing Consent for the East Timor Alert Network will be held in Toronto and Vancouver*

#### **Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media**

Co-directed and co-produced by Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonick, of Montreal-based Necessary Illusions. Co-produced by the National Film Board, 165 minutes.

They have collected gold, and they have refined it. The gold is in the ideas of Noam Chomsky, the brilliant American linguist and seemingly indefatigable writer/activist.

The first part of the film is entitled, "Thought Control in a Democratic Society," which sounds like a contradiction in terms given all the talk about the free press.

Chomsky's thesis is that the mainstream media in the USA operate together pretty well in lock step. They form a giant perceptual filter blocking out effective analysis of how our corporation-controlled socio-economic system works, and to whose benefit.

It was 25 years ago that Chomsky first became newsworthy, when he was arrested for his part in anti-Vietnam activity. That was the beginning of his persistent attempts, through books and personal appearances, to alert the public to why and

how they were being duped and what was denied them.

His politically relevant criticism is unknown to many Americans and Canadians because, although we are over-loaded with so-called "information" he and others with dissenting views have been largely excluded from the mainstream media.

Among the few encounters with the mainstream (or "malestream") U.S. media, one with the right-wing William Buckley is shown in the film. Buckley makes faces, rudely interrupts, and rolls his eyes – typical of mainstream approaches to effective radicals.

Some assert that there is little or no difference between Canada and the USA but one difference is that in this country Achbar, Wintonick and Canada's publicly-owned National Film Board made this film. We get the essential Chomsky, including his skewering of that over-inflated institution of propaganda, the New York Times, his advice about instituting intellectual self-defence, his fine slicing through the layers of media hypocrisy, his baring of the evils of "our" system in which resources are controlled and exploited by private interests which increasingly do not overlap with the common interests.

People who know his work may find the beginning of the film a little slow but it does the necessary job of setting the scene for those less well acquainted with the reasons for his radical critique of the mainstream U.S. media. The film is lengthy but the producers have wisely allowed for an intermission after Part I, which ends with an account about the deliberate mishandling of news about the bombing, killing and associated horrors in Cambodia and East Timor. You need a breather after that one, as it confirms all your worst suspicions.

This is an important film for Canadians to see because we are greatly influenced by the U.S. media. It will be shown first at film festivals in Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax this fall and then it will be available to commercial cinemas. Any Canadian can rent a copy of the film or video from the NFB for a nominal charge. Phone the 800 number for your area to place an order:

Atlantic Canada 1-800-561-7104

Quebec 1-800-363-0328

Ontario 1-800-267-7710

Western and Northern Canada 1-800-661-9867

Watch Vision TV for the television premiere of *Manufacturing Consent: Part 1*: January 22, *Part 2* January 29. The CBC Witness program may also show a truncated version of the film.

Americans should order from *Necessary Illusions*, 10 Pine St. West, Montreal, Quebec, H2W 1P9, (514) 287-7620).

Review by Barrie Zwicker and Jean Smith. Barrie Zwicker is a Toronto-based publisher and media critic regularly seen on the VISION TV program "Arts Express." Jean Smith is a peace activist and helper at Peace Magazine.

## REVIEW IN THE ACTIVIST, TORONTO:

### ASKING THE NEWS SOME QUESTIONS

Reviewed by Darrin Nowakowski

The American linguistics professor Noam Chomsky has developed a reputation as a fierce critic of United States militarism abroad. In his recent book, *Manufacturing Consent*, he attacks the mainstream media in North America for presenting establishment-biased, non-objective news. In typical Chomsky style, the book is so thoroughly documented, exhaustively researched, and imbued with detail, that the reader is overwhelmed by the sheer weight of data rather than the rhetoric of argument.

The Canadian-produced film about Chomsky, also titled *Manufacturing Consent*, does far more than regurgitate the book in a documentary format. Wintonick and Achbar's film is both a Chomsky lecture and a biography of the man himself. Regardless of whether you have read all of his books, or none of them, the film has a great deal to offer.

The producers mix their own visual images – ironically, shot with a surplus RCMP surveillance camera – with clips from the news media, to blend dry details and tense scenes with comedy. After sifting through over 130 hours of lectures, guest appearances, debates and interviews with Chomsky, spanning over two decades, Wintonick and Achbar chose 165 minutes to keep in the film.

Think of it as a Chomsky's Greatest Hits collection.

The film itself is full of ironic twists, reminiscent of earlier political documentaries like *Milhouse* or *The Atomic Cafe*. For example, when Chomsky is being interviewed for a BBC morning talk show, he tries to explain that the two-minute limit allowed most news spots makes it impossible to explain anything other than an already familiar thought or idea. Before he is able to finish his point, the host cuts him off, explaining that his time is up.

Aside from a general critique of the media, *Manufacturing Consent* is also concerned with some global political events. An example of media support for the establishment, for instance, is the lack of

coverage in the press of the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor. This film does cover the repression and genocide of the Timorese people – to whom, in fact, it is dedicated. Included is some Australian news footage of East Timor which provides one of the rare opportunities for North American audiences to view the situation there.

*Manufacturing Consent* also examines some of Chomsky's personal controversies. More than a few right-wing intellectuals openly despise his criticism of American foreign policy, though in a cameo appearance

William Buckley can do nothing more than roll his eyes and make faces at Chomsky as the latter suggests that American militarism is no different, in principle, than that of the Soviet Union.

Chomsky's description of the American educational system as a form of "institutionalized ignorance," and his statement that the Bible is "the most genocidal book in the whole canon of literature" raised a few

eyebrows. His anarchist political bent and his attacks on other American institutions, like professional sports, do not always endear him to the mainstream population.

Yet Chomsky's upfront honesty and soft-spoken eloquence command respect. This film provides a great way to learn more about Chomsky's ideas and Chomsky the person.

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## ETAN/US VIDEO NATIONALLY DISTRIBUTED

### PUT EAST TIMOR ON TELEVISION IN YOUR COMMUNITY

The East Timor Action Network has produced a half-hour videotape on East Timor. *Aggression and Self-Determination: Massacre in East Timor* will be transmitted nationally via satellite at the end of the month by Deep Dish TV. The program will then be available for broadcast on public access cable television. Deep Dish TV has a lot of experience in getting progressive viewpoints onto cable TV and will help ETAN and you make sure that the show gets the widest possible audience.

The show features footage of the November 12 massacre, testimony before the U.N. Committee on Decolonization, the IMET debate in the House of Representatives, and various public meetings. It focuses on the U.S. role in supporting Indonesia and what Americans can do about it. People featured in the documentary include José Ramos Horta (representative of National Council of Maubere Resistance),

Amy Goodman (WBAD), Allan Nairn (*New Yorker*), Charlie Scheiner (ETAN/US), Victoria Forbes-Adam (Amnesty International), Li-lien Gibbons (ETAN, Canada) and many more.

#### How to Get the Video on the Air

Call your local cable station and ask to speak to the public access programmer. Ask them to **record the satellite transmission of Aggression and Self-Determination and schedule it for airing**. The program can be downlinked from SATCOM F4, Transponder 20 on Tuesday, September 29 at 1 pm and Thursday, October 1 at 6 pm, Eastern time. *Aggression and Self-Determination: Massacre in East Timor* is the second half of an hour-long transmission, *News You Can Use*. The first half hour is *No Hay Paz (There is No Peace)* on Salvadoran refugees.

**Promote the show.** Once the shows are on tape, find out the dates and times for cablecast so you can make announcements on public radio, in alternative journals, newsletters, community calendars, etc. ETAN can supply a flyer to which you can add cablecast dates in your area. Include the flyer in mailings and post them around town.

**Problems?** If your cable station doesn't have a satellite dish, call Cynthia Lopez at Deep Dish TV, (212)473-8933, so that they can make arrangements to get the program to them. Let Deep Dish and ETAN know if your town is going to carry the program. If your access programmer will not carry the programs, ask them why and call Cynthia Lopez at Deep Dish for help.

As Deep Dish learns from its own network when systems will be carrying the program, they will tell us and we can provide the information to you. As you arrange for cablecasts, call John M. Miller, (718)788-6071. He can also provide information on where *Aggression and Self-Determination* will be broadcast. A videocassette version of the show is available for sale (US\$20 plus postage) or rent for showings at meetings, etc.

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### "COLD BLOOD" ON DISCOVERY CABLE TV

"Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor" will be broadcast nationally on the Discovery Channel, cable TV, at 5:00 pm Saturday September 26 and 2:00 am Sunday September 27.

This one-hour program, which contains footage of the massacre last November 12 when Indonesian troops shot down over 140 people engaged in a peaceful protest of the 17-year occupation, has been broadcast

around the world to educate and mobilize people about this blot on humanity.

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### EAST TIMOR PROGRAMS IN LOS ANGELES AND WESTCHESTER (NY)

#### LOS ANGELES:

Friday, September 18, 7:30 pm St. Paul the Apostle Church 10750 Ohio Avenue (cnr, Selby); Westwood (classroom beneath Church)

Pax Christi of Southern California is hosting the showing of the award-winning documentary on East Timor: "In Cold Blood"

After the film, there will be a discussion with Matthew Jardine of the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles. Matthew recently visited East Timor and will report on the continuing oppression by the government of Indonesia on the people of the former Portuguese colony.

Admission is free....free-will offerings are accepted. For further information, contact Vivian Gabehart at (310)473-1816

#### PURCHASE:

Monday, September 21 7:00 pm Manhattanville College, West Room, Ophir Hall (Castle) Route 120, Purchase, NY

"Lessons of East Timor: From Genocide to Resolution:

Panel discussion with Amy Goodman, Allan Nairn (witnesses to the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz massacre), Sr. Marian Bohan (who lived in Indonesia for 24 years), and others. Free and open to the public.

For further information, contact Eleanor Hoffman at (914)235-1797.

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### ETAN BENEFIT DANCE

Culture and Conscience Presents A Benefit for the East Timor Action Network **DANCE FOR SURVIVAL**

October 11, 7:30PM  
Dance to the music of Daily Planet and Kombo Zoom;

Hear Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, witnesses to the November 12, 1991 massacre

CAFE BAR, 115 Ocean Avenue, Long Branch, NJ

\$7 in advance, \$9 at the door  
Call (908)870-0765 for tickets and info

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### LONDON GIG FOR EAST TIMOR

*From: The British coalition for East Timor*

HUMBLE RUMBLE PRODUCTIONS PRESENTS 2 LIVE BANDS:

THE JACKET POTATOES AND THE ALL TOGETHER

A FUND-RAISER FOR THE BRITISH COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR ON THURSDAY 8 OCTOBER 1992 FROM 8.80PM TO MIDNIGHT AT THE OLD WHITE HORSE PUB, 261 BRIXTON ROAD, LONDON, SW9 (NEAREST TUBE: BRIXTON).

ENTRANCE: 4.00 AND 2.00 CONCESSION (UNWAGED AND STUDENT).

Please come and support the East Timorese struggle.

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### CALL FOR BUDDING LONDON STREET THEATRE ARTISTS

*From: The Freedom Theatre Company*

We are organising a Street theatre performance in Covent Garden to commemorate the Santa Cruz massacre in November last year.

We need potential actors (mime, large and small speaking parts), help with props and costumes, musicians who could play East Timorese music and anyone who could design or help make large masks.

We also need practical help with finding rehearsal space, small amounts of funding to help with fares and props, people to sell books, T-shirts and so on at Covent Garden on the day (14 or 21 November), banner makers, and generally lots of friends to encourage audiences to watch.

The idea for the theatre is really exciting and is recommended for everyone. We are having the fundraising gig on 8 October to help pay for people's fares to rehearsals so don't let that stop you if you are unwaged.

Our first meet is on 6 October 1992 at 7.00pm c/o SIMBA and Philippine Resource Centre offices at 84 Long Lane, SE1 (nearest tube: Borough). Please try and come and hear the exciting plans. Also pass this info on to anyone you think may be interested. Non reg.easttimor and Indonesia regulars more than welcome.

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## MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

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### THE POLL THAT INDONESIA DARES NOT HOLD (ECONOMIST)

*The Economist, London. 19 September 1992. From a special correspondent in Jakarta. Unabridged*

*This powerful condemnation of Jakarta on East Timor, from such an establishment journal, most probably reflects the views of the diplomatic corps. It should really make Jakarta tear its hair.*

For the Indonesian gospel on East Timor, turn to page four of a smart new pamphlet published by the foreign ministry. In 1975, it explains, Indonesia did not invade what is now one of its eastern provinces. It helped "to ensure that the democratically expressed will of the people [was] not overruled by armed terror and unilateral imposition of a ruthless minority."

If anyone outside Indonesia believes this revision of history, few Timorese do. Sixteen years on, it is the democratically expressed will of the majority of the Timorese that the government in Jakarta is unwilling to test. The United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said on September 16th that he had invited the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, East Timor's former colonial master, to New York to discuss the matter. He was sure that the meeting would set future talks "on a solid and fruitful course." Well, perhaps and perhaps. As things stand, Portugal wants Indonesia to hold a referendum on the future of East Timor. Indonesia says no. It must have a good idea of how the Timorese would vote.

The foreign ministry's pamphlet appeared shortly before Indonesia was the host to leaders of the non-aligned movement this month. The government wanted its version of events in East Timor to be ready. It took steps to prevent any plans by Timorese to stage a demonstration during the meeting. In Dili, the capital of East Timor, 33 people were arrested. Roadblocks were set up and Sunday mass was cancelled. A demonstration timed to coincide with a visit of Portuguese members of parliament last November had ended in the massacre by troops of at least 50 people in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery.

Indonesia may feel it has successfully contained the international fall-out from that event. Bombarded by criticism and threats to cut off aid, the government took

unprecedented measures against the military, sacking two generals and jailing a number of less prominent soldiers. Indonesia lost the aid it used to receive from Holland, but other donors came through in July with \$4.95 billion for 1992/93, marginally more than the previous year.

Nevertheless, Indonesia is still being watched by its benefactors. They may not be pleased by recent developments. Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, who was made army commander in East Timor after the Dili massacre, says that Indonesia has rejected an offer of talks on the future of the territory by Xanana Gusmao, leader of the resistance movement that wants independence for East Timor. You cannot make peace with criminals, says the general. He has 6,000 troops at his disposal in the province, whereas the separatists are believed to muster around 200.

General Syafei brags that, had he been in charge at the time of the Dili massacre, a lot more people would have died. In fact, diplomats say, the discipline he has imposed on his troops has cut human-rights abuses.

Government officials claim spending per head in East Timor is higher than in any of Indonesia's 26 other provinces. Incomes, though low, are much higher in real terms than when Indonesia took over. Yet anti-Indonesian sentiment seems, if anything, to be growing stronger. "The younger generation is much more politicised. They do not fight with guns but with passive resistance," says a western diplomat in Jakarta. "They just want the Indonesians to go. No one wants to face that reality here."

*The article is illustrated with a close-up of an elderly Timorese woman, arm aloft, surrounded by others in the same posture. The caption reads: Where's my referendum?*

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### EAST TIMOR IGNORED AT ASIAN-EUROPEAN MEETING

Kuala Lumpur, Sep. 24 (IPS) – A meeting between European and South-east Asian parliamentarians in Jakarta this week has condemned human rights abuses in Burma and Bosnia-Herzegovina but has spiked the issue of East Timor.

The contradictory stance was contained in a joint statement issued at the end of a two-day meeting Wednesday.

It condemned the "grave situation" in Bosnia-hercegovina, urged Burma to lift restrictions on freedom of movement and pledged cooperation in the protection of human rights and freedom.

But in an apparent deference to the host country, the parliamentarians left the issue of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony

invaded and annexed by Indonesia, as a matter for Portugal and Indonesia to resolve.

European parliament delegates said East Timor, where an Indonesian army massacre last November left more than a hundred people dead, did not figure at all in the discussions.

The killings triggered an international outcry, leading to the suspension of aid to Indonesia by some donor countries.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year, a move not recognised by the United Nations, Portugal and Timorese rebels who have been fighting the Jakarta government since.

The head of the European parliament delegation, Gunther Rinsche of Germany, told reporters that members of the European parliament intended to visit East Timor. No date was set but it was understood the visit would not be made on this trip.

"Not now because there is no possibility of going there, but certainly later," said Rinsche.

On Monday, Portuguese delegate Rui Amaral called on Jakarta to allow the European parliamentarians to visit East Timor. He said relations between the European community and Indonesia had been adversely affected by the East Timor issue.

Negotiations for the extension of a cooperation agreement between the European community and the association of south-east Asian nations (ASEAN) were stalled earlier this year over the issue of human rights.

Rinsche said Amaral was speaking in his individual capacity and not for the delegation. He said East Timor was "one part of the general theme of human rights" but it should not block cooperation between the two regions.

To ensure the smooth working of the non-aligned movement (NAM) summit in Jakarta early this month, Indonesia had agreed to hold talks with Portugal on the East Timor issue.

Official sources in Lisbon said Wednesday the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers will meet in New York on Saturday. The talks will be held under the auspices of U.N. secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

British foreign secretary Douglas Hurd, in a declaration to the U.N. general assembly Tuesday, condemned the Indonesian army for the East Timor massacre and demanded a "complete investigation" into the incident.

Hurd also expressed support for a U.N.-sponsored dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal. Britain currently holds the rotating EC presidency.

Meanwhile, a U.S. Senate committee voted on Wednesday to restore 2.3 million

dollars in military training and aid to Indonesia which had been cut following the November massacre.

Human rights advocates in Washington condemned the move, saying the committee had yielded to pressure from lobbyists representing U.S. business interests in Indonesia, one of south-east Asia's fastest-growing economies.

But they expressed optimism that the proposal would be rejected by a joint house-senate conference committee which would take up the issue later.

### MEP'S REQUEST TO VISIT TIMOR REFUSED

*AFP and UPI. 23 September 1992. Abridged*

Members of the European Parliament will not visit East Timor during their present visit to Indonesia. Gunther Rinsche from Germany said no date had been fixed for the visit. "But certainly not now as there is no possibility to go there.... But later some colleagues will go."

A Portuguese member of the group, Rui Amaral, on Monday called on Jakarta to allow the delegation to visit East Timor. He said EC relations with Indonesia and other members of ASEAN had been damaged by East Timor. Rinsche said that Amaral had been talking as an individual and did not necessarily represent the opinion of the Parliament. He said East Timor was an important issue as "one part of the general theme of human rights" but said that it should not block cooperation.

The MEPs are in Jakarta for a meeting with the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organisation.

Meanwhile, Portuguese MEPs in the group have been refused permission to visit two East Timorese, Fernando de Araujo and Joao Freitas da Camara, who are serving prison sentences for their involvement in a demonstration last November. Admiral Sudomo, Minister for Political and Security Affairs said such a visit would disrupt diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia. "The refusal is intended to avoid a possible disruption in the planned East Timor talks between the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia," he said.

Sudomo told the MEPs that the Nov. 12 incident should not be seen as a violation of human rights but a military action which had nothing to do with state policy.

### EURO-MPS STAND FIRM ON EAST TIMOR

*Jakarta Times 23 September 1992 Unabridged.*

*God bless (some) MEPs! The JP piece is remarkable for the high profile it gives to complaints about East Timor. A report the previous day will be posted later. We have yet to see how the incident has been reported in the Indonesian-language press.*

Members of the European Parliament expressed frustration and anger yesterday at Indonesia's refusal to openly discuss the East Timor issue and the role of the Armed Forces (ABRI) in politics.

They said Indonesian officials barred them from sending a "goodwill mission" to East Timor and House of Representatives (DPR) members refused to let them raise the East Timorese issue in this week's dialogue with the ASEAN- Interparliamentary Organisation (AIPO).

"Officials said raising the East Timor question would be counter-productive to the forthcoming meeting between Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers (in New York)," Wilfried Telkampfer told journalists.

The Indonesian officials the Europeans have met so far have turned down their requests to send a delegation to East Timor or to visit East Timorese imprisoned for their anti-government activities.

Fernando Gomes, a member of Parliament from Portugal, claimed Minister of Home Affairs Rudini and Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs had refused to discuss East Timor with him.

The European MPs did not try to hide their disappointment yesterday when intellectuals from the Jakarta-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies failed to explain the Indonesian military's role in politics to them.

"There was no elaboration to their statement about the Indonesian military's role in politics and the economy," said Jaak Vandemeulebroucke of Belgium.

When a European MP raised the issue of the Nov. 12 tragedy in Dili, in which 50 (sic) demonstrators were killed in a clash (sic) with government troops, on Monday, the first day of the week-long meeting, host DPR members reacted furiously.

Human rights

The House members insisted that the East Timor question should not be discussed in the forum because it was a bilateral problem between Indonesia and Portugal, which colonised the territory for more than 450 years before East Timor integrated with Indonesia in 1976.

The dialogue between AIPO and the European Parliament yesterday was dominated by an exchange of views on human rights, democracy and economic development.

AIPO members reaffirmed their stand that human rights in the region were based on a concept that emphasised a balance between individual rights and responsibility in society.

Theo Sambuaga, an Indonesian delegate, said the West should stop dictating their concept of democracy to developing countries because, although it has a universal value, its implementation would depend on local factors.

### U.S. AND JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS APPEAL TO SECRETARY-GENERAL

*From Jean Inglis, September 24, 1992*

In an unprecedented trans-Pacific cooperative action, 293 members of the Japanese Diet and U.S. Congress have appealed to UN Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali to step up efforts to end the "16 year-long history of repression in East Timor" and achieve a "fundamental solution" to the East Timor issue.

A Joint Letter signed by lawmakers from a broad political spectrum calls on the Secretary-General to:

- release the report of Dr. Amos Wako, the UN chief's personal envoy sent to Indonesia and East Timor in February to investigate the Nov. 12 shooting of scores of East Timorese youth
- establish a U.N. presence in East Timor to monitor the human rights situation
- urge the Indonesian government to release East Timorese prisoners and facilitate access to East Timor, as agreed to under the consensus decision of the U.S. Commission on Human Rights
- initiate and facilitate negotiations, involving Portugal, Indonesia, and representatives of the East Timorese, on the status of East Timor
- take steps to ensure self-determination for the people of East Timor under U.N. auspices, as guaranteed by General Assembly and Security Council resolutions

The initiative for the joint letter came from the Interparliamentary Human Rights Program of the Congressional Human Rights Foundation, led by Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) and Rep. Ronald Machtley (R-RI). One hundred fifty members of Congress signed the letter. On the Japanese side, Representative Eda Satsuki of the United Social Democratic Party (Shaminren) and

Senator Tetsu Inoue of the Rengo Sangiin Party were instrumental in collecting signatures from 143 members of the Diet.

The lawmakers' joint letter is significant in urging more vigorous action by the Secretary-General, both in terms of follow up to Mr. Wako's investigation and the Human Rights Commission consensus declaration as well as in a new proposal to set up a U.N. presence in the territory. Furthermore, in calling for the "initiation of concrete steps to enable the people of East Timor to freely and fairly exercise their right to self determination," it draws attention to the U.N.'s responsibility to the East Timorese themselves. Although General Assembly and Security Council resolutions adopted in the early years of the Indonesian invasion specifically affirm the right to self-determination of the East Timorese, this key aspect was largely absent in reports by Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar on the negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal which he mediated over the past decade.

The letter also refers to the importance of establishing a "highly visible (UN) profile" to galvanize action by governments on an issue that most of them have ignored. The missive suggests that vigorous action on the part of the Secretary-General "would provide a rallying point around which neutral governments could focus consultative diplomatic activities."

The joint letter was conveyed to the Secretary-General through his office in Washington on Sept. 22. On Sept. 23 Mr. Boutros-Ghali is due to meet with President Suharto, in New York to address the General Assembly. Suharto is scheduled to visit Japan from Sept. 27 to 29.

In Japan, the joint letter was announced at a press conference in the House of Representatives' office building and was reported on a nationwide TV news program (NHK) the same day.

## INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT CRITICAL OF MALAYSIA TV DILI PROGRAM

Radio Australia reported, Sunday, 9/27, that the Indonesian government protested to the Malaysian government about RTM's airing of a Malaysian documentary about the "Dili Massacre." The Malaysian government responded that it hadn't been aware that RTM was airing any such documentary.

## MALAYSIA APOLOGIES FOR TIMOR DOCUMENTARY

Evidently the Malaysian documentary was critical of the Indonesian police and army's role during the "Dili Massacre."

*The Sunday Age (Melbourne) 27 September 1992, Slightly abridged.*

*[This report follows several well publicised incidents in which the Malaysian government has protested to Australia over perceived negative depiction of Malaysia in the Australian media.]*

### Everybody needs good neighbours...

(Jakarta, 26 Sept., AP/AFP) A Malaysian official apologised to Indonesia today for a documentary broadcast on Malaysia's state-owned television about last year's massacre in East Timor.

The Deputy Minister of Information, Railey bin Haji Jefri, promised to investigate the program broadcast last Wednesday on Radio Televisi Malaysia (RTM), and expressed hope that it would not harm relations with Malaysia (sic).

"On behalf of the Malaysian Information Ministry, I apologise for the negligence of the editor of RTM," said Haji Jefri who is attending a meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations' inter-parliamentary organisation.

The Indonesian Information Minister, Harmoko, had demanded an explanation for the airing of the documentary, which he called "embarrassing to the Indonesian Government."

Members of Parliament said airing of the documentary on Indonesian soldiers opening fire on unarmed protesters last November was tantamount to intervention in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

They said the November incident had been resolved since the government had taken steps to deal with it.

Ais Anantama Said, an Indonesian youth leader, said a commentator on the RTM program had said Indonesian troops "opened fire on unarmed demonstrators like killing animals."

### MALAYSIA ADMITS IT WAS WRONG TO AIR FILM

Kuala Lumpur, Sep. 28 (ips) - Malaysia has dispatched its information minister to Jakarta to defuse a brewing diplomatic dispute over the recent screening of a film on East Timor on Malaysia television.

Information minister Datuk Mohamed Rahmet left for the Indonesian capital Sunday to meet his counterpart, Harmoko, "to explain Malaysia's mistake" in airing the film on the killing of protesters in the East Timor capital of Dili last November.

An Indonesian youth movement with close links to the ruling Golkar party had demanded an official apology from the Malaysian government "for having interfered in (Indonesia's) domestic affairs."

The foreign TV documentary aired by the state-owned radio and television of Malaysia (RTM) last Wednesday - picked up by Indonesian viewers with satellite dishes - showed Indonesian troops firing at a group of demonstrators in Dili.

Jakarta officially announced that 50 people were killed but independent estimates place the death toll at more than 100. one of the victims was Kamal Bamadhaj, a Malaysian.

The programme included an interview with a human rights activist who had recently visited the former Portuguese colony, invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed in 1976. an East Timor independence movement has been fighting the Indonesian army since.

Indonesian press reports on Friday quoted Ais Anantama, a member of the Indonesian youth reform force (AMPI) as saying: "the government of Malaysia should explain the background of broadcasting such reports."

Anantama, son of a former attorney-general, quoted the Malaysian television reporter as saying Indonesia had "slaughtered East Timorese as they would have killed animals." the youth leader demanded that Kuala Lumpur apologise to Jakarta.

Disclosing Mohamed's trip, Malaysian deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba said: "the screening of the film could be a result of a mistake by one or two RTM staff and we hope it will not affect bilateral relations between Malaysia and Indonesia."

Ghafar said the government would conduct an investigation and take action against those involved in the broadcast.

Mohamed is expected to return on Wednesday and submit a report to the cabinet on the reaction of the Indonesian authorities.

Diplomats say relations between the two countries are "delicate" at best and Kuala Lumpur has been careful to keep from getting involved in the separatist problems of its powerful neighbour.

Early last month, Malaysian prime minister Mahathir Mohamad said villagers from Indonesia's Aceh province fleeing to Malaysia to escape the war between the Indonesian army and separatists would be considered illegal immigrants and repatriated.

Dozens of Acehnese have fled to Malaysia since march and are camping in makeshift tents at the compound of the United Nations high commissioner for refugees (UNHCR) here.

Indonesia has been trying to persuade the 43 Acehnese to return home. the Acehnese want to be resettled in a third country after being refused asylum by Malaysia.



Mahathir said the Acehnese would be asked to go home as Indonesia had assured Malaysia no action would be taken against them.

"However, we will not force those who genuinely fear being persecuted to return. but we will liaise with Indonesia to ensure their safety if they are asked to return," said Mahathir.

The Indonesia *Angkatan Bersenjata* newspaper quoted Golkar MP imam Sudarwo as saying he believed the broadcast was aired without the knowledge of the Malaysian government.

Sudarwo also said he believed Mahathir had a "deep understanding" of the East Timor issue.

Meanwhile, reports from New York last week said a civil rights group had filed a suit against Maj.-Gen. Sintong Panjaitan in Boston on behalf of Helen Todd, the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj.

Panjaitan, who was the head of the Bali-based military command in charge of security in East Timor at the time of the Dili massacre, now lives in Boston.

The Centre for Constitutional Rights accused Panjaitan of being one of several Indonesian military leaders "responsible for a programme of systematic human rights violations."

### **MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS DILI TRAGEDY CONDEMNED**

*Press release from SUARAM, the leading human rights organisation in Malaysia. 30 September 1992. Abridged*

The unintentional screening of the Dili Tragedy in East Timor in the program 'Dunia Jam 10' (World at 10 o'clock) by Television Malaysia has become a hot issue. Malaysian Information Minister Datok Mohammad Rahmat, immediately rushed over to meet his counterpart, the Indonesian Information Minister Harmoko to apologise and express regrets. This was done on the instruction of Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohammad.

The Dili Tragedy took place on 12 November 1991 during the funeral of two Timorese youths. The Indonesian military started shooting at the mourners and this resulted in the killing of 100 killed and many others injured, detained or 'missing.' A Malaysian, Kamal Bamadhaj was among the persons reported killed.

The attitude and actions of the Malaysian government with regards to the screening of the Dili Tragedy is hard to accept without coming to the conclusion that Malaysia and Indonesia have come to some sort of agreement that Malaysian media will not report issues of oppression and abuse of

human rights that occur in Indonesia. If true, this is a trend that should be criticised..

SUARAM hopes that Malaysia takes a stand to uphold justice and human rights. As such, Malaysia should not only condemn oppressions in countries like Bosnia and Burma but should also take a similar position with its immediate neighbour, Indonesia.

SUARAM calls upon the government of Malaysia to grant the media freedom to report the truth. They should not be made the victims of press censorship.

Charles Hector, Coordinator, SUARAM

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### **HILL AND KNOWLTON – SELLING DEATH**

*By Aaron Doyle, The ACTivist (Toronto) 8#10, October 1992*

ACT for Disarmament got a strange phone call earlier this year – one we eventually discovered was from Hill and Knowlton, the controversial public relations firm who were instrumental in swinging public opinion in favour of the Gulf War.

As the New York Times reported, Hill and Knowlton, working for the government of Kuwait, spread the false story that Iraqi troops had snatched hundreds of Kuwaiti babies from their incubators and left them to die. The bogus story was part of a massive Hill and Knowlton p.r. campaign that helped lead the United Nations giving the green light for the Gulf War.

On March 9, a woman phoned the ACT Toronto office and, without identifying herself, asked for copies of recent press releases from the East Timor Alert Network. When questioned by ACT's Maggie Helwig, the caller said she was "just doing some research."

Finally, after being asked a number of times about her identity, the caller admitted that she worked for Hill and Knowlton's Ottawa office, though she would only give her first name.

Why the call? It seems that Hill and Knowlton are also hired 'p.r. guns' for the government of Indonesia, which has killed at least 200,000 Timorese people since invading East Timor in 1975.

The call to ACT came shortly after Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas visited Canada in February. Alatas was on a world tour in an attempt to counter bad publicity over last November's massacre of unarmed Timorese protestors by Indonesian government troops at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

However, Brian Hemming, general manager of the firm's Toronto office, told The ACTivist that "Hill and Knowlton has worked for the Indonesian economic minis-

try helping to promote investment opportunities. We've had nothing to do with the human rights issue." No one from the Ottawa office was available for comment.

Hill and Knowlton is one of the world's biggest multinational p.r. firms, with offices in Toronto, Ottawa, Calgary, Vancouver, Washington, and about 60 other locations around the world. It is owned by a massive British-based parent company, WPP, which also owns Decima Research, pollsters for the Tories in the 1988 election, and the lobbying firm Public Affairs International, along with two major ad agencies.

After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Hill and Knowlton was hired by the Kuwaiti government, through the funnel group Citizens for a Free Kuwait, for more than \$10 million, to spread tales of Iraqi atrocities and gather public support for a military intervention.

Hemming denied that the dead-babies story was a deliberate hoax, even though the key source was the 15-year-old daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to the United States. "To the best of our abilities we tried to confirm it, and our people believed it to be true."

Hill and Knowlton has a lengthy list of other dubious clients.

The firm has done public relations for the government of Turkey, another regime with a brutal record of human rights violations, including torture and killing of its own citizens and genocidal campaigns against the Kurdish minority.

Hill and Knowlton lobbies, in Washington, for nuclear manufacturer General Electric.

Catholic bishops in the U.S. have hired Hill and Knowlton for anti-abortion campaigning.

Other Hill and Knowlton clients have included the forces opposed to Ontario's NDP provincial government, such as "Project Economic Growth," a group opposing the reform of labour laws. However, Hemming said that Hill and Knowlton's involvement with Project Economic Growth had run its course.

Hill and Knowlton bailed out on another infamous client, the Church of Scientology, shortly after a Time magazine article revealed their connection and called the church "a ruthless global scam." Hemming admits that H&K's involvement with Scientology was "a mistake."

Hill and Knowlton has many close links with the political elite. Craig Fuller, who was chief executive at H&K until very recently, was George Bush's Chief of Staff when Bush was vice-president.

In Canada, Paul Curley, former vice chairman of H&K, is also former national director of the Progressive Conservative

party. Rick Anderson, general manager of H&K's Ottawa office, discussed his allegiance to the Reform Party in a recent Financial Post article.

Despite this grim record, Hemmings insists "We would not work for any client who is doing anything illegal, or which is not in the public interest."