

# Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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Because of the large number of documents immediately after the capture of resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, items on this subject from November 20-29 have been published separately in volume 17.

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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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## XANANA GUSMAO CAPTURED

The large amount of material from November 20-29, just after Xanana's capture, is published separately in East Timor Documents Volume #17. This compilation picks up where that one leaves off.

### TIMOR: TIME FOR RECONCILIATION

*Sydney Morning Herald, 24 November 1992. Unabridged*

*This is an unusual editorial for the Sydney Morning Herald. Ines (Fretilin/NSW).*

To the numerology-conscious Indonesians, the number 17 has an almost mystical significance, a consequence of the fact that their republic was proclaimed, amid great upheaval and uncertainty, on August 17, 1945. To the East Timorese, who proclaimed their republic in equally turbulent circumstances 17 years ago this Friday, independence has brought not the happiness and increased prosperity that has been Indonesia's lot but 17 years of despair under Indonesian occupation. That despair has been exacerbated by the captured last Friday on Xanana Gusmao, the Fretilin leader.

East Timor's resistance movement has been fortunate to have had the services of two outstanding leaders in the years since 1975. Nicolau Lobato lead the organisation from the time of the Indonesian invasion in 1975 until, four years later, he was cornered and killed by a vastly larger Indonesian force. his death was celebrated with indecent relish in the Indonesian press, a tribute, in a way, to his effectiveness as a guerilla leader during the most brutal phase of the Indonesian occupation, a time which saw the death of perhaps 100,000 people. Xanana Gusmao, who assumed the leadership after Lobato's death, wisely (and humanely) husbanded his limited military force, placing the emphasis on political work among disaffected young Timorese in Dili. Local power holders reacted to that tactic with the massacre a year ago at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

On the face of it, Xanana's capture may seem an insurmountable blow to the East Timorese cause. It need not be. Jakarta has an opportunity to break with the threadbare policies of the past, which have depended in the final analysis on simply crushing the Timorese in body and spirit. Those policies have alienated the people of East Timor.

They have attracted international condemnation.

In some ways Xanana will be more of a thorn in Indonesia's side now that he is in captivity; Fretilin supporters are already promoting him as the new Nelson Mandela (sic). Indonesia can hardly torture its prisoner. Xanana's death or injury would cause outrage in Western Europe, North America and Australia; even Japan may find hard to turn a blind eye. If their demands are met, Xanana's fate would be bleak. The Indonesian courts have been dishing out unconscionable sentences to unarmed protesters while all but exonerating soldiers who opened fire on them. If demonstrators get long terms in prison, what could a successful guerrilla leader expect? Australians can only hope Indonesia does not go down that path. We may have recognised Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. The UN has not. Nor have many UN members. That makes Xanana a freedom fighter, not a criminal.

This is the time for justice, not revenge. It is a time to negotiate with East Timor's most outstanding leader, not incarcerate him. After 17 years, the East Timorese should be given a say in their future. There is no-one better able to represent them than Xanana. Indonesia should treat the Timorese leader with the consideration that the Dutch extended to President Sukarno when he surrendered in 1948. President Suharto, who played a key role in Indonesia's armed resistance after Sukarno's detention and who never seemed more than lukewarm about East Timor, has been presented with an opportunity to take a fresh approach on Timor.

### TOUR DOWN YOUR REPORTING, MEDIA TOLD

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

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

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

discredit Indonesia abroad whereas the matter is not of great significance.

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

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

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

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

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

Even so, ABRI has given a guarantee that Xanana can have a lawyer and a defence counsel at his trial. One person who may defend Xanana says that the trial is not expected to take place earlier than February next year.

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

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

### JAKARTA ALLEGES FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR REBELS

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

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

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

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

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

In Jakarta, General Try Sutrisno, the armed forces commander, told a parliamentary hearing yesterday that military action had left the East Timorese rebels with no strength at all. The general said the rebel had tens of thousands of weapons when

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976, "but now their strength has sharply decreased."

Nurhadi Purwosaputro, the armed forces' spokesman, told reporters the rebels now numbered about 150. He denied allegations by Amnesty International that the military had arrested relatives of Xanana.

### EAST TIMOR'S LOST LEADER

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

The leader of resistance against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, Xanana Gusmao, was taken prisoner on November 20th. Soldiers found him asleep in a cave under a house on the outskirts of Dili, the capital. He is now being questioned. Indonesia's President Suharto said he will be treated "according to the law." An army chief said Mr Gusmao could face the death penalty, but a presidential spokesman said he would not. The spokesman denied that Mr Gusmao had been tortured. Mr Gusmao, who is 45, seemed well when he was shown on Indonesian television on November 23rd.

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

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

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

The tough response of the army to raids by Fretilin has spilled over to the population as a whole. Stringent security checks

are a part of life. There is semi-official tolerance of gangs of right-wing toughs who have created terror in the main towns. "The generation of young people who have grown up under Indonesian rule naturally question a style of government that makes them live in a climate of constant fear," says a diplomat who visits the province regularly.

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

### FRENCH COMMUNISTS SUPPORT XANANA

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

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

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

Little-known Committee for the Defence of Freedoms and Human Rights in France and in the World, (President Georges Marchais, the Secretary General of the French Communist Party) wrote on Nov. 25 also to Roland Dumas to ask him to use his influence to act in favour of the liberation of Xanana and other Timorese arrested, and more generally [in favour of] the end of repression.

MRAP (Movement Against Racism and for Friendship among People) wrote on Nov. 24 to Francois Mitterrand to ask him "respectfully to intervene by Mr General Suharto to ask that the individual rights of

Xanana Gusmao, the now imprisoned leader of the Timorese resistance, be respected." "It seems to us that the violation of human rights in East Timor, for 17 years, is just as condemnable as the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein's army and that it should normally lead to true international sanctions."

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

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

*EXTERNAL (for general distribution)*

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

### INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR:

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

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

Indonesian authorities have provided conflicting accounts of Xanana's precise whereabouts, but unofficial sources indicate that he is currently held incommunicado at the Wisma Bayung, the eastern Indonesia headquarters of the Armed Forces Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS-ABRI). The Wisma Bayung is located near the airport outside Denpasar, Bali. On 26 November a military spokesperson said that Xanana was in police custody in Bali, but when asked for confirmation, the Regional Police Chief

responsible for Bali said he "had not yet received any official report that Xanana had been handed over to the police." In a separate statement to the press, the Indonesian Foreign Minister reportedly claimed that Xanana was well and in Dili.

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

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

### FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

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

### APPEALS TO:

For appeals regarding Xanana Gusmao only:

Lt. Col. Hasibuan

[Salutation: Dear Lt. Col. Hasibuan]

Wisma Bayung

Denpasar, Bali Indonesia

Telegrams: Lt. Col. Hasibuan Wisma

Bayung, Denpasar, Indonesia

For appeals regarding all the detainees, including Xanana Gusmao:

General Try Sutrisno [Salutation: Dear General Sutrisno]

Commander of the Armed Forces

Markas Besar ABRI

Cilangkap, East Jakarta Indonesia

Telegrams: Gen. Try Sutrisno Jakarta,

Indonesia Faxes: + 62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ);

+ 62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ);

+ 62 21 35 6404

Maj. Gen. Suwardi (note corrected name)

[Salutation: Dear Maj. Gen. Suwardi]

Markas Besa KODAM IX Udayana,

Denpasar Bali, Indonesia

Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Suwardi, Markas

Besar ABRI, Udayana,

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

### PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

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

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## HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA

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### AMNESTY BARRED AGAIN

According to a November 6 Reuter story datelined Sydney, Indonesia has blocked a planned visit to troubled East Timor by Amnesty International on the anniversary of last year's massacre by Indonesian troops.

The London-based group said it applied to visit the former Portuguese colony and quoted Indonesian authorities saying such a visit "would create problems ... for the Timorese people."

"One year after the Santa Cruz massacre ... there is serious concern, amidst reports of continuing violations in East Timor, that human rights abuses will increase around the anniversary of the massacre," Amnesty said in a statement.



**AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL  
REFUSED ACCESS TO EAST TIMOR**

*Amnesty International International Secretariat, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom*

*Press Release from Sydney Nov. 6, 1992*

Amnesty International today expressed regret that Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Mr Sabam Siagian has refused to help an Amnesty International observation team to visit East Timor on the grounds that "it would create problems...for the Timorese people."

Amnesty International contacted the ambassador on 3 November 1992 asking him to intervene personally to allow the organization to observe the human rights situation in East Timor over the period of the anniversary of the Dili massacre.

Amnesty International believes that heightened tensions around the anniversary of the Dili Massacre on November 12 have increased the need for an independent humanitarian presence in the former Portuguese colony. "The refusal to allow the recent Australian Parliamentary delegation access to East Timor on "security" grounds is an indication of this tension and the consequent need for the presence of an independent observation team," the organization said.

Earlier this year the Indonesian government endorsed a statement by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights - of which Indonesia is a member - which requested it to "facilitate access to East Timor for additional humanitarian and human rights organisations." In its application, Amnesty International asked Ambassador Siagian for his help in implementing the spirit behind this statement.

One year after the Santa Cruz Massacre in which at least 100 people were killed by Indonesian security forces and after which at least another 100 remain missing, there is serious concern, amidst reports of continuing violations in East Timor, that human rights abuses will increase around the anniversary of the massacre.

Amnesty International has therefore offered to send a mission to observe the implementation of the human rights commitments by the Indonesian government.

Commenting on Ambassador Siagian's position, Amnesty International Campaign Director, Andre Frankovits said, "this denial of access to East Timor, together with the suggestion that the motives of the Australian parliamentary delegation also recently denied access were to "stir up trouble," puts in question Indonesia's commitment to the decisions of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights."

**AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S  
REQUEST TO VISIT EAST TIMOR  
REJECTED AGAIN**

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

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

In a letter to Amnesty International's Secretary General, dated 17 November 1992, the Director General of Political Affairs of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the government "appreciated the intention" of the proposed visit, but had to be "very selective" in agreeing to such visits because they "...tend to occasion some excitement among the people..." of East Timor. It added that the East Timorese people "...need more time to settle down to a calm atmosphere and recover from the traumatic event of 12 November last year." The letter concluded that a "...high frequency of such visits will not be conducive to our efforts to normalize the situation as soon as possible."

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

**ASEAN HUMAN RIGHTS  
VIOLATIONS CONDEMNED**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It called on Singapore to abolish preventive detention and urged it to take every step to ensure full protection of the rights of peaceful assembly, free association and speech.

## THE EMILIA GUSMAO QUESTION

### EMILIA GUSMAO IN A CONFUSING NETWORK

October 10, 1992 *Diario de Noticias*  
Original language: Portuguese

Emilia Gusmao left some of the resistance leaders astonished by an episode that could affect the solidarity with Timor and lead to scandal. Ramos Horta recognised yesterday that it had been naive to promote Emilia's figure since last year a mistake that was made out of good faith and generosity: "It was me who took the initiative to talk to her and involve her in the struggle. And it was me who spoke to the leader of PS, Marques da Costa, to support her first arrival. She said that she was the wife of ..... (missed). I believed and still believe that, and I was touched by what happened to her while she was in Timor."

"It's a confusion and I don't know how she will get rid of it," said Mari Alkatiri, the person in charge of FRETILIN in Maputo, yesterday.

By telephone, Alkatiri said that before the controversy he was also expecting Emilia Gusmao's visit to the Mozambiquean capital.

However, Alkatiri repeated what minutes earlier he had told to DN, by Abilio Araujo: Emilia Gusmao neither belongs to FRETILIN nor the resistance.

### ARAUJO: EMILIA GUSMAO SHOULD HAVE WAITED TO MEET WITH RAMOS-HORTA

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

*Publico, October 13. Original language Portuguese.*

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

The declarations of Emilia Gusmao to RTP and SIC [the two Portuguese TV channels] from the moment of her arrival in Lisbon, harvested the most divergent reactions. Ramos-Horta, the representative of

commander Xanana Gusmao, reacted by announcing the suspension of the lobbying services he had hired both in the United States and in Geneva. Let's mention in passing, that it was a moderate reaction in view of the gravity of the assertions professed by the guerrilla commander's wife.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This way, we are facing something very deep and important and which should deserve our redoubled attention: the respect for the donators' purpose and will, whose symbolic value – support of the guerrilla fighters –, is the one which surpasses many times the ten thousand 'contos.' This sentiment cannot be swindled by anybody, as it comes from a posture of citizens who defy the lack of diligence of governments and states which do not search for means to defend the defenseless East Timorese people.

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

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

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

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

## SCENES FROM A BAD TASTE “SOAP OPERA”

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

*By José Ramos Horta (Special Representative of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance) in the Portuguese-language Diário de Notícias of Oct. 23.*

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

During the last two weeks, Portuguese society was subjected to a bad taste “soap opera” in which the protagonists were two very bad actors. On one side, Mrs. Emilia Gusmao and, on the other side, the one who writes these lines.

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

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

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

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

a journalist? Was he a politician? Had he, has he, any “special mission” to accomplish? Was he the Pink Panther in action?

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

Throughout the year of 1992, those responsible for some of those initiatives had the courtesy of inviting [I guess, the line is blurred] the CNRM’s Special Representative for the delivery of the donations, some of them voluminous, others modest in amount but enormous in sentiment. During two press conferences held in Lisbon (one in June, other in August), I granted to journalists and guests not only a descriptive list of the funds entrusted to myself, as well as personal letters from commander Xanana Gusmao, which, meanwhile, he had made to arrive to me at the same time I [this is ambiguous; it could be “he” instead of “I,” as in Portuguese we usually don’t use the subject] was receiving the money, addressed the guerrilla-fighters [I guess, it is another blurred line].

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

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

I informed the responsible people upon my decision to use those funds to cover the expenses of the diplomatic and political actions in Washington and Geneva, but I decided that the CDPM should continue to manage the money [another blurred line], disbursing only when necessary. Until now,

around 1600 ‘contos’ [approx. 13 thousand USD] have been disbursed.

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

A group of East Timorese delivered to me two thousand dollars about one year ago. This amount was sent to East Timor and delivered to guerrilla units “1” and “4,” with confirmation of receipt, through a letter from Xanana Gusmao, a video and tens of guerrilla photographs.

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

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

Our Portuguese friends who made the noble initiative of the fund-raising campaign for the Resistance, tried to accomplish exactly the objectives of ... [now it is impossible to read] to East Timor. On my side, and on Xanana’s side, we ignored that clause of the campaign, and, when elucidated about that situation, I accepted the fact. The Portuguese in charge, Rui Oliveira Costa and Alvaro Bezeza, as well as the other promoters of the campaign, decided, however, to leave to me the task of directing

the funds to East Timor. This decision results from everybody's will to overcome the impasse. I am sorry that our Portuguese friends had to deal with a situation they didn't create.

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

## EMILIA GUSMAO: WHO DOES SHE REPRESENT?

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

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

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

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

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

Ramos Horta reacted immediately and declared that the promotion of Emilia Gusmao's image, since one year ago, was "naive." FRETILIN and UDT, in Portugal, sympathize with Ramos Horta.

## CONTACTS

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

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

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

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

## OLIVEIRA E COSTA

Rui Oliveira e Costa says to Sabado "about two weeks ago I received a call from a common friend of mine, saying that Emilia Gusmao wanted to come to Portugal to talk to the Timorese, Portuguese political authorities, and church officials and to deal with the "Caixa Geral de Deposito" account. Oliveira e Costa did not want, however, to reveal the identity of his "common friend."

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

The CGD account's raising will, however, be effected only at the end of the month. Emilia Gusmao's return to Australia is foreseen to be on 28th. At the beginning of the week it was predicted that the ex-wife of Xanana Gusmao will depart tomorrow to

Maputo for a meeting with Mari Alkatiri and the other representatives of Fretilin abroad.

## MISUNDERSTANDINGS

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

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

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

## SITUATION IN TIMOR

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

Last month several persons were arrested, among them two.... (missed) formation of Paulino Gama, of Timorese International Secretary for Human Rights. Indonesia political police arrested, at 9:00 am on September 1, Francisco Xavier Pereira Carlos, an engineer, while he was teaching in a class of Timor Polytechnic University. Also arrested was his brother Gaspar Xavier Pereira Carlos, student of Kupang University (West Timor), who was on holiday in Dili. Both were accused to be "couriers" of the Timorese resistance and their whereabouts, until now, remains unknown. Accused also of being "couriers" of the Timorese resistance, was Joaquim Moniz, student in Surabaya University, on holiday in Dili and Agostinho Pereira, ex-student of Colegio de Sao Jose.

Established contact.... (missed) in Dili, leads to the aggravation of the situation. Subsequent to the warfare actions in the Viqueque district, the Indonesian army reinforced their presence in the south coast of the island and they are preparing for operations of "compression" against warfare. The recruitment of the Indonesian army activity emerges in the aftermath of the rape, last

October 8, of 4 people hosts of the resistance, in the Dilor locality.

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

**WHAT TIMOR NEED LESS, NOW, IS THE MISUNDERSTANDING AMONG ITS REPRESENTATIVES.**

*The following correction on names comes from a person who must be anonymous.*

*The names of the two brothers arrested, as written in the translation of the Sabado article previously posted in this threat, Francisco Xavier Pereira Carlos and Gaspar Xavier Pereira Carlos, are incorrect. Their correct names are Alberto Xavier Pereira Carlos and Gaspar Luis Xavier Carlos. Francisco is their brother who was killed in the November 12 massacre, according to the Paz e Possivle victims list (see page 85).*

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## EVENTS IN PORTUGAL AND EUROPE

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### LISBON STILL BLOCKING EC-ASEAN AGREEMENT

Brussels, Oct. 28 (ips) – despite pressure from a majority of the 12 European community (EC) partners, Portugal has refused to lift its boycott on negotiations for new trade and economic cooperation with the six ASEAN countries.

Future cooperation between the EC and the association of south east Asian nations (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines) will be discussed in Manila at the annual two day EC-ASEAN meeting of foreign ministers, which starts Thursday.

“There is no way that Portugal will change its policy in Manila,” a spokesman for the foreign ministry in Lisbon told ips.

In recent months most of the EC's foreign ministers have put Portugal under pressure to give its approval for a new agreement. “But Portugal refused to give in,” a representative of commissioner Abel Matutes, who is responsible for the relations with ASEAN, said.

Last July during a meeting of EC foreign ministers in Brussels, Portuguese foreign minister Joao Deus de Pinheiro blocked a decision to give the European commission a mandate to negotiate a new agreement with the six countries.

“Portugal still demands that Indonesia openly admits that it brutally violated human rights in east Timor. Lisbon also demands that Indonesia withdraw its troops from its former colony and holds a referendum on the question of whether the east Timorese want to be part of Indonesia or be independent,” said a Portuguese foreign office spokesperson.

Indonesian troops invaded the Portuguese overseas territory in 1975 and three years later annexed the island as its 27th province. According to a United Nations resolution, east Timor is still the administrative responsibility of Portugal.

Last November a pro-independence demonstration in the capital, Dili, was bloodily suppressed by the Indonesian army. Human rights organisations reported that at least 100 people were killed. an Indonesian investigation team put the figure at about 50.

The massacre was strongly condemned internationally and a number of EC countries suspended their development aid to Indonesia. most normalised relations after Indonesian president Suharto took a series of measures to repair the damage.

He appointed a presidential investigation team, sacked and court martialled all responsible generals in East Timor and appointed new commanders.

EC foreign ministers welcomed the measures and were prepared to sign a new trade and economic agreement with Indonesia and its five ASEAN partners, but Portugal has stuck to its demands.

“It is absurd that one country is blocking an agreement with a regional organisation which a majority of the EC considers a very important trade partner,” an official of the Dutch foreign ministry said.

Sources close to the European commission say that Dutch diplomats tried to mediate between Portugal and Indonesia, but failed to bring the two parties together.

ASEAN is a fast-growing market of more than 330 million people with an annual economic growth of eight percent, and is the third most important EC trade partner after the united states and japan. trade volume between the two blocs in 1991 was about 50 billion dollars.

The six countries are eager to renew the old agreement, signed in 1980, because they want guarantees of access to a border-free EC market, which will be in operation from January.

In the proposed new treaty with ASEAN, however, there is a paragraph making promotion of human rights, support for the process of democratization, good governance and environmental protection conditions for economic cooperation with the EC.

President Suharto said during the non-aligned movement summit in September in Jakarta that Indonesia and its ASEAN partners would never accept such conditions.

ASEAN diplomats in Brussels said that the success of 10th ASEAN meeting in Manila depends on whether the EC is prepared to accept ASEAN as an ‘equal dialogue partner.’

“If we talk about cooperation, then we talk about genuine cooperation. we do not want to be treated as beggars. We do not want to be taught what human rights are,” an Indonesian diplomat said.

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### EC-ASEAN FAIL TO RENEW ACCORD

*BBC. 30 October 1992 Dateline: Manila. By Vaudine England. Summary*

The tenth ministerial meeting between the European Community and the Association of South-East Asian Nations in Manila, failed to sign a new economic cooperation agreement, to replace the existing one signed in 1980 because of disagreements over human rights. The failure to reach accord was glossed over by the ministers. [At their last meeting earlier this year, the accord could not be renewed because of objections by Portugal at the failure of Indonesia to enable any progress in East Timor.]

EC Commissioner Abel Matutes made light of the failure, saying that the points agreed on Friday reflected the substance of what a new agreement might have included anyway.

A joint declaration was produced which managed to find a compromise on wording regarding human rights. The declaration finally emerged from talks some diplomats feared would break down. For the Europeans there were four paragraphs about the importance of environmental protection, including a precise reference to the management of tropical rainforests. For the Portuguese there was a section on human rights, but for the Indonesians there was no specific reference to East Timor.

## PORTUGAL ABANDONS TIMOR REFERENDUM

*Comment: In our estimation, Portugal wishes to act strictly according to its call for 'talks without pre-conditions,' and may be trying to show the greatest possible flexibility towards Indonesia. It is jumping the gun, therefore, to say that Portugal has abandoned a referendum. The key element in Portugal's position, also reflected in this item, is to stick by its demand for Timorese participation in the talks. – tapol*

According to an October 30 Reuter report datelined Lisbon, Portugal could abandon its demand for a referendum to decide the future of East Timor, a senior foreign ministry source remarked on Friday, October 30.

The source noted that Portugal's latest proposals for solving the dispute with Indonesia submitted to the UN in January merely call for "a just global solution that is acceptable to the international community."

Portugal proposed talks without pre-conditions with Indonesia that would include "representatives" of East Timor's 750,000 inhabitants.

The Portuguese source said that if these Timorese representatives accepted a settlement worked out in such negotiations, this could avoid the need for a referendum.

"Publicly we are still saying that we would like a referendum, but that is an opening position for negotiations," the source said.

## PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTRY CALLS REUTERS REPORT A 'MISINTERPRETATION'

*BBC monitoring, 30 October 1992.*

### Summary

Portugal's Catholic Radio Renascenca has reported the Portuguese Foreign Ministry as saying that a Reuter report that Portugal may abandon its call for a referendum in East Timor is a misinterpretation. The Ministry told the Radio: "Nobody has abandoned the referendum demand. What is happening is that Portugal cannot present it as a condition since it wants to negotiate with Indonesia without pre-conditions."

Fretilin's Abilio Araujo told the Radio it would not make sense for Portugal to abandon the referendum idea.

## TIMORESE PEOPLE IN PORTUGAL STUDY EAST TIMOR

### WHILE PRO-INDONESIA GOVERNOR ACKNOWLEDGES RESISTANCE

*From "O Publico," October 28 Translated and commented [ ] by Joao Pedro Martins, Lisbon, Portugal.*

The new pro-Indonesia governor of East-Timor, Abilio Soares, warned the yesterday the authorities in Jakarta that acts of violence may happen, in first anniversary of the massacre of Santa Cruz at November 12th. "We must be prudent, because the parents of the young people killed may feel sadness and anger," said the governor to reporters in the Indonesian capital.

Soares refused to confirm information about the military tightening the security in East-Timor in an attempt to avoid demonstrations by the occasion of the 1st anniversary of the massacre where 180+ people died, according to eye witnesses - 50 dead and 65 missing, in the official version -. The new governor said he agreed with this tightening of the security, because "there are still people that don't accept the integration of the territory in Indonesia."

The juridical and political aspects of the East-Timor conflict constituted the main core of a 4-week seminary held in the Jean Monnet Center, in Lisbon, and in which participated over 30 Timor/Portugal people.

[ etc, data on the seminary ]

The initiative of the seminary was the solidarity association "A Paz é Possivel em Timor-Lest" (Peace is possible in East-Timor), and had the support of the General-Direction of Development, from the European Communities Commission.

## EC-ASEAN MINISTERS CEMENT ECONOMIC RELATIONS, SIDESTEP HUMAN RIGHTS

Manila, Philippines (Oct. 30) UPI - Sidestepping the issue of human rights, European Community and Southeast Asian foreign ministers Friday cemented cooperation in four broad areas to strengthen their burgeoning economic relations.

In a joint statement after a one-day meeting, the ministers agreed to improve trade consultations and enhance industrial cooperation between the two groups.

The EC ministers also agreed to an ASEAN request for better access to credit facilities through the European Investment Bank on projects of mutual interest and

limited participation in European scientific research and development.

Philippine Foreign Secretary Roberto Romulo said the consensus over the four points, which had been raised by ASEAN during last year's ministerial meeting in Brussels, has mooted the need for a new economic cooperation treaty.

Signing of the proposed treaty scheduled next year to replace a 1980 pact has been stalled because of Portugal's objection to Indonesia's human rights record in Lisbon's former colony of East Timor.

"The things that we asked for in the past we're getting it, all of them ... We're marching forward to a more meaningful relationship," Romulo said.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, said trade between the EC and ASEAN, which groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore and the Philippines, has reached a record of more than \$50 billion.

The ministers set aside debate over human rights, an issue that has threatened to scuttle future economic cooperation, and agreed to settle differences through negotiations.

Portugal, a member of the 12-nation European Community, had earlier sought to include in a joint statement "strong language" against Indonesia on East Timor, which Jakarta forcibly annexed in 1976, a senior Philippine diplomat said Thursday.

Indonesian troops opened fire at a pro-independence rally in November last year, killing dozens of Timorese protesters in the East Timor capital of Dili.

In the joint declaration, both sides agreed that the dispute "should be settled in a peaceful and negotiated manner in accordance with the spirit of dialogue and cooperation." East Timor was never mentioned.

Hurd refuted suggestions by some ASEAN ministers that the West was imposing its standards of human rights and democracy on Asian nations.

"It's clearly not so. We are not seeking to impose particular models or particular examples and say this is how it must work," he told reporters. "Every country builds its freedom from its own history," he said, adding there was "no acrimony" in the discussions.

The statement also skirted earlier calls by the EC for political reforms in Burma. The declaration merely "expressed hope that the Myanmar government would make further progress toward political and economic reforms."

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## PORTUGAL: DAY OF REFLECTION

According to November 11 IPS report datelined Lisbon, Portuguese President Mario Soares has proposed "a day of reflection" on Nov. 12 to commemorate the first anniversary of the massacre of several hundred pro-independence supporters in East Timor by Indonesian soldiers.

The president, who will take part in an act of remembrance at a high school in Lisbon, has suggested to the Prime Minister Anibal Avaco e Silva that a "day of reflection" be held in schools throughout Portugal.

In a message to the Prime Minister, Soares asked that a programme dedicated to East Timor be transmitted over state television in prime time rather than at an hour of low viewing ratings, as originally scheduled.

Political affairs analyst Adelino Gomes believes the presidential initiative could arouse controversy because "the television program is anti-Indonesian in tone, but also anti-colonialist, and is intended to get rid of the idea that the homeland of the Timorese was Portuguese."

East Timor was formerly a Portuguese colony. It is located in the Javanese archipelago and was invaded by Indonesia in December 1975 before being annexed in 1976.

According to figures supplied by the human rights organisation Amnesty International, the annexation was followed by the death of about 210,000 of an original population of 650,000 inhabitants.

On Nov. 12, 1991, the Indonesian army opened fire in the capital Dili on a funeral procession killing a large number of mourners, accompanying the cortege of a student who died in police custody.

Figures issued at the end of 1992 by Amnesty indicated that the incident and other repression by the authorities had resulted in "between 150 and 200 deaths," thus supporting the figures issued by the anti-Indonesian resistance movement.

The Franco-Portuguese humanitarian organisation 'Peace in Timor,' last Tuesday issued a detailed list of 271 dead, giving their full names and age.

The organisation has also supplied IPS with a further list of 382 wounded people and 250 missing people who are unaccounted for. An accompanying communiqué denounces the fact that "hundreds of prisoners are being held, mostly youths."

According to this same organisation "this data gives the massacre of Santa Cruz a magnitude which does not permit it to be

reduced to a mere accident provoked by a few military who got out of control."

Initially Jakarta admitted to 19 victims, then accepted the figure of 50 dead, "under pressure from Washington," according to resistance sources.

Last September Indonesia agreed to a high-level meeting with Portugal to work out a solution for East Timor, as proposed by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The foreign minister of Portugal, at the time Joao de Deus Pinheiro, and Indonesia, Ali Alatas, held a first "exploratory summit" to seek "a just solution." The next meeting between Alatas and the new Portuguese foreign minister, José Manuel Durao Barroso, is scheduled for Dec. 17.

Indonesia considers "irreversible" its annexation of East Timor, describing its role as "liberator of the territory colonised for 450 years by the Portuguese."

Portugal claims the right to exercise its role as an "adminstrating power of the territory until the holding of a referendum on its independence" as conferred on it by a resolution of the UN Security Council on Dec. 22, 1975.

Independence activists of all shades of political opinion, organised in a national council of resistance (CNR), maintain that "The Timorese, of Polynesian origin, have nothing to do ethnically with the Indonesians," whom they consider as their "new colonisers."

The CNR includes many activists who fought Lisbon's rule before 1975. It urges that Portugal takes "the legitimate role conferred on it by the UN and take international diplomatic action to permit self-determination."

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## PORTUGAL REMEMBERS SANTA CRUZ

According to a November 12 Reuter story by Robert Powell datelined Lisbon, Portugal reiterated its demand for self-determination in East Timor on Thursday, the first anniversary of an Indonesian massacre in its former colony.

President Mario Soares and the government both issued statements demanding that the territory of 750,000 people, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, be allowed to decide its own future.

An organisation called Peace is Possible in East Timor planted crosses in a Lisbon park for each of the 271 people whom it said were killed in the incident.

It also published a three-page advertisement in Portuguese newspapers naming the 271 dead, a further 382 who were wounded and 250 who disappeared.

Soares repeated Portugal's determination to continue pressing for the independence of East Timor.

"We cannot accept any arrangement that does not recognise the right to self-determination and independence for Timor," Soares told the Lisbon radio station TSF.

The Portuguese government said in a statement that the massacre of the demonstrators, who were attending a memorial service for a slain pro-independence activist, had heightened international awareness of Indonesian repression in East Timor.

"It is imperative to find a negotiated and peaceful solution which will allow the process of decolonisation to be completed in the territory," the statement said.

Such a settlement should "fully respect the religious and cultural identity and political rights of the people, including their right to freely choose their political destiny," it added.

The Portuguese government ordered all schools in the country to hold a debate on East Timor on Thursday and President Soares took part in one of them.

Parliament also held a special debate on East Timor and politicians ranging from Communists to right-wing Christian Democrats took the floor to condemn Indonesian rule and demand that the Timorese be allowed to decide their own future.

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## PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT LEADS DAY OF MOURNING

Lisbon, Nov. 12 (ips) – Portuguese president Mario Soares Thursday lead a day of "reflection and mourning" held in commemoration of the first anniversary of the massacre of pro-independence Timorese by the Indonesian army.

the event was organized by Portuguese groups and organizations representing Timorese resident in Portugal in honour of 271 people shot dead by the Indonesian military in Dili, the Timorese capital, on Nov. 12, 1991.

Soares recalled "the drama of the martyred people of east Timor, where the number of dead is not 271, but 200,000 in the 17 years," since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

the Indonesian army has occupied the territory ever since the invasion.

on Nov. 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a funeral cortege accompanying the remains of a pro-independence student tortured to death by the police to the cemetery.

the Jakarta government said 50 people died, but international human rights organizations put the number at 271.

participants in Thursday's commemoration ceremony hung black flags in front of the Lisbon headquarters of the Dutch oil company, shell, which has signed agreements with Indonesia on oil exploration in the Timor sea. the demonstrators also daubed red paint – symbolizing blood – on areas in front of the building.

in one of the main parks in the Portuguese capital they placed 271 crosses, bearing the names and dates of birth of the victims, aged between nine and 34 years.

the spokesman of the Timor national resistance council (CNR) Ramos Horta, told ips by telephone from Australia that “Dili was today a city occupied by Jakarta's army” to prevent “even the expression of grief by the families” of the victims.

Horta's statements were confirmed by the governor of east Timor, Abilio Soares Osorio, a former sergeant in the Portuguese colonial army who opted for Indonesian nationality after the annexation of Timor by Jakarta in 1976.

Soares admitted to a Portuguese radio station that “1,500 soldiers patrol the streets of Dili to guarantee calm.”

Francisco lopes da cruz, Indonesian president Suharto's adviser on Timor, told the same radio station that “the only solution for Timor is for Portugal to understand that it has to collaborate with Indonesia for the future development of the island.”

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## NEW PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER

*Excerpt from November 16 Antonio Dias (Agir pour Timor) message:*

Durao Barroso, the new Portuguese foreign minister, is an ex-Marxist-Leninist who joined PSD (the present ruling party) a few years ago. He is close to the Prime Minister, Cavaco Silva. For some time already the Portuguese press had hinted that he would take the place of the former foreign minister, Joao de Deus Pinheiro. He has been in charge of ‘sharp’ diplomatic issues such as Angola, and is the architect of the rapprochement between Unita and MPLA. He is believed to know a bit about East Timor. It is not clear to me if the former advisor on East Timor, Rui Quartim Santos, is still in charge of the question.

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## STATEMENT OF THE TWELVE IN THE THIRD COMMISSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

24 Nov. 1992

“The European Community and its Member States continue to follow closely

the situation of human rights in East Timor. We have done so with special concern after the violent incident last year at Dili, which we strongly condemned, in which many defenceless civilians died at the hands of the Indonesian Armed Forces. We acknowledged the prompt investigation of the Indonesian authorities, but we remain concerned over the lack of clear information about the number of people killed and over the persons still unaccounted for, about the disparity of sentences given to civilians on the one hand and the military on the other, and by the denial of access to the territory by human rights organisations. We urge the Indonesian authorities to honour their commitments and to respond fully to the consensus statement on East Timor at this year's session of the Commission on Human Rights, in advance of consideration of this item at the Commission's next session. In particular we trust that all those in custody including all opposition figures, will be treated humanely and with their rights fully respected. The community and its Member States fully support the Secretary-General's recent initiative to achieve a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor, with full respect for the legitimate interests and aspirations of the East Timorese, in line with the principles of the UN Charter.”

## JOHN MACDOUGALL: EC TIMOR STATEMENT TOO WEAK

It will take more than this in view of the apparent now solidified hard line in Indonesia. A strong coalition of states able to carry resolutions in the UN General Assembly and Security Council must be prepared to ‘confront’ Indonesia explicitly over the basic issue of East Timorese self-determination with all that entails in terms of irrational Indonesian nationalist responses. In this regard, despite the personal involvement of the incumbent US Secretary of State in the Xanana Gusmao case, any change in the broad outlines of US policy toward East Timor must await the new administration. According to a recent WBAI (radio) documentary, President-Elect Bill Clinton has stated, “I'm very concerned about what's happened in East Timor. We have ignored it so far in ways that I think are unconscionable,” and Vice President-Elect Al Gore is on record in favor of East Timorese self-determination.

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## PORTUGUESE NGO LETTER TO BOUTROS-GHALI

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

Lisbon 24 November 1992

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

Dear Sir,

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

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

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

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

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



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## LISBON THEATRE EVOKING THE SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE

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

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## EVENTS IN BRITAIN

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### UK: REMEMBERING THOSE WHO DIED IN EAST TIMOR ON 12 NOVEMBER 1991

*TAPOL report, 2 November 1992*

#### LONDON EVENTS

To commemorate the Santa Cruz massacre when over 200 East Timorese were killed by Indonesian soldiers, the British Coalition for East Timor with help from Christian Aid and Praxis has organised a church service at St James' Church, Piccadilly, W1 on Thursday 12 November at 7pm. The service will be led by Vaughan Jones of Praxis.

After the service, there will be a torchlit procession to the Indonesian Embassy, where a vigil will be held until 10 pm.

Cannon Oakes of St Bride's Church in Fleet Street, where a service for the victims of the massacre was held in March this year, will dedicate the lunchtime service on 12 November 1992 to the victims and their families.

On Saturday 14 November, the Railakan Theatre Company will be performing in the North Covered Market of Covent Garden between 1-3 pm. Using mime, masks, music and dance, the show will look back at the history of Indonesian oppression in East Timor, reflecting the courage, strength and optimism of the East Timorese people throughout.

For further details, contact Tapol, 081 771-2904

#### OXFORD

An exhibition of photographs entitled "East Timor, 1974-1992: Years of Silence, Images of Resistance," is being shown at the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford from 1 November-13 December 1992. The exhibition presents an historical account of the island and records the impact of the Indonesian occupation on the culture and people of East Timor. The photographs give insights into the lives and spirit of the Timorese in the face of the threatened and real attempt at social, political and cultural genocide inflicted by the continuing Indonesian military occupation.

On Monday 16 November at 7.30pm, Professor Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology will give a talk on East Timor at the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford.

For further details, contact Sally Dunsmore, 0865 722733.

#### LANCASTER

The radical Single Step Co-op, 78a Penny Street, Lancaster will display information about East Timor in its shop window during the week commencing 9 November.

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### BURYING THE MEMORY OF A MASSACRE

*The Guardian and the Financial Times. 3 November 1992. On the Comment and Analysis page.*

*By Mark Curtis, a research fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs*

Mark Curtis explores the international community's readiness to exonerate Indonesia

On November 12 last year, Indonesian security forces killed over 100 demonstrators in Dili, capital of East Timor. These events provoked widespread international outrage, several governments withheld their aid allocations and Portugal led the European Community in attempting to condemn and punish Indonesia.

A year later, Indonesia still gets arms from Britain and increased aid from the World Bank. In a meeting held recently in Manila, the EC, under Britain's chairmanship, appeared close to signing a new co-operation agreement with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which Indonesia is a leader member. Negotiations had been previously held up by Portugal, in protest against human rights abuse in East Timor.

With around 200,000 having been killed in East Timor since Indonesia invaded in 1975, the extent of human rights abuses is severe. Portuguese President Mario Soares described the situation as one of "repeated

acts of escalating violence by the occupying Indonesian forces against the defenceless population."

The subsequent official Indonesian inquiry into the Dili massacre concluded that "about 50" people had been killed and that the security forces had acted "in self-defence" and "under no command," all of which were plainly untrue, as was later confirmed by witnesses. The massacre was an orchestrated and unprovoked attack on innocent demonstrators. Portugal refused to accept the report, Soares noting that "everyone knows Indonesia is a brutal country that has killed opposition leaders and has no respect for human rights."

Indonesia's most important partners reacted as though the affair was merely a nuisance which would soon go away. After Soares met George Bush in January this year to seek support in punishing Indonesia, a White House statement did not even mention East Timor but only alluded to "Asian developments." Japan - by far Indonesia's largest aid donor - served notice that it would "not change its mind in providing economic aid."

Britain continues to be a major arms supplier to Indonesia, most recently with the announcement of a British Aerospace/Rolls Royce deal to supply 40 Hawk trainer-fighter aircraft. A Rolls Royce representative described Indonesia as "a very exciting part of the world." These aircraft, as well as US-supplied helicopters and British-supplied scout cars and personnel carriers, are all thought to be available for use in East Timor.

The announcement of the sale of a navy support ship was delayed in January owing to the outcry over the Dili massacre: it went ahead in February. Britain has recently also offered places in military training programmes for three Indonesian army officers. Their boss - chief of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno - formerly promised to "wipe out all separatist elements."

In 1991 the UK committed itself to an EC Declaration which calls for member states to consider "human rights as an element of their relations with developing countries." So what are the underlying reasons for these double standards? The first is Britain's position as Indonesia's second biggest supplier ... (sic - some words appear to have been left out) ... is worth hundreds of millions of pounds. Secondly, protection of human rights is seen as a selective rather than absolute principle depending on the stake involved. Human rights criteria can sometimes be applied as tools of foreign policy, as with criticism of the Soviet bloc during the cold war. National interests usually prevail over moral considerations. It

is, therefore, the national interests which need to be redefined.

Thirdly, Indonesia is a key economic ally in the post-cold war world. Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker has said that Indonesia "has a well-deserved reputation for sound macro-economic management," meaning that its economic climate is generally favourable to Western corporate interests.

Having "deregulated" its economy throughout the 1980s, Indonesia recently announced that foreign investors would be allowed to hold 100 per cent equity in new companies. Gross inequalities of wealth, consigning millions to live in conditions of poverty, has been a natural consequence of these economic policies, which have been supported by the World Bank.

As the latter presses for further deregulation and opening up to the world economy, the lowest 20 per cent of earners (some 40 million people) account for only 9 per cent of total household income. Thirty-eight per cent of the population lack access to safe drinking water. The top 10 per cent of earners, meanwhile, account for over a quarter of all incomes.

Reports from East Timor suggest heightened security force activity in the territory in preparation for commemorations of last year's massacre. From their actions, it seems clear that the leading members of the international community would wish all this fuss would die down, and allow themselves to pursue higher priorities.

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## UK HOUSE OF COMMONS MOTION ON TIMOR

*Original document, 10 November 1992*

The following Early Day Motion has been tabled at the House of Commons:

"That this House conveys its condolences to the people of East Timor on the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991; expresses its grave concern that the authorities are currently engaged in security sweeps in East Timor and have indicated that they will not allow mourners to commemorate the occasion; and calls on Her Majesty's Government to persuade the Indonesian authorities to allow a commemoration to take place, to permit foreign observers and journalists to visit East Timor then and in the future and to lift all restrictions on access to East Timor for humanitarian organisations."

The Motion has the initial support of 13 MPs, four from the governing Conservative Party (of whom three are sponsors), seven from the Labour opposition (three sponsors), and two from the Liberal Democrats. The Motion will remain on the Order Paper

to collect signatures from more parliamentarians during the coming weeks.

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## FOULKES: INDONESIA'S KILLING MACHINE

*Letters column, The Guardian. 12 November 1992*

*Letter from George Foulkes MP, Labour Party Defence Spokesman, reproduced in full:*

Today is the first anniversary of the massacre of up to 100 innocent people in East Timor. At a cemetery in Santa Cruz, Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed civilians taking part in a funeral procession. Since Indonesia illegally invaded East Timor in 1975, up to a third of the indigenous population has perished in the continual repression.

The atrocities committed by the Indonesian armed forces have resulted in widespread international criticism and condemnation. And yet the British Government, far from taking firm action against what amounts to genocide, have sought to fuel Indonesia's killing machine.

Between 1986 and 1990 only India and Saudi Arabia received more British weapons than Indonesia. British Ministers have touted for increased sales - the then Defence Secretary Tom King was in Indonesia for this very purpose a matter of weeks before last year's massacre.

Britain has now set up a Defence Exports Services Organisation office in Jakarta. We continue to train members of the Indonesian armed forces in this country and as recently as September, the Government signed a Defence Equipment Memorandum of Understanding with Indonesia.

Contrast this with the United States where the recent Foreign Aid Bill cut US military training to Indonesia in response to continuing human rights abuses. As has been demonstrated once again this week, the Government has actively sought to supply weapons to some of the worst regimes in the world.

On the anniversary of the slaughter in East Timor and in the week of revelations of British arms equipment exported to Iraq, I urge the Government to review its policy of encouraging the sale of arms to Indonesia and other countries guilty of human rights violations, repression or aggression.

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## VIGIL AND SERVICE IN LONDON

The first anniversary of the 12 November 1991 Dili massacre was commemorated in London with a remembrance service at St James Church, Picadilly followed by a candle-lit procession from the church to the Indonesian Embassy where a vigil took place until 10pm. Among those present was James Gibbons, whose stepbrother, Kamal Bamadhaj, was killed in the massacre.

The service was led by Rev. Vaughn Jones.

A large number of crosses bearing the names of those who died in the massacre were placed outside the embassy. Among the dozens of people present were four East Timorese refugees now living in the UK.

Two major London dailies, The Independent and The Times, carried news items regarding the anniversary. The Guardian has carried an article on the anniversary last week. Two letters were published in the Letters' Columns of The Guardian and The Independent on 12 November, one from the Catholic Institute of International Relations and one from George Foulkes, Labour Party spokesman on Defence.

Members of the House of Commons tabled a Motion on the anniversary back by MPs from all sides of the House. In the House of Lords, the Labour Party's Lord Rea asked a question, followed by supplementary questions, to draw attention to the occasion.

Channel 4 News at 7pm carried an item on the anniversary. The item, broadcast at the end of this one-hour programme, was immediately followed by a regular and very popular feature called 'Comment' also devoted to the anniversary. The speaker was Tim Slater, one the group of British students who took part in the Lusitania Expresso's Peace Mission to Dili earlier this year.

The BBC World Service broadcast several news items during the day.

It is clear that the anniversary aroused wide interest in the British media, something that would have been unimaginable before 12 November last year.

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## EVENTS INSIDE EAST TIMOR

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### REPORT ABOUT TRIP TO EAST TIMOR

*July 16-27 and July 14-15 1992 (Oecussi)*

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#### Getting There:

Although the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn had confirmed in writing that a special permit was not necessary in order to travel to East Timor, we still had problems getting there.

After we'd travelled without any problems to Pantemacassar (Oecussi) we were surprised that the ticket agent there didn't want to sell us a ticket to Dili. The only reason given was a vague mentioning of the police. However, we got a ticket as far as Atambua (West Timor). Once we were there we managed to get a ticket to Dili but then 5 minutes later it was taken away from us. It seemed the only way left was for us to fly. We were told we needed a travel permit (surat jalan) for the bus but couldn't get this in Atambua. The only place we could get this was KOREM (the regional military command) in Kupang. So we had to go back to Kupang in the bus (an 8 hour journey). However, once there the officer we spoke to said, that his senior officer was in Bali and as he was the only person allowed to administer the permit, we still couldn't get one! The only possibilities left were to fly or go by ship.

On 16.7.1992 we flew to Dili at a cost of 73,100 Rp each instead of 11,500 Rp by bus (1 sterling = about 3,000 Rp).

Photos were taken of us and the other western tourist as we got out of the plane!

#### Hotels:

In Dili there are enough hotels for the small number of tourists there. Prices are relatively high though. The cheapest was the losmen (= small pension) Mona Lisa in the area of Becora, 3 km from the centre of Dili, at 5,000 Rp each.

There's only one hotel in Baucau: the "Hotel Baucau" (also known as Hotel Flamboyan) at 15,000 for a double room. There's also a losmen next to the bus station at 6,000 Rp for a double but the sanitary facilities are pretty bad.

In Lospalos there's one losmen although we only found out about this through the local priest. Other people seemed too scared to tell us. This was 6,000 Rp per person.

In Viqueque there's a losmen-type accommodation provided by the police at 2,500 Rp per person.

Apart from in Dili and Baucau we had to register with the police on arrival. We even did this in Lautem where we spent less than 1/2 hour while waiting for the bus.

Theoretically it's possible to stay overnight at the Catholic churches. But this may cause problems (such as interrogation by the police) for the priests, so it's better to ask about accommodation at the police station.

#### Police And Army Controls:

There are army controls just outside Dili where all bus passengers must show the passports/identity cards when travelling to and from Dili.

On coming back from a day trip to Ermera we were virtually interrogated as to whether we'd spoken to anyone there and as to what our professions were. During a visit to Quelicai we were accompanied almost the whole time by a plain clothes officer and were deterred from going for a walk into the mountains.

However, passing the control point in a car of the Santo Paulus Educational Trust we were allowed to pass through without stopping!

At the tourist information centre we were told that it wasn't possible to go to Atauro (island just off Dili coast). Later we found out that it was possible to charter a fishing boat there, although we didn't do this.

#### Tourism:

East Timor is very positively portrayed in official tourist brochures. We'd been sent a large color brochure of East Timor from Garuda before our trip. However, once there we had many doubts about how far the Indonesian Government really wanted to attract tourists to East Timor, especially outside of Dili.

#### Comparison Of West And East Timor:

Whoever flies from Kupang to Dili, notices the difference straight away. Kupang is a busy city with loud night markets and small buses (bemos) that play loud music and seem to run the whole night through. Dili is in contrast sleepy.

After 7 pm there are no more buses, only taxis. There are also no long distance night buses (in contrast to West Timor). To get from Dili to Suai in the South West of East Timor you have to stay the night in Atambua to get the connecting bus in the morning. There are night buses through Atambua to Kupang. In Baucau, evenings and nights are even quieter than in Dili.

#### Conditions Of Roads And Transport:

The usual means of transport are medium sized buses and sometimes small trucks (which are even less comfortable than buses

but no cheaper). The so-called "Trans-Timor-Highway," from Kupang to Lospalos is in a pretty bad state (in contrast Java's roads are of European standards). The road is not surfaced at all or covered in water. Therefore journeys take a long time. As in Indonesia children of ten work in buses, collecting money and passengers. The most remote areas are not reachable by public transport.

#### Travelling In Remote Areas:

Outside of Dili we only saw two other tourists in Baucau and one in Oecussi. For that reason we often found ourselves to be the centre of attraction. In Lospalos we were encircled by dozens of children as well as adults. In Quelicai, apart from a few daring children, people's interest tended to be outweighed by shyness.

We always had the impression that we could bring members of the church into trouble with the police because of our contacting them. Sometimes this was directly said to us - as in Lospalos where the priest and other members of the church had been recently questioned for contact with tourists but most of the time we inferred this by the cautious and often evasive way in which our questions were answered.

#### Contacts With Inhabitants:

A lot less adults than in Bali or Java initiated conversations with us apart from saying "hello." The few East Timorese that did speak in any depth spoke about politics.

During a 15 minutes stop at the bus station in Baucau an East Timorese student suddenly came up to us and told us how he'd been at the Santa Cruz funeral and had lost many friends through the massacre. He also said that the Indonesian security forces were still continuing to arrest and even kill members of the opposition. He estimated the total number of people to have died as a result of Santa Cruz to be up to 400. He said he was now organizing clandestinely and that there might be another demonstration at some time to remember those killed in the massacre. An Indonesian civilian tried to interrupt the conversation by coming up to us and inviting us for tea! Later a soldier came and stood by us as the student continued to speak. That we got the information we did in the short time we were there only shows the determination of the East Timorese to inform the outside world of the situation there. Another time a young Timorese told us in a bus in Dili that his father was in exile in Portugal.

We had another interesting conversation with someone working for the Santo Paulus Educational Trust. He told us of his work with orphans and the need for money as well as the forced contraception of women that has taken place in East Timor.

We also spoke with Indonesians living in East Timor, e.g. some people from Flores, now living in Lospalos. Apart from a few exceptions the negative comments on the situation in East Timor came from Timorese whereas the portrayal of there being no problems in East Timor came from Indonesians.

#### **Indonesian Presence:**

The day after we arrived in Dili on the 17 July 1992 there was an official military ceremony in front of the governor's palace to celebrate the anniversary of the integration of East Timor into Indonesia. There were people in traditional costume from all areas of East Timor, according to an Indonesian who was standing next to us.

Later we heard from an East Timorese, however, that the people were obliged to take part in the ceremony and that some of the supposedly East Timorese were not even East Timorese. In Dili and the whole of East Timor we constantly noticed the sea of red and white flags. As well as that there were many banners reminding the people of the integration day (17.7) and the Indonesian independence day from the Dutch (17.8) - the latter being a date which has absolutely no meaning to the East Timorese as it was never a Dutch colony!

On the whole the constant reminders by the State that East Timor was a part of Indonesia appeared artificial and superficial and gave us the impression that the Indonesians were desperate to try to impregnate the minds of the East Timorese.

#### **Contact With The Santo Paulus Educational Trust:**

We contacted the Santo Paulus Educational Trust before leaving for East Timor. The Trust is responsible for the Catholic schools in East Timor. The director, Father Azureo, was an East Timorese and his assistant was an Indonesian nun.

Almost all of the pupils at the Catholic schools and most of the teachers (at least in the primary schools) were East Timorese. However, in the secondary and high schools more and more teachers were Indonesians. The schools had to follow the Indonesian national curriculum, meaning e.g. the pupils wore the national school uniform (which varied only according to level and day of the week) and sang the national anthem and that lessons were only given in Indonesian and that every school had to fly the Indonesian flag. In fact the only difference of the Catholic and state-run schools was the religious aspect. However, many parents seemed to prefer to have their children going to Catholic schools. Poor parents were helped if necessary to pay the school fees. The most urgent problems were those of

money and the inadequate availability of school buildings.

The director and his assistant arranged a tour of 6 schools in Dili to us, we had the chance to speak with the headmasters and some of the English teachers of the schools. We were told more than once that the achievement and motivation of the East Timorese was less than that of the Indonesians living in East Timor. When we asked why, one reason given was that many children had problems speaking Indonesian.

No-one could explain why lessons were not conducted through Tetum - the national language of East Timor.

When we brought up the subject of the high number of orphans in East Timor the subject was evaded with only the mentioning of the similarity of the situation with the civil war in Yugoslavia (!)

#### **Role Of The Portuguese Language And Culture:**

The Portuguese influence is unmistakable. More than a few people said "hello" to us in Portuguese and we were often asked if we spoke Portuguese. There were, however, no books available in Portuguese or in a language other than Indonesian (apart from a few school books for English). It was not even possible to get a Tetum-Indonesian dictionary although in Bali for example Balinese dictionaries were available.

In the rural areas many of the native East Timorese had no way of verbal communication with the Indonesian police there as they didn't have a common language.

#### **Role Of The Catholic Church:**

The Catholic church obviously has an important role in East Timor. There are also many small Protestant groups but they seem to reach only the Indonesians living there. The East Timorese have a lot of faith in the church but for the Catholic priests - especially those in rural areas - the situation is difficult. Any foreign priests that want to stay in East Timor now have to take up the Indonesian citizenship. This will be particularly difficult for Portuguese priests. The Portuguese director of the "Seminari Bunda Maria Fatima" for example was replaced by the German born Jesuit Karl Albert, whom we met.

#### **SUMMARY:**

The situation in East Timor is far from normal. The people are afraid.

There is a constant presence of the army and the police. However, the East Timorese we spoke to always said that tourists should come to east Timor so that East Timor wasn't forgotten.

#### **Appendix:**

In addition to our meetings with East Timorese in Timor we also spoke with East

Timorese students in Yogyakarta. These conversations only highlighted our impression of the atmosphere of repression and fear that reigns in East Timor.

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## **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN EAST TIMOR**

*by Matthew Jardine (Submitted to Christianity and Crisis)*

"We live in a prison," the Catholic seminarian said as his eyes darted around nervously to see if anyone was watching. "We are slaves of the Indonesians." The three young men gathered around us nodded in agreement. I had been in the town in central East Timor for 2 hours. Not until I reached the local Catholic church did people begin to open up to me.

The local priest showed me where Indonesian soldiers would position themselves at night outside his house to spy on him. He assured me that the military authorities were watching at that very moment from an overlooking hill nearby and would question him later about our conversation. The only pre-invasion institution not eliminated by Indonesia, the East Timorese Catholic Church is increasingly identified with the pro-independence struggle in the former Portuguese colony and thus is seen as a threat by the Indonesian authorities.

Located 400 miles north of Darwin, Australia, East Timor is the site of one of the worst genocides in the late 20th century. Since being invaded in late 1975 by its mighty neighbor, Indonesia, upwards of 200,000 East Timorese - almost one-third of the 1975 population - either have been killed or have died from politically-created famine.

The East Timorese Catholic Church has been traditionally conservative; since the Indonesian invasion, however, the Church has taken a much more populist stance. As late as 1975 no more than one-third of East Timor's population, mostly local elites, had been baptized. Today, about 95% of the local population is Catholic.

As part of Portugal's crusade for God and Mammon in Southeast Asia, the Portuguese first arrived on the island of Timor in 1515. 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, became part of the Republic of Indonesia following decolonization.

By the late 16th century permanent settlements had been established by Dominican friars and "Black Portuguese" or "Topasses." The offspring of Portuguese soldiers, sailors, and merchants from

Malacca and Macao and women from Solor (all under Portuguese control), the group - with help from Dominican Friars - began to control the local inter-island trading networks, especially the lucrative sandalwood trade.

By the 1640's the Dominicans began to have success in converting the local inhabitants to Catholicism and used their power, along with the Topasses, to oppose the Portuguese authorities. Until the early 1900's, the colonial administration was often in conflict with the missionaries, the church-state struggles within the colony often being reflective of struggles within Portugal itself.

Gradually, the Church - comprised of Dominican, Franciscan, Salesian and Jesuit missionaries - became increasingly identified with the state, particularly during the Salazar dictatorship (1933- 71), when the missions were charged with implementing government policies. An agreement between Portugal and the Vatican in 1941 guaranteed the Portuguese Catholic Church special privileges; in return, the Church agreed to serve the interests of the metropole.

Following the fall of its military dictatorship in 1974, Portugal began the process of decolonization in its overseas territories. After a brief civil war (during which the Portuguese administrators and more than 90% of the priests and nuns 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.

From 1975 until 1989, East Timor was closed to the outside world by the Indonesian authorities. The few reports that did emerge 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.

When Portugal's colonial empire began to crumble in 1974, the Catholic hierarchy, under conservative Bishop Ribeiro, kept its distance from the East Timorese nationalist movement. Even though many Fretilin members had studied at the Jesuit seminary in Dare, Ribeiro often campaigned against the independence movement. His January 1975 pastoral letter called for private property rights to be respected and warned against "materialistic and atheistic communism and socialistic Marxism which is

seeking to extinguish the positive values of the Timorese people."

The Indonesian invasion and the subsequent mass killings had profound effects on the Church. Bishop Ribeiro became so distraught that he retired. His replacement, Martinho da Costa Lopes, after attempts at dialogue failed, became an outspoken critic of the occupation. Under pressure from the Vatican's representative in Jakarta and the military, Costa Lopes went into early retirement and was replaced by Carlos Belo in 1983, a young East Timorese who was seen as conservative and amenable to Indonesian interests.

Soon after his inauguration, Belo, however, began to criticize the abuses of the Indonesian military. In February 1989, he greatly angered the authorities by sending a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar asking for a U.N.-supervised referendum on the future status of East Timor. Belo's actions were met with anonymous death threats. At the time, Bishop Belo stated that he feared the same fate as Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador.

As the Catholic hierarchy has become increasingly-vocal, the Church is seen as a form of support for the nationalist position and as an outlet for anti-Indonesian sentiment. During the Pope's visit to East Timor in October 1989, over 100,000 people attended the mass at the end of which dozens ran to the front and shouted pro-independence slogans and unfurled banners.

Many have criticized the Vatican for not taking a stronger stance on East Timor. John Paul II visited despite protests of the local clergy who felt that the visit "would constitute a formal act of recognition." In reaction to East Timorese clergy requests for the Pope to take a strong stance against the Indonesian occupation, the Papal envoy charged with preparing the visit warned that the Vatican was "not going to sacrifice all Christendom on account of 400,000 Catholics." Despite the post-mass beatings of demonstrators by the Indonesian military, a Vatican spokesperson stated that the Pope "had not been disturbed by the protests."

On the other hand, the Vatican has helped to preserve the distinct character of the Church, which is administered directly from Rome, by resisting pressure to incorporate it into the Indonesian Catholic Church. Likewise, when the Indonesian administrators tried to force the Church to stop using Portuguese and replace it with Indonesian, the Vatican acceded to the East Timorese clergy's request that they be allowed to use Tetum, the traditional lingua franca of East Timor.

Within the last year, the Catholic Church has served as locus for major anti-

occupation activities and has thus moved to center stage in the pro-independence struggle. Despite Indonesian efforts to intimidate the Church, many members of the clergy refuse to stand by and do nothing.

In late October 1991, in preparation for the arrival of a Portuguese delegation to East Timor (which never came), a number of priests reportedly were warned that "their graves were ready" if they tried to make contact with the delegation. At the same time, the Indonesian military began rounding up many young people suspected of harboring pro-independence sentiments. In response, a number of youths sought refuge at the San Antonio de Motael Church in Dili, the East Timorese capital.

On the 28th of October, the Motael was attacked by the Indonesian military. Sebastiao Gomes, a young pro-independence activist, was killed. The murder led to a memorial service on 12 November 1991 at the Motael and a march to the Santa Cruz Cemetery where Sebastiao had been buried.

As the crowd of a few thousand was breaking up, the Indonesian military arrived and opened fire on the unarmed gathering, killing up to 200 men, women, and children. The silver lining in the tragedy is that the presence of a handful of Western journalists at the massacre helped to bring the plight of East Timor back to the world's attention.

The events at the Motael Church and the Santa Cruz Cemetery confirmed the Indonesian authorities' worst fears about the Church which has paid a price in the form of continuing harassment and persecution of many priests, nuns, and lay people. Certainly, the pressure is taking its toll on the East Timorese Catholic Church. As one priest said to a visitor in November 1991: "It is so hard to be a Christian here. We know that we have to love our enemies, but how do we reconcile that with the hatred and bitterness we have endured over these years?"

Packed churches throughout East Timor attest to a level of support that is a direct challenge to Indonesia - something of which the authorities are very much aware. "The church, the priests, and the religious are the three factors which threaten East Timor's integration with Indonesia," once stated Colonel Prabowo (then a major), a military official in East Timor and President Suharto's son-in-law.

Despite Indonesia's fears and suspicions of the Church, Jakarta is very much aware that it must tread carefully in dealing with such a high-profile institution. The Church has mass support within East Timor and institutional links abroad, and Indonesia needs to avoid as being seen as guilty of religious persecution. Thus, the occupation

authorities must permit the Church a certain space, albeit a restricted one.

This relative immunity allows elements of the Church to speak out against the occupation and to often serve as sources of information about developments within the former Portuguese colony. Nevertheless, the situation for East Timorese clergy remains difficult at best. Many priests and nuns told me that their homes have been searched or that they were often followed, watched, and sometimes interrogated. Often lay people associated with the Church are harassed and there have been beatings of priests.

Recent reports from East Timor indicate that the harassment of the Church continues. On 6 September, the military cancelled Sunday Mass at the Dili Cathedral. Allegedly, a demonstration was to take place after mass to coincide with the Non-Aligned Movement Summit meeting in Jakarta. The mass on the following Sunday at the Cathedral was also cancelled by the military authorities.

The Church's role is far more than spiritual. Politically it strongly defends East Timorese human rights and helps keep the issue of East Timor alive in the world. Culturally, by using Tetum and other local languages, it helps to maintain East Timorese identity. As a source of strength and comfort for the East Timorese, the Church will continue to present a challenge to Jakarta's efforts to "Indonesianize" East Timor and will thus continue to be a target of the Indonesian military's ire.

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### MESSAGE FROM XANANA GUSMAO TO NAM

*Full text. Translated from the Portuguese.*

#### MESSAGE AND APPEAL FROM THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR TO THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

(I) What may be the final Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, which has played a major part in the resolution of the tensions that have arisen around the world, is due to begin on September 7. With the end of the Cold War, the threat of total destruction that hung over humanity now belongs to the past, albeit the recent past. It has been replaced by other threats which lead to a deterioration in the basic conditions of survival for the peoples of the Third World. In the analysis of successes achieved, the three tenets that formed the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement should be taken into account.

#### 1. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM.

a) The year 2000 has been set by the United Nations as the target for the eradication of colonialism from the face of the earth. In order for mankind to celebrate the end of repression of nations in eight years time, still-existing colonial situations have to be denounced. Above all, acts of military aggression and annexation of small, weaker territories by the members of the NAM, heavily-armed by the North, must be condemned.

When the world condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, President Saddam Hussein referred, opportunely, to the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia.

When the EEC and the USA recognized the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina or Yugoslavia, co-founder of the NAM, the Movement must recognise the Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor as an act of colonial aggression to be condemned by the Movement.

b) To give a better idea of the situation in East Timor, let us briefly describe certain aspects of the Indonesian military invasion:

We begin by reminding people that 17 years ago, Jakarta imposed a war of extermination on the Maubere people. The following are the main military offensives of the Indonesian invasion:

- the act of invasion on the 7th December 1975, which ended in the total control of the population after successive rounding-up operations and annihilation of the mountain bases of the popular resistance. This was carried out from September 1977 until December 1978;
- the wide-ranging operation, with the forced participation of the entire population of the territory, unleashed at the beginning of 1981 and continuing until October of the same year;
- the large-scale offensive using the entire war arsenal, which had been modernized after the success of the campaigns at the end of 1983 and the end of 1985;
- another large-scale offensive, applying territorial counter-guerrilla tactics, begun in 1986 and ending in the final part of 1988;
- the last large-scale operation, unleashed at the end of 1990 and continuing until the middle of 1991;
- the new offensive which began in June and will last throughout the months of the dry season.

The appalling massacre on the 12th November of last year, shows the other side of the Indonesian military occupation,

which has already caused more than 200,000 Timorese victims.

When the Indonesian leaders' initial nervousness had passed, the Indonesian generals tried to re-establish order in East Timor. With what could be characterized as a wholesale repopulation of the ABRI forces in all districts with the placement, in these districts, of teams of "nanggallas," the occupiers intend to exercise maximum control over the population and essentially the youth.

Dili, which is a good example of the situation of terror that exists in the territory, combines several differing worlds:

- at the top, the world of the Indonesians, civilians and military, and the most prominent integrationists;
- below them, the "subi quo que" Indonesian forces, who daily patrol the districts and villages, even going on night-time excursions, entering houses and farms. Blending in with these are the transmigrants, either the travelling salesmen who cover Dili and the territory from one end to the other or the shopkeepers and stallholders who place themselves in all the corners of the capital. Each one is under orders to observe the situation and people and inform the nanggalla Command.
- subjugated to these are the overwhelming majority of the population who live in a permanent state of uncertainty, fighting for their own survival.
- finally, there are all those already on the black list drawn up by the Polwil and Kopskam. Their houses are watched day and night, their movements controlled and registered. They are followed everywhere by groups of agents of the political police, posted in strategic positions, who communicate all the time by radio. Their houses are continually surrounded either by forces in combat positions or Intel agents carrying pistols or by the nanggallas.

Undoubtedly, there are some situations Jakarta will use as proof of political stability in Timor. They are these:

- the period when the ship "Lusitania Express" approached the territorial limits of East Timor;
- when the new Nuncio arrived to persuade the Timorese that the Vatican supports integration;
- when Ali Alatas came. He didn't want to answer the young people's questions under the murderous gaze of the nanggallas who were giving him protection, and
- when the Interior Minister came to say that there was only one way forward for

East Timor - that of integration enforced by military occupation.

On these occasions, the Indonesian troops were on full alert, taking up positions in strategic points around the city and lining the routes these important personalities took, while the agents of the political police acted as a second security cordon.

Incredibly, the Santa Cruz cemetery, scene of the 12th November massacre, remained surrounded for several days.

In the period preceding the elections, the forces patrolled the population centres intensively, and on the day itself, occupied positions very near the main voting stations, while the nanggallas and the military assigned to districts as Babinsas, Danramil, and Koramil watched public meetings closely.

In this scenario of permanent terror, the almost constant persecution should also be noted. In June and July, in the municipality of Vikeke, the following were arrested:

On the 26th June, Miguel Soares Pinto, 36 years old, from the Mau Mulak settlement in the Caraubalu district; on the 29th June, Augusto Morais, 26 years old, from the Mau Mulak settlement in the Caraubalu district; on the 8th July, Fernando Morais, 35 years old, from the Cabira-Oan settlement, Caraubalu, Vikeke; on the 13th July, Miguel Soares, 29 years old, from the Manebot settlement in the Caraubalu district, Adelino Soares, 34 years old from the Cabira-Oan settlement, in the Caraubalu district, Rui Miranda, 37 years old, from the Lare settlement, Caraubalu; on the 14th July, Xisto Pereira, 26 years old, from the Mau Mulak settlement, Caraubalu; Mario Martins Miranda, 27 years old, from the Cabira-Oan settlement, Caraubalu; on the 15th July, Mario Soares, 26 years old, from the Mau Mulak settlement, Caraubalu, Domingos Saldanha, 26 years old, from the Mane Hut settlement, Caraubalu, Domingos Fernandes, 30 years old, from the Cabira-Oan settlement, Caraubalu, Abilio Gomes, from Luca, Vikeke; José da Silva, 37 years old, from Osso Gore, Vabobo, Ossu; on the 16th July, Ildfonso Rangel, 31 years old, from the Cabira-Oan settlement, Caraubalu; on the 17th July, Baltazar Alves, 25 years old, from the Hasa-Bea settlement, Caraubalu; on the 18th July, Luis de Costa Baptista, 35 years old, from the Uma Uain de Cima settlement, in the Monumento district, Francisco Simoes, 32 years old, from the Naiborak settlement, Monumento; on the 20th July, Abilio Baptista, 28 years old, from the Cabira-Oan settlement, Caraubalu, and Fernando Fernandes, 30 years old, from the Uma Kirk settlement, in the Beobe district; on the 21st July, Jacinto Afonso Soares, 35 years old, from the

Cabira-Oan settlement, Caraubalu, Vasco Viana, 25 years old, from the Mau-Mulak settlement, Caraubalu; on the 22nd July, Vasco Soares, 20 years old, from the Uma Kirk settlement, in the Beobe district, and on the 24th July, Tomas Soares da Silva, 28 years old, from the Caitau settlement in the Afaloikai district.

Many of those arrested were taken from the main prison complexes in Dili to ABRI's own garrisons, where they are beaten daily, do not receive food, and are obliged to fight with dogs and cats for the scraps of food the jailers order to be given to the animals. They are forced into homosexual practices with the murderers, do not receive visitors, and their relatives are threatened with death if they divulge these inhuman conditions. The nurse Matias Gouveia and his nephew Mateus Pereira, amongst many others, find themselves in this situation.

Young people are the principal target of the occupiers, who do everything in their power to control their activities.

At the end of the school year, the military police and nanggallas filled school buildings, provoking and threatening the pupils if they complained because only the children of Indonesians passed into the next year.

On the above mentioned occasions, the armed forces challenged the young people, threatening them openly that if anything should happen, ABRI's response would be worse than on the 12th November.

If the struggle against colonialism in the North can permit situations of repression of the population perpetrated by regional powers in the South, then we allow the North to punish us as it is doing in Iraq, we let cases like Afghanistan continue unresolved because Pakistan does not want this to happen, so that we continue to demand of the North that they show some compassion towards victims of wars in the South.

The strengthening of the countries of the Third World should be achieved through strengthening the principles they have all undertaken to accept.

## **2. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM**

This summit aims to reinforce the South's position in relation to the North.

Problems from the past; crucial problems, but which nowadays appear in a new light. Our hemisphere looks dramatic. Disasters of all kinds, including hunger, aid, devastation, terror, drought, wars, demand solutions.

This is the spectre of the New World Order on the Southern side of the planet. The North-South conflict will not be a despairing struggle, but will demand high

stakes from 3rd World leaders. The 3rd World will have to correct its own errors if it wants to make the Non-Aligned Movement into a strong, substantial organisation of economic cooperation for developing the South.

While corruption continues to be government policy and repressive regimes, bolstered up by the North, continue to be powerful, 3rd World leaders should recognise this as a weakness of the South.

While national and/or regional interests prevail in the formulation of existing principles for relations with the Northern powers, dividing up our hemisphere, 3rd World leaders must recognise the South's great weakness in this area.

Because, as long as every citizen of the 3rd World is born with a million dollar debt labelling him/her, and the leaders abandon themselves to the luxury of corruption, it will not be Suharto who indicates the best way forward towards 3rd World rehabilitation.

Because of the political and economic weakness of the South, we must prioritize the struggle against the causes of that weakness. The 3rd World must recognise, first of all, the need to formulate political principles in order to establish guide-lines for saving our hemisphere from natural and government created disasters.

A renewed South, a South with more solidarity between countries, a South that begins to engender exemplary and dignified leaders; only such a South can offer the conditions to capably advance and confront the North's impositions.

While development strategies continue to be defined on the basis of a fictitious Western-style progress in urban centres; and global, harmonious development to satisfy the basic needs of the population is left aside, it will not be Suharto, with his millions and millions of dollars from the North each year, who will find the best way forward for the South. Speaking the language of the South to the South, whilst maintaining close relations with the North, sinking our own people into ever-tightening debt, leaves us with the strategy of every one for themselves and let the North save us afterwards!

Now that the Berlin Wall has fallen, now that we have entered what everything indicates to be a New World Order, the NAM can only consider "step by step" strategies if we are to all find a firm, dignified way out of this vicious circle.

## **3. DIALOGUE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTS.**

Human beings are eminently social, and this trait comes from their ability to communicate with each other and others like

them. This is the way it should always be between individuals and peoples.

The New World Order places the right value on this fundamental, eternal principle which will prevail outside time, consecrating new relationships between human beings, between peoples and between nations - an objective which we all long for as inhabitants of this planet.

The New World Order has brought promises of peace and comfort to a small part of Humanity. This New World Order should be seen in a new light by the South, but always within the parameters of universal principles.

Evidently, we are not thinking in terms of a South armed to take on the North. We conceive of a strengthening of the South's position in order to enter into dialogue with the North.

The lack of dialogue has led to the disasters we witness in the South today. When internal conflicts create a greater distance between peoples, ethnic groups and political powers, the leaders of the 3rd World should recognise this as a cause of the South's weakness.

When, in the face of universal principles of Law, 3rd World nations are divided according to the interests of the stronger nations, whether in the North or the South, the leaders of the 3rd World should recognise this as another great weakness of the South.

If domestic and expansionist wars in the South itself, uproot populations, lead to starvation, disease and death, and aid from the North has to be sought, the leaders of the South should consider the fact that these political positions are the basis of the suffering of their peoples.

We also feel the South should renounce the arms race immediately. The South armed itself with the North's weapons of destruction at the whim of their leaders. We shouldn't just applaud the Federation of Independent States and Germany for moving towards the destruction of their store of conventional weapons. While we remain warmongers in the South, contributing towards the North's profits by buying its armaments, the peoples of the 3rd World will continue to be in debt to, and worse still, fed by, the North.

It is time for the South to face up to this. Before advancing with projects, whether to encourage existing or inoperative regional economic links, or to create other economic structures, all of which needing support from the World Bank or IMF, in order to announce impossible transformations, the NAM should, first of all, lay the foundations for a Movement for Change in the South. Only with a democratic reconstruction of the South, can it advance definitively

towards the economic reconstruction of the 3rd World.

The final Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement should be the foundation stone for a new South, a South without conflicts, a South where freedom reigns, and where justice and democracy are the same for all. Such a transformation will permit an economic development which does not prejudice the stronger powers and which preserves the environment.

Only in this way can the South become a vigorous front which defends the interests of the peoples of the 3rd World.

One of the weaknesses of the South is that it lays down principles which the stronger nations do not practice, and adopts inconsistent resolutions at summits or high level meetings, where each of the hosts is only concerned to increase their personal prestige. This is definitely the case of this Summit in Jakarta!

Only a Movement for Change in the South can consolidate an increased cooperation at regional level in various areas of the 3rd World, leading, as a result, to a greater solidarity between the peoples of the 3rd World.

There will only be a real hope for the future when politicians, leaders and intellectuals of the 3rd World take human standards as their political principles.

Human rights should be respected everywhere and in all circumstances. Many Southern countries, bound to the West, have made the most of the North's aid to the detriment of countries that followed the Socialist path.

Cuba is undergoing the American blockade because of Human Rights. Indonesia has always received American aid and armaments to massacre the Maubere people. Many other cases, like Vietnam and several African countries, illustrate vividly the opportunism of some countries of the 3rd World under corrupt governments. Like Indonesia, which today in Jakarta, aims to raise the flag of economic success for a decaying South at a sham, polished summit, and is prepared under the auspices of the Northern IGGI to ask for food for the children dying of hunger in Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya.

(II) While the populations of the 3rd World experience the agony of starvation and the horrors of war, and the leaders practice a policy of repression using arms bought from the North, it will not be Suharto who defines concepts such as Peace, Justice and Cooperation between peoples! Suharto has no right to talk about the North's arrogance when he continues, arrogantly, to ignore UN resolutions on the question of East Timor, when he arrogantly refuses dialogue with the Timorese.

When the South applauds the constant resolutions of the Security Council, to the extent of searching Saddam Hussein's room, when the South condemns the violations of Human Rights denounced by the UN special envoy on Human Rights in Iraq, and applauds Suharto, forgetting the carnage of more than 200,000 Timorese, the NAM, in its final Summit, will have to accept as logical the disparities between Southern countries.

We now appeal to all of you, presidents of fraternal Lusophone countries, dignitaries of the NAM member countries, to support the just fight of the Maubere people so that, in Jakarta, we remind President Suharto of the prevailing illegal situation in East Timor and remind the Indonesian leaders to put an end to the bloodshed provoked by the military occupation of the territory.

We reaffirm our willingness to enter into dialogue on the basis which Portugal proposed to the Secretary General of the United Nations. We appeal to all the dignitaries, heads of State and Governments attending the Summit in Jakarta, to take into account that the worsening situation of the South will only improve when the Movement undertakes to respect its own principles, in the light of universal principles.

If the struggle against colonialism in the North can admit a similar colonial situation perpetrated by regional powers in the South, if the principle of dialogue to solve problems is not put into practice but rather it is a question of upholding the interests of the stronger nations in the South, then nothing can be expected from the rhetoric of Jakarta at this Summit.

The strengthening of the countries of the 3rd World should be achieved through the principles they have all undertaken to respect. We express our confidence in the feeling that everyone who supports our peoples' cause will put pressure on Jakarta to accept the Portuguese proposal for dialogue without preconditions and with the participation of the Timorese.

Only dialogue can lessen the sufferings of the peoples of the 3rd World. Dialogue, the political tool which has already led El Salvador, Mozambique and Angola into a new historical and political process, and which will, we feel certain, permit economic development which satisfies the primary needs of the population. Currently, dialogue is the weapon to put an end to racial segregation in South Africa and allow the Cambodian people a new future. Dialogue opens up new perspectives for peace in the Middle East. Dialogue is the dynamic of the New World Order.

The leaders in Jakarta have to realise they cannot enter into a serious dialogue to save



the 3rd World if they continue to point guns at our people. We appeal to President Suharto to receive the olive branch we offer him as a gesture of the complete willingness for us together to repair the historical accidents involving the Indonesian and Timorese people. Peace in East Timor.

For a just peace in the 3rd World! Let us begin the dialogue now for more human and fraternal relations between peoples!

Xanana Gusmao, FALINTIL Commander.

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE  
MAUBERE RESISTANCE THE  
NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMED  
FORCES OF EAST TIMOR**

*The above is an open letter written by the East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao shortly before the recent Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Jakarta. The letter seems of general interest, particularly to persons concerned with North-South issues and the future shape of the Non-Aligned Movement. The original letter is in Portuguese. The translation was done by the Portuguese non-governmental organization, CDPM (the Portuguese-language abbreviation of the Committee for the Rights of the Maubere People). CDPM likely possesses the most comprehensive collection of documentary material from all groups involved in the East Timor conflict. Anyone doing research on East Timor would do well to visit them in Lisbon. They now have an email address – [cdpm@gn.apc.org](mailto:cdpm@gn.apc.org) – but are very new to the medium.*

*A recent, unconfirmed report indicates that ABRI is now engaged in an intense effort to capture Xanana alive so that he might be persuaded to accept a formula for integration and lend his prestige to it.*

John

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**SOARES AND SYAFEI:  
AMNESTY OFFER**

*Excerpt from translation of September 25, 1992 Kompas story datelined Dili:*

East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares said that the compartmentalization into the old parties in East Timor was difficult to eliminate because these compartments existed prior to integration. Now the struggle was how to get all the parties not to oppose integration.

“The important thing for us is to strive to make them not to oppose integration. We will find a way to eliminate this by bringing people to their senses about the meaning of integration. They have to be pro-integration,” said Abilio replying to questions from the press.

Abilio asked reporters to promise that what they wrote would be the same as what they were recording.

Asked about the existence of “two-headed persons” pointed out by Operations Execution Commander (Pangkolakops) Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, Abilio said, “I don’t understand yet what he meant by ‘two heads.’ But possibly he was looking at it from the ABRI angle. I’ve not yet spoken to him about this matter.”

Asked about the presence of Fretilin in the forests, Abilio replied, “An amnesty has already been spelled out by the government. That amnesty is still in effect. So I appeal to them, the amnesty still exists so please come in. The amnesty will protect them.”

Earlier, Theo Syafei in a talk with Kompas, said, “Fretilin guerrillas who surrender will definitely be allowed to live. But if they are captured by ABRI, it’s another matter. Those captured will not be protected by the amnesty.”

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**EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR  
SPEAKS ABOUT  
TERRITORIAL OPERATIONS**

**ALSO EDUCATION AND  
BUSINESSMEN**

*Suara Pembaruan. 29 September 1992.*

*Original language: Indonesian. Dateline: Dili. Substantial excerpt.*

*Remark: Just one of a large number of interviews by East Timor’s new governor, who has made himself readily accessible to the press.*

Territorial operations (Opster) activities are carried out by ABRI in East Timor because they have the political side-effect of assisting people in isolated areas increase their economic well-being. Nonetheless, these activities need to be evaluated yearly to decide whether there is a need for them to continue, or end within a specific time period.

This was put forward by East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares in an interview with Pembaruan in his office on Tuesday.

He said that up till now there had been territorial operations because civilian personnel lacked the capability. So the job of development was given to ABRI. Civilian personnel had been unable to mobilize the people in certain areas for development activities.

According to Abilio, the moment our civilian personnel are capable of replacing territorial operations, then territorial operations will simply end on their own. “If all goes well, I’m sure that in a maximum of two more years, activities like territorial

operations can be handled by the provincial government.”

According to the governor, when the Operations Execution Command (Kolakops) is no longer in East Timor, cooperation with ABRI will go on as usual because the Military Sub-area Command (Korem) will remain, just as in other provinces.

Abilio understands that as governor, cooperation with ABRI and the church is something which needs to be done. “I will be a total failure if I do not cooperate with ABRI and the church,” he remarked, adding that if the province was not united at the top level, certainly it would not be united at district (kabupaten) level.

The governor said that education would get his attention because a region will develop only with quality human resources. But this does not mean giving out scholarships without reference to regional needs.

University students who will be sent to study outside East Timor will be selected in line with regional needs so that the students will later get work congruent with their abilities and become professionals.

The government appealed to national businessmen to invest in East Timor. The provincial government will provide facilities to any businessman wishing to develop East Timor. Maybe the businessman would need a building on government-owned land. He will be given it free so long as he lives and works in East Timor. Use rights would revert to the government when they were no longer needed.

The governor asked national businessmen to become nationalist businessmen. They should not develop East Timor for a lot of profit, but rather only a little, since they too needed to sacrifice. Businessmen need to be aware that East Timor differs from other provinces.

“If they come to East Timor expecting big profits from a bona fide business, they will be disappointed. What is needed in East Timor are fighters for development imbued with a high spirit of nationalism,” he said.

Abilio also said there might also be some replacement of regional government officials. This would not be due to the change of governor. Rather, it entailed placing persons in the most appropriate jobs so they could be used well. In any organization, replacement of officials was a natural event.

“We will always want ‘the right man in the right place’ (English in original). We want the best, based on their dedication and loyalty, because we want to develop East Timor more.”

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## PRISONERS TRANSFERRED, SCHOOL CLOSED

Source: *Movement of Indonesians Abroad for Human Rights and Democracy, Postbus 11206, 2301 EE Leiden, Pays Bas.*

4 October 1992

*INFIGHT (Indonesian Front for the Defense of Human Rights) sends us the following news:*

Two East Timorese political prisoners, Roberto and Mariano Bonaparte, were released on Sept. 8 from Cipinang prison, near Jakarta. They went back to Dili on Sept. 24 where, on arrival, they were intensively interrogated again.

The school Externato de St José in Balide, East Timor, has been closed by the authorities. The reason for the closing are 1) that the school did not follow the Indonesian school programs and 2) that Portuguese language lessons were still given.

Fernando de Araujo has been transferred from Salemba prison in central Jakarta to the Cipinang while the others will be transferred on October 13. They will be placed in the same cells as common criminals.

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## GETTING IT WRONG IN EAST TIMOR

*Sydney Morning Herald Editorial. 5 October 1992. Full text*

The newly installed Governor of East Timor, Mr Abilio Soares, says he has a plan to end years of strife and bloodshed in the territory. He wants to set up a voluntary resettlement program to move families to sparsely populated parts of East Timor with rich farming potential. The idea is to develop East Timor's agricultural sector and so generate work and raise living standards generally for East Timorese. That's not all. Mr Abilio says the program - to be administered with the help of the Indonesian Army - will help teach East Timorese some much-needed discipline. And together with a course on the virtues of integration in the schools, jobs and discipline will end opposition to Indonesian rule. That is precisely the peace plan East Timor doesn't need.

There is no doubt that a lack of work and economic opportunity in East Timor fuels resentment to Indonesian rule, especially among the urban underclass in the capital, Dili. But it is hardly the source of that resentment. East Timorese have never been given a say in whether or not they want to be part of Indonesia. Ignore that and you're never going to understand their feelings. Nor have the East Timorese been given any reason to believe that their distinct culture

and traditions will survive integration. Instead, the Indonesian authorities have discouraged the use of the local Tetum language and of Portuguese, promoted Islam as an alternative to the local Catholic religion, and assisted Indonesian settlers to pour into the territory with little regard for its local inhabitants.

Mr Abilio's program promises more of the same. East Timorese have a strong attachment to their land (even many converts to Catholicism retain some animist beliefs that place great store in natural objects and the physical surroundings). Anything that even looks like threatening their hereditary land claims will provoke further conflict. Moving people around inside East Timor and inviting in outsiders will also undermine traditional communities and breakdown village structures. As for the other ingredients of Mr Abilio's peace formula - a dose of discipline and a pinch of pro-Indonesia propaganda - no-one in their right mind would believe that they are going to help solve the problem.

And that's the real rub in this whole proposal. No governor of East Timor is ever going to have too much for independent action until a settlement acceptable to all sides in this dispute is firmly in place. But the local governor can act as a bridge for the Indonesian authorities and the East Timorese by helping to reduce misunderstandings between the two and perhaps even pushing a genuine settlement along. To do so, he must enjoy Jakarta's confidence and the respect of the East Timorese. Mr Abilio's predecessor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, was able to strike just such balance. But on his one-sided, pro-Jakarta performance since taking office last month, Mr Abilio has little hope of doing the same.

Mr Abilio's plan has not yet been approved by Jakarta - which is not to say it didn't originate there - and the Indonesian authorities would do well to leave it that way. The plan will only anger East Timorese by reminding them of how little control they have over their own lives and aggravate tensions in the territory. A wiser course would be to put the transmigration program to East Timor on hold, accelerate the quite useful [sic] development programs undertaken by Indonesia in the territory, and search for a form of autonomy that allows the East Timorese to have a stake in Indonesia [sic] without being impaled on it.

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## ABILIO SAYS BELO SAYS

*Substantial excerpt from Oct. 10 Suara Pembaruan article headlined "Dili Bishop Agrees with Prioritizing Development in the Political Field." The wording in the story is a little different. - John*

Dili Diocese Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo met on Friday (October 9) with East Timor Governor José Abilio Osorio Soares in the governor's office. The first meeting between the two leaders lasted an hour. After the meeting, the governor escorted the Bishop out to the office grounds.

Before the Bishop got into his black car, the governor kissed the bishop's hand, as is proper for a Catholic paying respect to a Church leader.

The governor told Pembaruan that his meeting with the most senior East Timorese Catholic was to enhance closer cooperation between the Dili Diocese and the provincial administration. "The bishop supports and agrees very much with my programs and steps within the framework of East Timorese union and unity," said Abilio.

In connection with the union and unity concepts, Bishop Belo had expressed his willingness to assist in line with his capability as a Church leader and non-politician. "Bishop Belo agreed with my priorities for carrying out my job as the new East Timor governor," said Abilio.

"The visit of the bishop represents moral strength for me in carrying out my duties as the new governor," Abilio added. Since becoming entrusted with the leadership of East Timor, Abilio said he had had a plan to meet with the bishop and his colleagues in the Dili Diocese.

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## RECENT VISITOR TO EAST TIMOR'S IMPRESSION

*Written by Agio Pereira (Fretilin/Sydney), 18 October 1992. For safety reasons the author of this article can not be mentioned.*

*TATA MAI-LAU NEWS is a new group disseminating information about the struggle of the East Timorese People for independence. The group is composed of Timorese people currently based in Sydney.*

A visitor who returned from East Timor earlier this month conveyed the following:

1. Entrance to East Timor via Bali is very difficult; requires authorization from both, the immigration and military departments in order to get through the airport of Denpasar. Hence, suratjalan alone is not enough.

2. The visitor met, in Dili, former "gubernur" Mario Carrascalao and the Bishop of East Timor, Mgr. Carlos Ximenes

Belo. During meeting with Mario Carascalao, it was said that the difficulties imposed upon the entrance into East Timor was a military move. That is, it had nothing to do with the government. It appeared that the delay had to do with the appointment of the new "gubernur" Abilio Osorio Soares.

3. Meetings with various priests also took place. However, it was clear that the Timorese and Portuguese priests did not feel comfortable to move around in East Timor; they felt threatened by the Indonesian authorities. On the other hand, Indonesian priests e.g. Fr. Wanandi, could move anywhere he liked!

4. One important event in Dili earlier this month was the celebration of the 50th anniversary of father Filgueiros, former spiritual priest of Seminario (priests school) in Dili. Fr. Filgueiros is a Jesuit priest seen by Indonesian military as persona non grata. However, the celebration of his 50th anniversary was marked with strong spirit of unity and festivity prompted by the crowd that turned up for this special event. A German priest spoke in Bahasa, Fr. Filgueiros made his speech in Portuguese and the Bishop, Don Carlos Ximenes Belo, made his speech in Tetun, following by a concert in which nuns, priests students and other students (many wounded in the "massacre of Sta. Cruz") took part.

5. Tension between Portuguese Jesuit priests and Indonesian Jesuit priests has been boiling and this seem to be one of the reasons why many Timorese priests feel unsafe to wonder around Dili.

6. In the orphanage of Venilale there are 110 children, all of them boys.

7. In Vikeke, military presence was not obvious but heavily bombarded with "pancasila," particularly visible in the buildings.

8. Father Locateli, in Fatumaca, very old but still working hard and driving his truck around. However, talking to Bishop Belo a couple of times, one could see that he, too, was very scared like everyone else.

9. There was great deal of talk about a recent interview in Indonesian newspaper by Bishop Belo titled "Kami Ingin Lebih Bebas." Some said it was a courageous and wise interview. (anyone with a translation available please forward it to us).

10. Another point of concern was clearly the attitude of the new "gubernur." He is perceived as hardliner and he had stated that he will be tough against the "two-heads," name giving to those that are seen as not committed to integration. In Indonesian press, the new gubernur has been portrayed as a person elected by the people.

11. In the cemetery of Sta. Cruz, a black metal cross was raised to honour those who died in the "massacre of Sta. Cruz." During

the day, many mums (women) go there to leave flowers for the heroes that were killed. Being to the cemetery of Sta. Cruz allows an opportunity to feel a sense of hope and determination which is visible in the Timorese, particularly the younger generation.

12. It is clear that under the Indonesian occupation not many Timorese hold any business. Even those who defended integration in the past are now arguing that "this is not integration; this is a military occupation!" When talked to Timorese who can speak English one could get a clear picture of how the Timorese see the situation. Also one can see clearly that we are talking to a people living everyday in fear. This is the clearest picture one get in East Timor.

13. The Bishop, Mgr. Belo, said he wishes the military can understand the younger generation of Timorese a little bit better; many people suggested that it would be good if they start to teach Tetun in the schools too...

These are the 13 points which a recent visitor transmitted to us. It is not an extract from any report. These points are written from notes I took while listen to the talk.

#### Comments from Agio Pereira

*The picture one can derive from the elements given by, at least, four visitors who returned from east Timor during the month of October is clearly one of terror under military occupation. Although it was said that not many military were seen in the streets, it was also reported that many civilian dressed man were actually military men and secret police officers aimed at spying on the movements of the organised bodies of the resistance and to give the very few foreigners that managed to go to ET lately, an impression of a reduced military presence in East Timor.*

*A report recently written by a doctor who also visited east Timor two months ago, said that (twice) he saw troops being unloaded from trucks and running into the bush. Timorese who managed to leave ET recently also said that almost every month there have been military incursions in the mountains, especially in the southern coastal regions and in the eastern part of east Timor. The aim of these incursions is to capture Xanana. A visitor who managed to speak to high rank Indonesian officers in East Timor said that the officer she spoke to clearly declared that the orders from Jakarta are that "if they can not capture Xanana alive, don't capture him at all." This is because - according to the same officer - Jakarta is trying desperately to capture Xanana Gusmao alive and use him to force an integration.*

## REPLY TO EAST TIMOR QUESTIONNAIRE

*From Tata Mai-Lau News Oct. 19, 1992*

Having seen the replies giving by the pro-Indonesian Government "Benny" in "On East Timor questionnaire" we feel obliged, **as East Timorese**, to comment so that this distorted picture can be rectified.

1. Why can't international observers go to East Timor and freely report on their findings?

Answer: The clearest cut reason is THE TIMORESE PEOPLE REFUSES TO BE INDONESIANS. Hence, any expert independent observer that goes to East Timor will inevitably include this point on his/her report. Therefore, Indonesian Government will never welcome such a visit.

International Red Cross does have an office in Dili. However, the officer in charge will tell you that he has no room to move freely in East Timor unless he tows the Indonesian official line. Those visitors who have had a chance to talk to him will confirm this. To further highlight this fact we recall the protest organise by students in Dili during John Monjo, the US Ambassador's visit in January 1990. One student was shot, he ran into the house of the International Red Cross, he vomited the bullet off inside the house. The officers of Red Cross witnessed that, complained, but it had no effect in the international forum. The reason is simply because they have to tow the official line, which was "no student was shot."

The other reason why the Indonesian government is scared of expert report is because when the report is written with due expertise it does highlight the brutality of Indonesian military occupation of East Timor. One example is the report of the Special Envoy of UN Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Dr Amos Wako. He went to East Timor in January this year to observe the situation post-massacre (November 12 Santa Cruz massacre). His report, although yet to be made public, is believed to be very much against the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor and, of course, in favour of self-determination for the Timorese people. This is why the Secretary General of UN does feel comfortable to release it now. Because if he does it will be seen as acting against the Indonesian Government and (you've guessed it!) the entrance of experts into East Timor will be further tightened by the Indonesian military.

## TIMOR CURRICULUM 'REFORM'

*Source: Cahaya Siang (Manado), Oct. 18, 1992. Translation by Asia Watch.*

Books about the history of the province of East Timor must be published immediately and entered into the education curriculum at the elementary, middle and high school level so that all students know precisely about how the East Timorese people sought integration with Indonesia.

Many of the educated people in this youngest province are still ignorant about history, especially about the struggle of their parents for integration with Indonesia in 1976, the head of the provincial office of the Ministry of Education and Culture, R. Tri Suwartanta, told journalists in Dili last Wednesday.

The result is that while many young people are educated, they still are not ready to identify themselves as Indonesians, he said. He expressed the hope that by 1993, the history of East Timor could be taught in the schools.

The plan to draft a history of East Timor has already been submitted to the Ministry of Education and Culture. Funds requested in the project list (Daftar Isian Proyek or DIP) to draft a history total Rp. 100 million but as of now, they have not been made available, he added.

Including the history of East Timor in the school curriculum in the province is linked to the change in the educational system from quantitative to qualitative.

In the period 1976-86, the educational approach was more directed at quantity, so that all school-age children could have an education. All students passed and were promoted to the next class automatically, without exception.

The Ministry of Education together with the local government decided, in the end, to change this approach. "In the first year, 1990, implementation of the qualitative approach was a bit of a shock to students and their parents, but since 1991, it has been well received," Tri said.

The impact of the change has been deeply felt, especially among middle school students. Before 1990, not a single student in any of the seven subjects received an Ebtanas score of 6, but now there those with a 7.6 average. These high scores must now be supplemented by mental [discipline] and a feeling of pride. "One way of achieving this is by giving history lessons, particularly about integration."

The Ministry of Education and Culture gives East Timorese students every opportunity to become teachers but for the most part, they are not interested. "The usual

method of the Ministry to fill the need for teachers in East Timor from the SD to the SLTA level is to take them from Java, particularly Yogya, but this does not mean we are neglecting East Timorese youth," said Tri.

According to him, most East Timorese young people do not feel that entering the teaching profession will improve their lot. They generally look to being civil servants in the local government, because those who become bureau chiefs or department heads get an office car.

## JAKARTA TO TEACH NATIONALISM IN EAST TIMOR

*From PACNEWS, Oct. 19 1992*

The Indonesian military in East Timor is reported to be planning courses on nationalism for 245-thousand of the province's 750-thousand inhabitants.

The Jakarta Post newspaper quotes a spokesman for East Timor military command, Major Simbolon, as saying the authorities nowadays expect less local resistance to the reality of East Timor being part of Indonesia.

Major Simbolon, according to the report, said the language gap between East Timor and the rest of Indonesia had previously blocked the introduction of the course...but now the course materials, if necessary, could be translated into the local Tetum dialect.

The *Jakarta Post* did not say how those participating in the course would be selected.

## SOARES: NO COVER-UP OF TIMOR PROBLEMS

*Excerpt from translation of October 19, 1992 Jawa Pos story datelined Dili:*

East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares said firmly that there were no problems being covered up in East Timor now. "Just ask anyone who speaks to you," he replied to a Jawa Pos question. He was reacting to the strong statement by Senator Chris Schacht of Australia who believes the Indonesian government is engaged in a deliberate cover-up in East Timor. The Foreign Affairs Department at the last moment had cancelled the Australian delegation's planned visit to East Timor.

Asked about security problems in East Timor, Abilio said he could not find anything meaningful in that regard. "I think there is no security problem and there is nothing being covered-up." But he admitted he did not know beforehand that the Australian delegation's visit was cancelled.

He had been prepared to answer any questions they brought up.

## BAUCAU INCIDENT EXPLAINED

*Protected source via TAPOL, 20 Oct. 1992*

Early in October this year, the army commander of East Timor, Brig. Gen. Theo, announced that a guerrilla had been killed in a skirmish with the army. This had occurred, it was said, following an alleged assault by the guerrillas on an army unit. In fact, the East Timorese who died in the incident was a civilian, not a guerrilla. The facts of the incident are as follows:

The incident started with a fight between members of ABRI, apparently over a woman. One (or some) members of ABRI were killed in the brawl. The brawl occurred at around 9 pm on 5 October, outside the office of the Baucau Bupati, as an exhibition on development being held there had just come to a close.

To conceal the reason for their own casualties, ABRI turned on some Timorese who had been attending the exhibition and seriously injured Dominggus Aikarak. Aikarak's brother, Saturnino de Costa Belo, is one of the 8 Timorese who was tried in East Timor earlier this year; he was sentenced to 9 years. Saturnino was tried in Baucau; all the others were tried in Dili.

Badly injured, Aikarak made his way to the General Hospital in Baucau. A doctor at the hospital immediately began to treat his wounds but troops arrived at the hospital at around 11 pm, demanding that Dominggus be handed over. The doctor argued with the soldiers, saying that Dominggus needed urgent treatment, but the soldiers said he was a guerrilla and must be handed over to the army. The doctor had no option but to hand him over. Outside the hospital at 11 pm, Dominggus was severely beaten and died on the spot.

The next day, the army informed the chief of the village where Dominggus lives, Desa Kaibadak (Baucau), that he had been killed during an attack launched against the army by the guerrillas.

Later that day, the body of Dominggus was taken to the village and the village head was told to arrange for his burial, but he and the other villagers refused to do so, saying that they did not accept the account they had been given of his death. So the soldiers took the body away and buried it themselves.

At 11 pm that night (6 October), a convoy of ten army vehicles drove into the village and rounded up the village head and all the inhabitants - men, women and children. They were all driven off to an unknown destination. Since then, some have returned

to the village. The village head, members of Domingus' family and some others have not yet returned home; their whereabouts are not known.

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## URGENT INTERNATIONAL ACTION NEEDED TO SAVE EAST TIMOR

*Press release from Darwin Supporters for a Free East Timor. 22 Oct. 1992. Abridged*

Incontrovertible evidence has and is coming to hand that the Indonesian armed forces government has stepped up their total militarisation and genocide of East Timor prior to the coming important anniversaries and to the projected talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General to be held in far-off December between the present coloniser Indonesia and the former coloniser Portugal.

There is currently a huge military build-up in East Timor. Ships are disgorging large numbers of soldiers into the country, already under the most total military occupation in the world.

Not only are soldiers arriving but also civilians. Combined with the export of East Timorese, we now have the Javanisation of Dili and other towns, such that their populations already consist of a majority of non-Timorese. This incidentally means a reorientation of language, culture and religion from Christian to Muslim.

Within the country there is already action being taken to implement the new governor's call to relocate East Timorese from the towns and villages to the less developed coast and plains where hardship, starvation and sickness are already evident.

The political prisoners are being transferred to various gaols thus increasing their hardship, isolation, starvation and the stress on their families, while making it more difficult for those in the outside world who care, to keep in touch.

Young people have for a long time been taken from Dili to the south coast for relocation, imprisonment or death. Many have simply disappeared. Many are being exported to Indonesian islands, allegedly to work for three years.

Families are forced to surrender members to the military for certain interrogation and beatings, with probably extreme torture and death to follow. Imagine the shame, terror and anguish to mother and child when she is forced to seek out an activist son or daughter and say: "My child, please give yourself into the hands of the enemy to suffer torture and death because, if you do not, the military have guaranteed that they will kill your younger brothers."

The net effects are that the new and brutal colonisers, Indonesia, are escalating an active genocide right under the noses of impotent international observers, including Portugal, Australia and the UN. The situation obviously precluded a visit by Australian politicians, even a token brief visit.

We demand:

- \* Indonesia cease its build up of military forces and oppression in East Timor.

- \* We strongly support Warren Snowden MHR in his recent call for Indonesia to withdraw its armed forces from East Timor.

- \* Australia should provide to the UN and the free world its intelligence of the military build-up and oppression in East Timor and should pull out of its immoral activities in the Timor Gap.

- \* The UN, Australia and Portugal must demand that:

Indonesia cease its present military buildup and its oppression and forced relocation of the East Timorese,

UN observers be placed in East Timor immediately.

All people of goodwill put immediate and forceful direct pressure on Australia and international politicians and institutions to end the genocide in East Timor, and on Indonesia and its assets to force its withdrawal from East Timor.

The Australian media in general failed to note the anniversary on 16 October of the killings of 5 journalists in Balibo on 16 October 1975. Other anniversaries to note are:

Wednesday, 28 October is the anniversary of the killing of Sebastiao Gomes at Motael Church in Dili;

Thursday, 12 November is the anniversary of the Dili massacre (one of many, but the only one on full, frontal colour TV);

Monday, 7 December is the 17th anniversary of the full-scale invasion of East Timor by the brutal military government of Indonesia.

[Today is the launch in Sydney by Justice Michael Kirby of the new book by Michele Turner, TELLING. East Timor, personal testimonies 1942-1992.]

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## SYAFEI INTERVIEW: PREPARING FOR ANNIVERSARIES

*Tempo 24 October 1992. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged*

### FOR THE SAKE OF 28 OCTOBER

The commander of Kolakops (the army's operational command in East Timor), Brig. General Theo Syafei understands the disappointment of the Australian parliamen-

tary delegation at not being able to visit East Timor. Is it correct to say that the situation there is not very congenial? Here is Tempo's interview with the general:

*T: The government turned down a visit by the Australian parliamentary delegation. Was it because of objections from Kolakops?*

*S: I can understand it if they are disappointed. I understand it because they had fixed the date on which they would come here, 28 October. This seems to have been more important to them than the purpose of their visit. They were certainly not coming here on 28 October [the day on which Sebastiao Gomes was killed last year] to celebrate Youth Pledge Day [28 October is marked in Indonesia as Youth Pledge Day, to commemorate an important event in the history of Indonesia's nationalist struggle]. And when they were asked to alter the date from the 28 October, they seemed to be disappointed.*

*T: In other words, the Australians were deliberately hoping to take advantage of a certain moment?*

*S: Yes..., maybe they wanted to stir something up or to see something. As the person responsible for security here, I cannot agree to their wanting to stir something up. Nor can I agree if they want to come here to see or inspect anything.*

*T: Was it not because of the armed contact between the armed forces and Fretilin recently in Baucau?*

*S: No. We received a letter from the Australian delegation before that. I then asked Jakarta why they had to choose that date. There are two delegations coming here around the 10 and the 14 November. I don't know whether they have been turned down by Jakarta.*

*T: In November, it will be a year since the Dili incident. People have the impression that the armed forces are staging a 'show of force' [original: English]. Is this in anticipation of something?*

*S: I must be realistic. They [the East Timorese] are also looking for the right moment to do something. It happened when the US ambassador, John Monjo, came and when Amos Wako (the UN Secretary-General's envoy) came. I would be deceiving myself if I did not consider those dates as moments for them to use. I don't want them to run away with the idea that we are*

vacillating, still less that we are weak. I admit that I am taking preventive measures.

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## ARBITRARY ARRESTS IN EAST TIMOR

*Press Release by Fretilin, Darwin. 26 October 1992. Unabridged*

The underground resistance in East Timor claimed that the Indonesian armed forces, ABRI, in East Timor are intensifying their military activities to dismantle the resistance's communications network.

The report said that in the last quarter - July, August and September, more than 100 people were arrested in the districts of Dili, Baucau and Viqueque. However, it was only possible to unearth 42 names of those arrested.

[A list of the 42 persons is attached to the Press Release.]

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## INDONESIA TIGHTENS SECURITY IN EAST TIMOR CAPITAL

*Two items from TAPOL.*

*Our own (protected) source says that a thousand people have been arrested in East Timor since 23 October, apparently as a result of these house-to-house checks. Anyone without an identity card is being arrested, while anyone with an identity card issued not in the place where they are found is ordered to return to the place of issue within 24 hours.*

### Reuter 26 October 1992

*Dateline: Dili, East Timor. Abridged*

Indonesia is tightening security ahead of next month's anniversary of an army massacre in East Timor and expelling anyone without identity cards from the capital Dili.

"Many people have been caught without proper identity cards staying with friends in Dili," a local official said on Monday. Officials said they were conducting house-to-house searches, looking for anyone who might be involved in preparations to mark the first anniversary of the shooting.

"We don't want such an incident to happen again," said one official.

### SECURITY CLAMPDOWN MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF DILI MASSACRE

*UPI. 26 October 1992 Dateline: Jakarta. Abridged*

East Timor authorities have carried out sweeping door-to-door checks of identity cards as the first anniversary of the Nov. 12 Dili massacre approaches, the Jawa Pos newspaper said Monday.

Authorities have mounted the operation in anticipation of possible action by pro-independence East Timorese Fretilin guerrillas from jungle areas, the paper said. The report said non-East Timorese citizens who have no identity cards would be ordered to leave the province with 48 hours.

The report quoted authorities as saying the operations were being carried out in advance of Oct. 28, the anniversary of clashes (sic -that was the day when Sebastiao Gomes was killed; a memorial of his death on Nov. 12 was gunned down by troops) that preceded the Nov. 12 massacre.

The door-to-door checks were carried out at night since, according to the officials, most East Timorese worked during the day.

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## NEW ARRESTS

*27 October 1992.*

JAKARTA, Indonesia (UPI) - East Timor military authorities arrested 10 suspected members of the region's Fretilin guerrilla movement ahead of a planned anti-government demonstration, the Jakarta Post reported Tuesday.

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, East Timor military operations commander, was quoted by the newspaper as saying authorities foiled a plot by the East Timor Fretilin guerrilla movement to stage a demonstration Wednesday, one year after an anti-government protest that led to the Nov. 12 Dili massacre.

Dozens of youths held anti-Indonesia demonstrations Oct. 28, 1991 in front of the Motael Church and later clashed with pro-government youths.

Resentment over the October incident is viewed as a precursor to the Nov. 12 demonstration in which at least 50 people were killed when troops opened fire on mourners paying homage to a youth who died in an earlier protest at the Santa Cruz Cemetery.

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

Indonesia, home of the world's largest Muslim population, annexed East Timor soon afterward, fighting a bloody civil war with mainly Roman Catholic Timorese opposed to Jakarta's rule.

The Fretilin guerrilla movement, which launched its armed rebellion against the government in 1976, still is active in East Timor, although in greatly reduced numbers.

Syafei said the Fretilin supporters were arrested in Dili during checks of identity cards in the city.

Authorities in the troubled province reportedly have carried out sweeping door-to-door identity checks in advance of the first

anniversary of the Nov. 12 Dili massacre. Syafei said about 1,000 people were found without proper identification, and were arrested briefly for questionings.

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## BAUCAU: 7 KILLED, MANY ARRESTED

*Protected source, via TAPOL. 27 Oct. 1992*

Two young East Timorese (not one) were shot and fatally wounded on the evening of 5 October, Alcino Freitas Belo, a nephew of Saturnino da Costa Belo, who is serving a 9-year sentence in Cai-Sahe prison, Baucau. He reached hospital but died there. The other victim was Dominggus Belo, also identified as Dominggus Aikarak, a relative of Saturnino's. The killings occurred after a soldier of battalion 315 had been killed (apparently during a brawl) in Baucau.

[The army claimed that the two persons killed were guerrillas who had slipped into Baucau while a Development Exhibition was being held. The guerrillas allegedly opened fire on Indonesian troops, but without causing casualties on the Indonesian side. Jawa Pos, 9 October 1992.]

The security forces also arrested several dozen people, only some of whom have been identified by name. They were all detained in Flamboyan prison (in the rear of the Flamboyan Hotel). Those arrested included Guilherme, Alberto (Abeto) from Samalari, Filomeno de Bercoli (all of whom were badly beaten about the face), the liurai of Samalari named Manuel Marsal Segueira along with his wife and 4 children, Mario Abel, Julio Joao de Deus, Maria Isabel and a younger sibling, and Feliciano from Wailili and her children.

On 6 October, an 18-year old second-grade upper secondary school pupil died in Baucau after having been severely beaten and kicked by soldiers. Three elderly people and a youngster were shot dead by troops of the 412 battalion while they were out hunting. They included José (former residential/RT head from Venilale) and his nephew, as well as Marcelo and Pedro, both from Venilale.

Later, local priests were summoned and told to choose: either leave East Timor or agree to become Indonesian citizens. They were accused of 'being behind' all these incidents. The three priests under threat are Father Locatelli SDB, Father Joao de Deus SDB, and Father Baltazar. All three are required to report daily to the local military command, KODIM.

## 'FRETILIN PLOT' FOILED

*Substantial excerpt, Oct. 27 Jakarta Post:*

East Timor military authorities announced yesterday that they foiled a Fretilin plot to stage a demonstration and arrested 10 suspected supporters of the separatist group.

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei said the demonstration was set for October 28, the date of last year's stabbing (sic) at the Motael Church which subsequently led to the Nov. 12 tragedy at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

The Fretilin supporters were arrested in Dili during an operation checking on identification documents in the city.

Syafei said the Fretilin members (sic) were arrested when they failed to show their ID cards.

The provincial administration (sic) and the local military have been carrying out ID card checks for the past week. Syafei said around 1,000 people were found without proper identification. They were arrested for brief periods before being released.

Syafei said the soldiers on guard at the Santa Cruz cemetery were posted to ensure peace for people visiting the cemetery on All Souls Day on Nov. 2. The Catholic day of prayer observes the passing of loved ones.

Syafei said he had visited the family of Sebastiao Gomes who was killed in the Motael incident. "They have no desire to demonstrate and only wished to lay flowers on the grave in accordance with the local Roman Catholic custom," he said.

## SUHARTO TO ABILIO: HIRE TIMORESE

*Substantial excerpt, Oct. 28 Kompas story:*

President Suharto instructed East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares to fill Group II civil service vacancies in the province with native employees and not to speed up the pensioning off of incapable officials, such as those unable to read. If the total of natives proved inadequate, migrants could be brought in. "This is done to ensure that various forms of social jealousy not occur and create new problems there," Abilio told reporters after being received by the Head of State in Istana Negara.

The President also asked that caderization in East Timor be carried out as best as possible so rumors would not surface which said Indonesia had entered East Timor to expand its job base. "The President very much disagreed with this view," said Abilio. As a result, the President had asked Cabinet ministers to discuss the caderization problem in each of their respective departmental offices in East Timor.

Abilio said the presence of ABRI was still very much needed in East Timor, especially in the areas of defense, social and political affairs, the implementation of development, and other fields. "This is because the people are not yet ready. They are very split and divided and need a force which can provide safeguards against undesirable things," Abilio said. "ABRI's total can be decreased, but its quality can continue to be increased," he went on.

But he disagreed with those who said the situation in East Timor was still troubled (rawan). "If we are divided, that is the result of colonialism. We were colonized 450 years. They used the system of divide and rule so that it is difficult to unite the people," he said.

As for reports of operations in pursuit of Fretilin still going on, Abilio said that was natural since there were still those who didn't accept integration. But their numbers were small, possibly not over 10 percent of the population.

As for the chances of foreigners entering East Timor, Abilio said, "For those who truly wished to assist the government in improving life there, yes, 'welcome.'" This also held for Portuguese parliamentarians coming to East Timor. "If they want to assist Indonesia, if they want to assist the East Timorese people to become good Indonesian citizens, again I say, 'welcome.'" After all, the East Timorese had assisted Portugal and defended its good name for 450 years.

Abilio said caderization was needed because for the past 10 years people had not been educated for the specific jobs available in the province. In the near future, over 100 youths would be hired.

## ABILIO: NO TRAUMA LEFT FROM SANTA CRUZ

*Brief excerpt from Oct. 28 Pelita story:*

East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares said the possibility was very small that the people still felt traumatized by the November 12 Dili incident of last year.

"We should not see this problem as the 'umbrella' (payung) for all East Timor's problems because this problem is really very small and involves some people in the city of Dili," he said.

Maybe some members of the public still felt sad or vengeful. That was a human reaction. This could not be covered up. But vigilance was still needed and the issue should not be blown out of proportion. It was an ordinary problem. He asked what percent the victims comprised of the total East Timorese population.

## EAST TIMORESE AUTHORITIES CONDUCT IDENTITY CARD CHECKS

*UPI 28 Oct. 1992 Two items, abridged*

Several East Timorese people have expressed resentment and fear as security authorities conduct a wave of door-to-door identity card checks in Indonesia's troubled province (sic), the Jawa Pos newspaper reported Wednesday. It reported from Dili that the operation which began on 23 October and occurs between 8pm and midnight is scaring people. People are also complaining that it disrupts their nightly rest, the paper said.

It quoted one Dili man, Manuel Soares, who was visited by representatives of the operation as saying that the implementation of the checks was "too gross." He said the security authorities entered people's homes in a fierce and unfriendly manner and with rough tempers. "I became scared with my body trembling because I was snapped at by these authorities," he said.

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, East Timor military operations commander said that during the operation, the authorities have arrested 10 suspected members of the E Timorese Fretilin movement, the Jakarta Post said Tuesday.

Around 1,000 people were found without proper identification and were arrested for questioning, he was reported as saying. He said the authorities have foiled a plot by the guerrilla movement to stage a demonstration Wednesday [first anniversary of the murder of Sebastiao Gomes at Motael Church].

The same experience was reported by other people in other villages in Dili, with one villager saying that when people were caught without proper identification, they were told by the security authorities to leave the area within 24 hours.

The authorities have said that the sweeping checks were intended to prevent the region's Fretilin guerrilla movement coming in from the jungle and to prevent outsiders entering East Timor in advance of the first anniversary of the Nov. 12 shootings.

East Timor governor, Abilio Osorio José Soares described the operation as "just a normal thing."

No high-level foreign delegation has been allowed to visit East Timor since February, when a special UN envoy was granted entry.

## CALL FOR CAUTION AS MASSACRE ANNIVERSARY APPROACHES

East Timor's governor, Osorio Soares urged on Tuesday the need for caution in the

run-up to the first anniversary of the Dili massacre. "The Nov. 12 incident could be used as a reason for relatives whose children became victims at the time," Soares said. He did not elaborate.

Foreigners were free to visit East Timor if they came with a good purpose, he added. Portuguese parliamentarians would also be welcome if their visit was to help the people of East Timor in development programmes, Soares said. "But if they come to provoke the people with empty dreams against Indonesia, we will certainly refuse them," he said.

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## TAPOL CALLS FOR MONITORING IN TIMOR

*The following is the text of a letter sent to a number of parliamentarians in the UK by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign on 29 October 1992:*

### The present situation in East Timor

I would like to draw your attention to the present grave situation in East Timor, and suggest what Britain should do as the first anniversary of the 12 November Santa Cruz massacre approaches.

The military commander in East Timor, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, has kept the people in a constant state of fear. Foreign journalists are refused entry. Parliamentarians have been kept out, including a group of MEPs who were in Jakarta last month. Australian MPs now visiting Indonesia were told they would be allowed to visit East Timor but at the last minute, permission was withdrawn under pressure from Theo Syafei.

Terror and intimidation in East Timor are particularly acute at this moment because the military authorities feared that people in Dili would want to commemorate the death last year of Sebastiao Gomes outside Motael Church on 28 October. His death was being commemorated on 12 November when troops gunned down a peaceful demonstration, killings hundreds. News agencies in Jakarta on Monday [26 October] reported widespread late-night house-to-house searches currently underway to check identity cards. Already a thousand people without IDs have been arrested; anyone with IDs issued elsewhere must return to that place within 24 hours. All this has intensified the climate of fear and intimidation. Syafei bluntly admitted last week that his troops are staging a 'show of force' to prevent anything untoward happening in the next few weeks. There have been many arrests in the past few months. Numerous disappearances have been reported but these are impossible to

verify because independent observers are kept out.

Syafei's aim is to prevent any manifestation in Dili on 12 November, a day when families of the victims could be expected to place flowers at the cemetery where their loved ones were killed. None of the bodies has been accounted for or returned to the families.

East Timorese have urged us to ensure that the situation in Dili is monitored. But with no foreign journalists or visitors allowed in, this will not be possible. We propose that the British government, as President of the European Community:

1. Should urge the Indonesian government to ensure that the military authorities refrain from repressive actions on 12 November and allow the people to pay homage to their dead.
2. Should request as a matter of urgency that the EC be allowed to send a small diplomatic mission to Dili for several days before, during and after 12 November.

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## FOR FIRST TIME, CENTRAL JAVA TRANSMIGRATES 25 FAMILIES TO EAST TIMOR

*Substantial excerpt from November 2 Kedaulatan Rakyat article datelined Magelang.*

*Comment: The recent transmigration figures to East Timor look like they will remain low. The article does not make it sound like the good life awaits the new transmigrants. Guaranteed food supply for one year is not ample for the time needed bring in coffee or cocoa crops from scratch. The reference to a church on the site suggests the transmigrants may be Christian.*

— John, Task Force Indonesia

*Another Comment: This is the first report of rural transmigration to East Timor we have seen for a long time. As far as we know, rural transmigrants have previously come from Bali. It would be interesting to know the background of these families - whether in particular they are pensioned soldiers' families. (Magelang is an important army base.)*

— Carmel, TAPOL

Ninety-one persons comprising 25 families in Magelang District were transmigrated to the Culuhan Transmigration Settlement Unit (UPT), Zumalai Sub-district, Kovalima District in Suai, East Timor, last Friday.

They had resided mainly in Dukun Sub-district, with a few families from Mungkid and Candimulyo Sub-districts.

Head of the Transmigration Department's office in Magelang, Drs. Wartoyo said after their departure that they were the first from Central Java. Earlier, transmigrants from East Java and West Java had also departed to Indonesia's youngest province. Central Java's quota was 75 families. Possibly all will come from Magelang.

Soegihardjo, Chairman of the Magelang DPR, said that one enemy the transmigrants would have to face was the infertile land which did not have much potential. The transmigrants would have to work to give the land potential so it could become a resource for their own welfare.

The UPT Culuhan land has possibilities. It isn't far different from land in Java with streams on its left and right sides. It is appropriate for planting coffee and cocoa. It is located 6 km from the sub-district seat, explained Wartoyo, who had sent several employees to examine the site at first hand.

The sending of transmigrants to Culuhan constituted the 9th set of departures in fiscal 1992/1993. The year's target is 425 families. Till now, just 137 families, comprising 492 persons, have set out, about 32% (of the target).

General transmigrant facilities prepared in East Timor include a 6m x 6m house with ceiling, floor, and 4 concrete walls. There are 2 hectares of land, 1/4 of a hectare already bulldozed. Another 3/4 of a hectare will be bulldozed after the transmigrants live on the site. One further hectare has not yet been bulldozed. The site also has a primary and lower secondary school, church, and community health center with a doctor. Rice and foodstuffs are assured for one year.

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## CONSTANTIO PINTO REACHES MACAO

*TAPOL report, 2 November 1992*

Constantio Pinto, the East Timorese activist who took a leading part in organising the demonstration in Dili on 12 November 1991 and subsequently went into hiding, reached Macao last week. He left Indonesia under a false name.

Pinto was frequently mentioned in the trials of East Timorese in Dili as a key figure in the clandestine movement. There were even provocative suggestions that he was 'working for army intelligence.'

It is understood that Pinto will shortly be going to Lisbon for the commemoration of 12 November. Another possibility is that he will go to Australia.

His presence outside East Timor will help clarify many aspects of the demonstration in Dili and the violent massacre



which left 273 people dead and many more wounded.

TAPOL has learnt that he has spent most of the time since the Santa Cruz massacre in the bush with the FALINTIL guerrillas.

### CONSTANTIO PINTO INTERVIEWED BY TAPOL

Constantio Pinto, a leading activist in the urban-based East Timor resistance movement, arrived in Lisbon on 11 November, in time to take part in commemorations in Portugal on the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991. Constantio secretly left Jakarta for Macau in late October, after spending six months in hiding in Jakarta.

TAPOL conducted a short interview of him by the phone today, 12 November 1992:

*T: Did you take part in the demonstration in Dili on 12 November?*

CP: I was intending to take part but the Indonesian intelligence had been hunting me down since 2 November so I had to be extremely careful about appearing anywhere in public. But I went out, intending to join the mass of people just after they had arrived at Santa Cruz cemetery. However, just as I was about to mingle with the people, the soldiers started shooting at the demonstrators so I had to leave the spot immediately.

*T: How did you spend the next few months up to the time you left Dili in May this year?*

CP: I was in hiding all the time, moving from house to house almost every night and never able to be outside during daylight hours. During this time, I started to gather detailed information about the number of casualties of the massacre. The information sent abroad by the resistance movement earlier this year was the result of this investigation. As you know, experts carefully examined our lists of dead, missing and wounded and came to the conclusion that 273 people were killed and 376 were wounded in the massacre.

*T: Can you describe the security situation in East Timor since the massacre?*

CP: The Indonesian army has greatly increased the number of troops in East Timor. They have placed a platoon of 8 to 10 soldiers in every single village. In some villages there are many more than this. They have stationed a hundred troops in the

village of Kuluhun on the outskirts of Dili, for example. This is because many of the casualties of the massacre came from this village so there are many bereaved families in Kuluhun. There are a lot more troops in the village of Santa Cruz which also suffered a high number of casualties.

Ever since the massacre, it has been virtually impossible for East Timorese people to go out in Dili after about 8pm. The only people you will see in the streets after that time are soldiers, police and intelligence officers.

*T: What do you think the situation is like there today?*

CP: Far worse than usual. The families of the dead would like to place wreaths or flowers on the place where their loved ones died a year ago, but the army will not allow this to happen.

*T: The Reuter correspondent reported from Dili yesterday that he only saw soldiers surrounding the Santa Cruz cemetery and that the streets of Dili were calm. What is your comment?*

CP: What people should understand is that Indonesian soldiers do not walk around the town in uniform. But they are there nevertheless. They all wear civilian clothing but the East Timorese know who they are.

*T: What about your own family? Do you fear for their safety?*

CP: My wife's name is Gabriela Lopes Pinto and we have a son named Tilsao who is only 9 months old. I have never seen him. They are living with my parents.

Yes, I am very afraid for their safety, especially now that I am abroad and am speaking out about what is happening in my country. I hope that governments or institutions that have influence with the Indonesian authorities will do something to protect my family, and will urge the authorities to make sure that my family does not suffer because of me.

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### HORTA'S CHARGES

According to a November 5 Reuter story by Wilson da Silva datelined Sydney, in a sometimes fiery speech before the first anniversary of the November 12 massacre of Timorese by Indonesian troops, José Ramos Horta said 273 civilians were killed, 355 were missing and 376 were wounded.

Ramos Horta, brandishing a computer printout filled with names, said an eight-month study by church groups, students and rebels in East Timor had uncovered the real number of dead and missing.

He said Jakarta knew the November 12 demonstration by separatist Timorese was being planned. No effort was made to stop it and armed forces chief Try Sutrisno ordered a regional commander to "shoot and kill" demonstrators, Ramos Horta charged.

"The intention of the Indonesian military was to draw out into the open the youth leaders and teach them a lesson."

Ramos Horta, a lecturer at Sydney's University of New South Wales, helps run a clandestine network operating inside East Timor.

In an emotional moment before his speech, Ramos Horta said his elder brother Antonio died on Wednesday in hospital in East Timor's capital of Dili in mysterious circumstances.

He accused Jakarta-appointed officials of poisoning his brother, the fourth sibling he has lost to the war against Indonesia.

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### ABILIO SOARES: "WHY DID NOT ALL THOUSAND DIE?"

*This interview provides some insights into the man who has replaced Mario Carrascalao as governor of East Timor. What a contrast! This makes the former governor look positively angelic. The former usually tried to distance himself from the military and often complained of his lack of power to do anything. Not so Osorio. It would be difficult these days to find any Indonesian who would be so blindly pro-military.*

*Osorio is quite frank about his lengthy involvement with Jakarta and his contacts with Moertopo and BAIS, both in the forefront of the de-stabilisation strategy towards East Timor, during the months before the Indonesian invasion.*

*As for his remarks about the Santa Cruz victims, this woman simply could not believe her eyes. — Carmel, Tapol*

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### Indonesia News Service No. 327. November 6, 1992

*This issue contains the complete text of a Forum Keadilan interview with the new Governor of East Timor, published in the Oct. 12 issue.*

(FK editorial matter) Abilio José Osorio Soares is described as the Red and White (Merah Putih, Indonesian national flag) Governor. During the integration struggle, he was one of the founders of Apodeti in 1974, the party which from its very start chose East Timor integration into Indonesia. His political statements in East Timor after the 12 November Incident led to his being considered the most suitable "number one man" in East Timor for the 1992-1997 term. The 7th of 14 children in a family of Manatutu-Portuguese stock, he was once

herded by Fretilin to a mass grave. But unlike the 100s of other pro-RI detainees together with him at that moment, including his older brother José Fernando Osorio Soares who was then Apodeti Secretary General and killed by Fretilin, Abilio succeeded in escaping from that execution site in Same in the southern region of East Timor. When he met Indonesian soldiers to seek protection, it was only with great difficulty he convinced them he wasn't Fretilin. A photograph of himself with Ali Moertopo helped him persuade the soldiers he was a Republican. It was not only he and his brother who were anti-Portuguese administration in East Timor. His uncle José Manuel Duarte was known as a leader of the armed rebellion against Portugal in 1959. But that rebellion was crushed. His uncle was captured and exiled to Angola, then a Portuguese colony in Africa. It was only after East Timor integrated with Indonesia that his uncle could come home to the land of his birth. His uncle is still alive and lives in Dili. Abilio is truly known for leaning toward Jakarta. That is why many expected that the Governor born in Manatutu, on assuming office, would cleanse the provincial administration from "two-headed" elements. "Where I was born, I shepherded livestock. As Governor, I will shepherd the good people. I will embrace Fretilin people who want to become conscious (sadar)," said the son of a teacher and livestock raiser who only experienced formal education through lower secondary school. When in Jakarta two weeks ago, he received Ayu Utami, Tony Hasyim, Pracoyo, and Baskoro in Hotel Indonesia where he was spending the night.

*(Interview text begins)*

*Q: In other regions, the Governors are flag rank ABRI officers (perwira tinggi) or university graduates, while you only completed lower secondary school. How do you feel about it?*

A: It doesn't bother me even a little bit. Why? Because I was placed in an area which required me to solve its problems. There was no one who understood the East Timorese except us native sons who learned in the field. Yes, those others got more formal education, but if placed in East Timor they definitely wouldn't be able to hack it. Now the President has appointed me. I have to try, even though I know it's a heavy responsibility.

*Q: What problems does a Governor of East Timor face?*

A: A lot.

*Q: The toughest?*

A: They're all about the same. Only possibly there will be a priority on efforts to unite the East Timorese.

*Q: Unite them with Indonesians?*

A: Unite them internally. The East Timorese must unite. Later on we can strengthen the union with Indonesia.

*Q: Are the East Timorese really so divided?*

A: We were compartmentalized by the old parties and still feel that way even now. So I am appealing that everyone unite. The UDT people can remove their masks. I, an Apodeti man, will remove my mask. Let the Fretilin, Trabalhista, and Kota people remove theirs, too. Let's sit down and look at East Timor's problem as our common problem. That's more or less what I want. So far there has been no such effort. We have not been appealing to each other. Rather, ABRI has been doing the appealing. While we always watch each other surreptitiously, who wants to stick out his butt. I want to try it. I am convinced if I am supported by all sides, I can definitely accomplish something.

*Q: What percent of the people really agree with integration?*

A: If we were pessimistic, say, 90%. If we're going to be optimistic about it, 95%.

*Q: What are the East Timorese really demanding?*

A: Everything.

*Q: Is it true one reason for the 12 November Incident was not enough jobs for the young people?*

A: There are ways of demanding that. But you saw for yourself that the incident was coordinated by certain people so that when the Human Rights Commission came, when reporters from abroad came, then these people acted. So they had other aims. They weren't job-hunting.

*Q: Reportedly, when East Timor was opened up in 1988, the indigenous economy was pressed by the migrants.*

A: Clearly that was the case.

*Q: The meatball soup sellers and stallholders came from Java.*

A: That's right, it's true the meatball soup sellers came from Java. It was the Javanese who set up all the stalls. The East Timorese didn't want to do what others were doing. Ha, ha, ha.

*Q: So what kind of work did the young people want?*

A: Those who hadn't completed school but could demonstrate? They weren't the ones who needed jobs. But these schoolkids made disturbances. Why? There was no good reason. If a demonstration were held by the unemployed, we could accept that. But schoolkids? How could we give jobs to schoolkids still in school?

*Q: Their education was at fault?*

A: No. They were manipulated. And there were no benefits from it. There was no guidance of the young generation. We developed every economic sector, but guidance of the young generation? A big zero.

*Q: Pak Carrascalao once said he could not use his full authority. Do you also feel that way?*

A: Authority in what areas?

*Q: As head of the provincial administration.*

A: I have full authority. Even when I was a district head, I felt I had full authority. And more so as Governor.

*Q: What about military interference in the provincial administration?*

A: I've never seen the military interfere in it.

*Q: In what time frame?*

A: Since the very start. Everything was divided up. ABRI took care of security problems. I don't understand. In what area did the military interfere?

*Q: With the existence of the Operations Execution Command (Kolakops), isn't the situation in East Timor regarded as something less than normal?*

A: How could he (apparently, Carrascalao) assure that those in the forests would not disrupt things? So long as these people are still in the forests, was he in a position to say operations should come to an end? Did he want that? Did he himself offer to solve this? The evidence is, never. Come on now. But there's no need to talk about that anymore. He's a good man. I will continue what he has already begun.

*Q: Precisely how many soldiers are needed in East Timor?*

A: Now there are 10 battalions to handle all development activities. There are two combat battalions (editor inserts: a battalion numbers between 500 and a 1000 men). But you had best ask the soldiers. There are about 8 (apparently, battalions) engaged in territorial operations (Opster). I think we very much need those involved in territorial operations.

*Q: But the Opster soldiers are also armed. Doesn't this influence the people psychologically?*

A: Look, someone is a soldier. If a soldier isn't armed, he's not a soldier. If you didn't have your ball-point pens and paper, you wouldn't be journalists.

*Q: Wouldn't it be better if they gave the impression they were coming bearing hoes?*

A: In the field, they do use hoes. But they still get criticized. People ask why soldiers have to do that. In fact, they are working directly on meeting the people's needs.

*Q: Many say that all development in East Timor is done by ABRI, leaving no opportunities for the people.*

A: Is that what Bishop Belo meant? He meant that those active in development should not be ABRI but the people themselves. But we know that the capability of the people is still limited. We don't have skilled craftsmen. I have experience in a district. If I wanted to make a new clean water supply, I just provided the pipes and ABRI installed them right away at no further expense. If I had told the people to install them, it isn't certain they could do it. And if they could install them, they'd ask to be paid. That's why we still need ABRI.

(At this point, an unnamed person sitting in who is identified as an East Timorese university student adds the following remarks: Maybe those engaged in development still have to be military but they should not be so demonstrative about it. Do they really have to wear military uniforms with their battalion numbers written on them? This makes it look like everywhere everything is the result of the work of the military. The uniforms aren't necessary. Without them the people will be less tense.)

(Abilio then continues his own line of thought.)

A: I'm sure that's the elite way of looking at it. The fact is though that the people like it because as soon as things are finished they get to use them. But the elite still asks how the people will get work if ABRI does all the jobs.

*Q: Isn't this method "spoiling" the people too much?*

A: I also think there should be limits to it. It just can't keep going on and on this way. If there is damage, it will be ABRI again which repairs it. From one angle, we have to make the people capable. We already provide direction for them. If something gets

damaged, they have to be able to repair it themselves. In other words, maybe it's now time we give them hooks and not just the fish. But I still believe that territorial operations remain necessary. All the more so now with my programs being focused in the field of agriculture. I need a military force to assist me in opening up new farmland.

(FK editorial matter) Abilio was born on June 4, 1947. "That was the June in which people were born who later became leaders," he said, laughing loudly. Since he was a small child, he really knew the poverty of the people and their suffering. He was forced to cut short his schooling in Dili after competing the equivalent of lower secondary level (Ciclo de Ensino Secundario) so that the even younger children in the family, already over-aged, could also get a taste of school. In 1968 he joined the Topas (Eurasian) Troops as a draftee (wamil), an obligation for 18 year old East Timorese of that era. With the emergence of the effort to gain independence from Portugal, he recognized that the East Timorese still lacked discipline and would be unable to stand on their own. "We needed Indonesian aid to just exist." When his older brother José founded Apodeti (Associacio Popular Democratica Timorese), which very clearly mentioned in its statutes a wish to integrate with Indonesia, Abilio signed on as a member. There is a small incident at the start of the integration struggle he still remembers. On the night Apodeti was formally established, he saw a veteran from the 1959 rebellion who had been exiled to Africa appealing, on his knees, to a priest, "Father, bless us that we might succeed." But the priest replied, "There is no need. If your intent is good, you will be at God's side." Then the fourth Governor of East Timor said clearly, "We won.")

(Interview text resumes)

*Q: What about the position of the Church? Reportedly, they remain hesitant.*

A: Here we need to differentiate between the Church and individuals. I am also the Church. The Church is a body formed by a community. I belong to that community, so I am also a member of the Church.

*Q: Then why does the Dili Diocese not want to join the Indonesian Bishops Council (KWI)?*

A: There would be no use to it, Each Church is independent. Each Bishop is independent. They are directly dependent on the Pope. If the Dili Diocese wants to be made a member of KWI, that would only be meaningless progress, just formalism.

*Q: But does this not cause ambiguity in their loyalty, whether it is to the Pope or to the President of Indonesia?*

A: As for the Church, the loyalty is to the Pope. As for citizens, the loyalty is to President Suharto. As Bishop Belo admitted, he is an Indonesian citizen. That means as a citizen he is loyal to the President. As a person, spiritually I am loyal to the Bishop and to the Pope. But in a worldly sense, I am loyal to the President.

*Q: What is your assessment of President Suharto?*

A: The President was raised to Father of Development. But for me in East Timor, that's not the thing. For East Timor, he is Father of Integration. He was the first person to accept us as part of Indonesia. That has great meaning. I have taken the initiative to propose that the East Timor People's Representative Council (DPRD), on behalf of the East Timorese people, bestow that title on Pak Harto.

*Q: Do the people of East Timor share your view?*

A: I once showed a photo of Pak Harto and Ibu Tien to villagers. They showed it the same respect as they do pictures of Jesus. This is true. Catholics have the custom of posting pictures of holy people in their homes. He is considered a holy man. His picture is posted in every house. My mother once got angry at everybody in a house where that photo had fallen down.

*Q: During the integration struggle, you were reportedly one of the cadres trained at Tanah Abang. (Editor here inserts: The office of CSIS – the Center for Strategic and International Studies – at Jalan Tanah Abang III, Jakarta.)*

A: In 1975, at the founding of Apodeti (editor inserts: May 27, 1975), there were people from Tanah Abang we invited. We indeed had been holding discussions with CSIS. At that time the party had assigned us to Jakarta to study administrative structures and the internal political map. We were also to look at Indonesia's foreign relations, with ASEAN. We also went to Kupang to get support through Governor El Tari (editor inserts: then Governor of East Nusa Tenggara). Also to the Indonesian Consul in Dili, Pak Tumodok. At that time a Tanah Abang person was already in the consulate. Earlier, we hadn't known anyone else. The Indonesians we knew about then were only

Pak Harto and Ibu Tien, Pak Ali Moertopo, and Pak Panggabean (editor inserts: then Minister of Defense and Security).

*Q: What special characteristics did you have so that you were elected Governor?*

A: Ask those who chose me. Ha, ha, ha.

*Q: Were you not supported by someone at the center?*

A: Isn't it clear that previously the president didn't know me personally?

*Q: Reportedly you were acquainted with Prabowo (editor inserts: the son of Professor Sumitro Djojohadikusumo who became Pak Harto's son-in law).*

A: Yes. I knew him long before he became the President's son-in-law. It was when he was assigned to East Timor in 1976. His rank was still that of a lieutenant. He hadn't yet married one of the President's daughters.

*Q: So what's the story?*

A: It's a funny story. I first got to know him in a restaurant. I was sitting near him. After eating, because we were seated so closely, we chatted. I saw that he looked worn-out. I said, you're sick, you better get examined immediately by a doctor. 'No, I'm healthy,' he said. 'I've just come from the border. I'm still healthy.' Please get examined, you're sick, I said again. Then we separated. One day my friend Pak Hendro came. At that time he was a captain (editor inserts: Brig. Gen. Hendro Priyono, now Director of BAIS, the Strategic Intelligence Board). 'Hey, Abilio, let's go see a friend of mine in the hospital. He's an important man you should get to know,' he said. So we went to the hospital. I brought along some canned cake. Arriving at the hospital, I thought, 'Oh, this is the man I met in the restaurant.' Evidently, he'd been hospitalized. He said something like, 'Oh, it's the man who told me to get examined.' But I didn't have any discussion at all with him at that point. After I left, he called Pak Hendro, and then I was asked to come in again. What's up, I said. 'You said I was sick that time. You were clearly right,' he said. I said to Pak Hendro that we should get Pak Prabowo out so I could treat him. But the doctor forbid it. Later Pak Hendro arranged to get him out using the excuse that he had to make a very important report. Then he brought Pak Prabowo to my house. I called someone who knew traditional East Timorese medicine. He drank two liters of it

and straightaway recovered. From then on we were close friends.

*Q: What were you doing at the time?*

A: I had become Head of the Public Works Service. Later, in 1983, I was sent to Jakarta. Then I managed the Indonesian National Sports Committee (KONI) since back in East Timor I was Executive Chairman of KONI there. Pak Prabowo came and picked me up. His father was still Research and Technology Minister then. Since Pak Mitro was close to Pak Sutami (editor inserts: then Public Works Minister), Pak Mitro introduced me to Pak Sutami. Then Pak Mitro said, this is a good friend of my son, please help him out. So starting from there, I continued in Public Works and was aided by Pak Sutami.

*Q: Perhaps you were chosen because you were close to the President's family?*

A: What's the connection? There is no link between the selection of the Governor and my friendship with Pak Prabowo. Moreover, if Pak Prabowo could have decided on the gubernatorial choice, the one chosen would have been Pak Lopez da Cruz (editor inserts: one of the candidates in the election for East Timor Governor at the beginning of last September). He was Pak Prabowo's friend during the war, and he is closer to Pak Prabowo than I am.

(FK editorial matter) After integration, Abilio was appointed Head of the East Timor Public Works Service, then served concurrently as Head of the Public Works Department's provincial office. Later he became Mayor of Dili. For the past 5 years, before becoming Governor, he held the office of District Head of Manatutu, the place of his birth. This man with the thick mustache is the youngest governor in Indonesia. From this tall and sturdy figure is often heard the tinkling of two gold medallions. One has a picture of Mother Mary, the other the initials of his name. His voice leaps whenever his body starts shaking. "This is clever. Every time this necklace makes a sound, I am reminded of her," he says of the pendant with Mary's picture given to him by his wife, Maria Angela Correia de Lemos. It's interesting that on the body of this man with 4 children there are several tattoos which he said were made when he was jailed by Fretilin. On the palm of his right hand is the picture of a star on which is written, "Hope's Star." On his chest is the picture of a dove on which is written, "For Peace and Freedom." On his right arm there is an anchor with the writing, "Everything for You" and the date this was

made, "4-10-74." He says there are several other tattoos elsewhere on his body, but he was too embarrassed to show them all. "This was my work when inside a Portuguese prison," he remarked while smiling.

(Interview text resumes)

*Q: Interesting tattoos. Very seldom do Governors have tattoos.*

A: Maybe no one yet. People might be surprised. They'll say, oh, the tattooed governor, was he ever in a cell. Ha, ha, ha.

'Everything for You.' Who is it? (Editor inserts: smiling while stroking his right arm) East Timor.

*Q: What's the story about your capture by Fretilin?*

A: Actually, I was captured at home. Very early in the morning we were told to gather together on the pretext that Fretilin wanted to hold a dialogue. We were brought a place which is the present office of the Dili Military District Command (Kodim). Unexpectedly, we discovered it was not for a meeting, but to capture us. There were 300 people, only 20 escaped. The rest were killed.

*Q: Twenty escaped like you?*

A: Some fled, some managed to avoid getting killed. Some were killed but not in a big sweep. (Editor inserts: Abilio imitates someone shooting a rifle.)

*Q: How long were you jailed?*

A: From October 4, 1975. I escaped on December 7, 1975.

*Q: When did you last meet Xanana?*

A: In 1975, the 4th of December. I was then in a Fretilin jail. I saw him from inside the cell. He was outside the cell.

*Q: What's the latest news about him?*

A: There's a recent report he entered Dili because his deputy is detained there. But that's a rumor. You want to meet him? Thanks be to God if you can convince him to surrender. He's a dashing man. Like me, dashing. Ha, ha, ha. I think he's a year younger than I am. He's the kind of person who speaks well, maybe like Roy Marten.

*Q: Is the public still experiencing disturbances by Fretilin?*

A: You'd best ask the soldiers.

*Q: But you?*

A: I don't feel it because I can walk freely 24 hours a day in East Timor. I can prove that to you.

*Q: But people say there is still a lot of interrogation.*

A: Oh, the interrogation. That doesn't mean there's no security.

*Q: What is it which would point to someone getting interrogated?*

A: Maybe the person looked suspicious, maybe like a robber.

*Q: That means it isn't safe, doesn't it?*

A: It's that way in Jakarta, too. There are no interrogations in Jakarta? Outsiders dramatize the situation in East Timor too much. In 1979, I went all around east Timor. Then there were still hundreds of Fretilin people in the forests. But they didn't create disturbances as was widely reported. Much less now.

*Q: Are there other limitations?*

A: There are no limitations. We are so free that economic crimes occur. People exploiting the money which has come in and taking it abroad to invest in Australia – we don't know about that.

*Q: Economic crime?*

A: A lot of economic crime. It can't go on. It's big-time crime.

*Q: In what sectors?*

A: Commerce, construction.

*Q: Who's doing it?*

A: Anyone who can. I don't want to mention names.

*Q: There is a report that the East Timorese economy has been worsened by the Denok Hatimas business group which dominates trade and certain imports.*

A: I don't think it's because of that company.

*Q: Reportedly, the price of buying coffee from farmers here is very low and that is caused by the coffee trade monopoly of PT Salazar (editor inserts: Denok Group).*

A: What I see and hear is that the coffee trade situation internationally has influenced the coffee trade in East Timor. Our coffee can't compete with Brazilian coffee. So the price collapsed. This is the problem. It's not because the trade is run by certain people, much less because of a monopoly.

*Q: You have plans for new investment?*

A: I will be open to it. Note that because East Timor has extensive land for estate businesses, we will provide use rights for 10 years to attract investors.

*Q: Hopefully there will not be investors who are only 'supposed,' ('akan-akan') as Pak Carrascalao put it?*

A: I think they hold off because we ourselves are not serious about extending our hands to invite them in. We should not make use of them without preparing infrastructure. Through you, I appeal to the business world in Indonesia. The East Timor problem is already settled, but the world doesn't admit it. Everyone who wants to invest capital, who wants to extend a hand to lift up the people of East Timor from poverty and backwardness should come in here as a fighter, not looking purely at the economic angle, but also looking at the social angle.

*Q: But won't businessmen always stress business calculations?*

A: In my view, if they want ten percent profit, why not just one percent? Give back the other nine percent for the interests of the people. Something like that. Or if they require twenty percent profit but use local manpower, nine percent should be enough. I especially hope that investors who come in ask local residents to become their partners. In this way, the Timorese will not only be spectators, but also doers.

(FK editorial matter) Abilio pours coffee into his cup, offering some to Forum reporters. "Use sugar so it will be sweet. I take a lot of sugar because my life has been very bitter," he said. According to Abilio, the wish of the East Timorese to unite with Indonesia has existed since 1959. During the 1959 rebellion, the rebels fought for arms in the offices of the Portuguese administration, attacking and carrying the Red and White flag. Abilio, 13 years old then, still remembers three Indonesians who assisted the revolt. But because the attack was not done the right way, they were finished off. Those arrested were exiled to Angola. "Many people were killed then by the Portuguese army," he said softly. The people were oppressed ever since. Abilio's and many other families were put on the blacklist. They were not free to sing keroncong songs or any songs in the Indonesian language. "We knew Indonesian songs then, but not the meaning of the words." Abilio then related the establishment of the political parties through the civil war in East Timor. His tough face suddenly became melancholy. In his view, there is no need for the story of the swallowing up of hundreds of casualties to keep cropping up. He intended to go off the record. "We have already buried a mound of

gold. Let us unite and help to develop East Timor. What is the use of relating that bitter story?" he said.

(Interview text resumes)

*Q: What has been the impact of the 12 November Dili Incident on the people of East Timor?*

A: There are 120,000 people in Dili. When the incident occurred, about how many were involved in the demonstration?

*Q: A thousand.*

A: A thousand. And how many died?

*Q: A hundred.*

A: A hundred, even more. Yes, we believe two hundred. And what percent is this?

*Q: But can't loss of life leave a negative psychological impact on the public?*

A: This is what you outsiders think. In my view, in fact many more should have died. Why only that much? Why did not all the thousand die? We have to see the problem in East Timor realistically. Were we undemocratic there? All the people already wanted integration. How come some still wanted disruption?

*Q: Every victim had family and friends. Couldn't this lead to the emergence of revenge?*

A: Just think, if you had a child who died, how would you feel? Just think about that. If my child died, certainly I would feel a loss. If I knew anyone who made a life disappear, I would feel displeased forever toward that person. But if we study the matter more deeply, we see that because they died, maybe they could be quite meaningful. Because the life of many people was disturbed by their conduct. Besides, in this matter we hold to the principle that it was an incident. That means it was not something we wanted. At a later time there will be those who reach this conclusion, that indeed it was an incident of which we can be understanding.

*Q: Now as a result of that incident, Portugal is constantly making an issue of East Timor in international forums.*

A: We should be making demands of Portugal because they colonized us for 450 years. That long we were faithful to and defended Portuguese interests in Asia, especially Southeast Asia. We defended the good name of the Portuguese nation. And what did they do for us? In the end, they left us in civil war. They left their weapons for the groups in East Timor to kill each other.

Now they still want to disrupt us? They should appeal to the people of East Timor to unite. And if they want to retain a role, let them extend a hand to Indonesia. Accept what Indonesia has already done for the people. I think that is what I want to tell the world. As an individual, I hope that later Indonesia and Portugal can build good and harmonious relations. So that, for example, we people in East Timor can build a Portuguese cultural center. Because over those 450 years there were good things they left behind, including the Catholic religion. That is the best thing Portugal gave to the East Timorese people.

*The New York Times had a two-inch article on the FK Osorio Soares interview on Friday, headlined "East Timor Leader Reported To Call for Bigger Massacre" and credited to Reuters.*

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## SOARES COMMENTS CAUSE OUTRAGE IN AUSTRALIA

AAP, 4 Nov. 92

*[Remark: Abridged. This report comes in response to the above Forum Keadilan interview with Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares. The interview (obtained from reg.easttimor) was reported by AAP's Tom Hyland and appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald, Canberra Times, the Telegraph Mirror, the Herald Sun and The Age on 4 November. The issue has also been discussed on radio and was today raised in the Australian Senate during question time. Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has said the Australian government would express its concern over the matter to Indonesia and said he would raise it with Ali Alatas.]*

(Canberra, AAP) Comments by East Timor's new governor that even more protesters should have died in last year's Dili massacre have been condemned here as "obscene, appalling and brutal."

Federal labor backbenchers Warren Snowdon and Laurie Ferguson said the comments attributed to Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares confirmed the urgency for an end to Indonesia's military occupation of East Timor and for a process to bring together the conflicting parties.

Without a serious attempt to reconcile "the very deep wounds" in East Timor the sore would continue to fester and poison Indonesia's standing, they said.

"The Dili massacre was a tragedy which resulted in international condemnation of Indonesia," the MPs said in a statement today.

"These comments from the new governor, if accurate, invite vigorous condemnation of his own office."

"He is actually reported as vindicating as acceptable the appalling abuse of human rights in East Timor."

"We sincerely hope that he has been misquoted."

Mr Soares is quoted in the October 29 edition of Forum Keadilan [Justice Forum]), a new fortnightly Indonesian legal affairs magazine, as saying Indonesian troops should have killed "even more" pro-independence demonstrators in the November 12 shooting in Dili last year.

He is reported to have said the death toll in the massacre was 200 – four times the official Indonesian figure.

"As far as I'm concerned, I think even more should have died," Mr Soares told the magazine.

Mr Soares, an uncompromising opponent of the East Timorese independence movement with close links to hard-line elements of the Indonesian military, was appointed governor in September.

Mr Snowdon said today that recent reports from East Timor residents in Darwin indicated an increase in activity by security forces in East Timor and a culture of fear is said to pervade the East Timorese community.

People who had always held concerns for friends and relatives were openly expressing fear as reports filtered through of many people being arrested and others 'disappearing,' he said.

"This latest statement (by Mr Soares) makes even clearer the need for some international monitoring body to be allowed into East Timor," Mr Snowdon said.

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## SOARES' DENIAL

*While there can legitimately be differing interpretations of Soares' very controversial remark in his Forum Keadilan interview, my own assessment is he did not mean soldiers should have killed more demonstrators. He seemed rather to be saying in a not so precise way – despite his fluent Indonesian – that many more might have been killed had the soldiers been intent on doing so. From his many press interviews, I do not detect any bloodlust in the new Governor. While he blamed the victims for holding a political demonstration, he clearly found it painful to talk about the massacre and only reluctantly went on the record with some of his remarks. He would prefer to remain quiet about much of what he knows. Like many in the Army and most Indonesians, he'd like to think November 12 is now history adequately explained and expiated. This is a*

*more serious indictment than his widely misconstrued remark. – John*

*Reuter. 6 November 1992. Abridged*

Stung by the outrage at Osorio's remark in an interview last week, Jakarta apparently felt it had to act fast to defuse the row, so its new appointee to head the 'civil' administration in East Timor has been forced to deny his words. We reproduce his words in Indonesian below, which hardly leave scope for the 'misinterpretation' he suggests. And, as readers of reg.easttimor know, this remark about wanting more to be killed was not the only shocker in the interview.

East Timor's governor, Abilio José Osorio Soares, Friday denied saying that more people should have been killed when Indonesian troops fired into a crowd in Dili last year.

"That is, I think, a misinterpretation." He told reporters what he actually said was it was up to journalists to determine how many were killed if they wanted to.(!!!)

[For those who read Indonesian, here is the exchange as quoted in Forum Keadilan:

*Forum Keadilan: Dengan terjadinya Insiden 12 November Dili, apa dampaknya terhadap rakyat Timtim?*

Osorio: Di Dili itu ada 120 ribu manusia. Waktu terjadi insiden, yang terlibat dalam demonstrasi itu kira-kira berapa?

FK: Seribu...

Osorio: Seribu, yang meninggal berapa?

FK: Seratus...

Osorio: Seratus lebihlah. Ya, kita anggap dua ratus. Berapa persentasinya?

FK: Tapi, dengan adanya korban jiwa, kan bisa meninggalkan dampak psikologis yang negatif bagi masyarakat?

Osorio: Itu menurut kalian diluar. Menurut saya seharusnya mati lebih banyak. Kenapa hanya segitu? Kenapa enggak seribu itu sekaligus?

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## MARIO CARRASCALAO DANGLING IN WIND

*Translated from Newsbrief in November 7 issue of Editor:*

Now that he is no longer East Timor Governor, Mario Carrascalao has been aimlessly driving back and forth from the Interior Department. He has been asking about his next job. "I will be placed in the Foreign Affairs Department, but as of now it's not certain what position I'll hold."

He is now living in a beautiful home in the Pondok Indah area of South Jakarta. He is yearning to get a new post quickly. Apart from not liking being unemployed, he needs

a bigger income than just a governor's pension what with the increasing cost of living in Jakarta. "Right now I'm relying on my personal savings. To live in this environment, frankly, it's inadequate. Imagine, I had to fork out Rp 600,000 for my electricity bill. Where am I going to get that kind of money?"

So he intends to leave his home in the elite Pondok Indah area. "I'm moving out to the suburbs and look for something cheaper. Maybe, Tangerang. The homes there are for directors, not former governors like me."

Though not in East Timor anymore, he still thinks of the land of his birth. "Too many people have wanted to force their wishes and style on East Timor. They should not be wasting all that time." He thinks the East Timor DPR can't perform its duties. "I served ten years. They never summoned me to appear in my capacity as governor. They only listened to me and said 'yes.'"

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### UN REPRESENTATIVE VISITS EAST TIMOR

*AFP Dateline: Jakarta, 9 November 1992*

*French original. This is a translation.*

*[Comment: This visit went ahead on the very day that the Indonesian government rejected a request by Amnesty International to visit East Timor in order to monitor the situation there on 12 November. Keeping Mr Treat's visit secret was clearly intended to hide his presence from the Timorese.]*

A member of the UN Sub Commission on Human Rights, Mr William Treat, has been to East Timor on a 2-day visit, according to Antara, the Indonesian news agency.

According to the agency, the objective of the visit, which was not announced in advance, was to "find ways of improving relations between Indonesia and the international community generally."

Mr Treat expressed the hope that competent Indonesian officials would allow international non-governmental organisations charged with defending human rights to visit East Timor, added the agency.

This is the first visit of an international observer for six months. In October, the Indonesian authorities refused to allow Australian MPs to enter East Timor, an ex-Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1976.

### TREAT: OPEN IT UP

According to a Nov. 10 Reuter story by Menuk Suwondo datelined Jakarta, a United Nations official urged Indonesia on Tuesday to open up East Timor.

William Treat, a special U.N. rapporteur on trial procedures, said an open-door policy would be more conducive to a peaceful solution in the former Portuguese colony.

"They should adopt the policy of opening up East Timor to people from outside Indonesia. This would be helpful to them to create a better image," he told reporters after a two-day visit to East Timor at the invitation of the Indonesian government.

Treat said he was speaking as an individual and not a U.N. representative.

The government agreed on Tuesday to allow in one foreign journalist, from Reuters, for the November 12 anniversary of last year's army massacre in the East Timor capital of Dili.

A military spokesman said no other foreign reporters would be allowed in. The authorities did not explain why.

"The military in East Timor need considerable training on riot control... They should have used a less violent way of controlling the demonstration," Treat said.

Officials said the government had recently stepped up security in Dili to prevent demonstrations on the anniversary.

### AFP REPORTS TREATS VISIT

According to a November 9 AFP story datelined Jakarta, a member of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, William Treat, has made a brief visit to the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Antara said that Treat's unannounced visit, on Friday and Saturday, was to seek ways to "improve relations between Indonesia and the international community in general."

Treat expressed hope that the Indonesian authorities would open East Timor to international non-governmental human rights organizations, but Antara did not elaborate.

Treat has been the first foreign official known to have visited East Timor since the middle of this year. Jakarta last month denied a visiting group of Australian parliamentarians an opportunity to visit East Timor, saying that the East Timor population was not yet ready for such a visit.

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### AI: HUNDREDS OF ARRESTS

According to a November 9 Reuter story datelined Lisbon, Amnesty International said on Monday that Indonesia has arrested hundreds of suspected supporters of independence for East Timor ahead of the first anniversary of the November 12 massacre by Indonesian troops.

The London-based human rights group said Indonesia tortured political detainees and had failed to honour United Nations resolutions and recommendations on the former Portuguese colony.

"Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees continues to be both common and routine," Amnesty said in a statement.

"In the weeks prior to the anniversary of the massacre, the authorities arrested hundreds of suspected supporters of East Timor's independence to prevent them from publicly and peacefully expressing their political views," Amnesty said.

"The (Indonesian) government has failed to account for as many as 100 people who 'disappeared' and has still identified only 19 of the more than 100 who were killed during and after the massacre," Amnesty added.

It urged Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor, saying the situation there "will inevitably deteriorate further without fundamental changes in the Indonesian government's policies and practices."

Amnesty said Indonesia had denied it access to East Timor.

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### TERROR IN EAST TIMOR AS MASSACRE ANNIVERSARY APPROACHES

*TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign issued the following Press Release on 10 November 1992:*

On the eve of the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre in Dili, East Timor, when more than 250 peaceful demonstrators were shot dead by Indonesian troops, TAPOL draws attention to the intensification of repression by the occupying troops to prevent any commemoration from taking place.

Since July, hundreds have been arrested and many remain unaccounted for. In the past few weeks, troops have made late-night house-to-house searches checking identity cards; thousands of people have been taken into custody to prevent any action in Dili on Thursday. The authorities announced that anyone wishing to visit Santa Cruz cemetery from 1 to 12 November must apply for permission from the army.

None of the bodies of those killed on 12 November has been returned to the bereaved families whose only chance of marking the anniversary would be to place wreaths at the cemetery where the massacre took place.

But in the present reign of terror it is difficult to imagine how any commemoration can take place. The military commander, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, said earlier this year that "if something similar to the 12 November (1991) event were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher."

TAPOL condemns the Indonesian government's decision last week to refuse

permission to Amnesty International to visit East Timor over the period of the anniversary to observe the human rights situation. Foreign journalists have also been prevented from visiting East Timor for the occasion; East Timor has been out of bounds to foreign journalists for the past year. It is the policy of the forces of occupation to prevent any outsider from entering, whose presence might be the occasion for the East Timorese to convey their views and seek international support to extricate them from their predicament and end their isolation.

Last month, TAPOL called on the British government as current president of the European Community, to ask the Indonesian government for facilities for EC diplomats in Jakarta to visit East Timor over the period of the anniversary.

TAPOL believes that it is up to the international community to condemn in no uncertain terms the reign of terror in East Timor, to call for free access to the territory and do everything in its power to free the people of East Timor from the repressive power of Indonesian military occupation.

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## REUTERS ALLOWED INTO DILI FOR 12 NOVEMBER

*Reuter, 10 November 1992.*

*Abridged and change in order of topics*

The Indonesian government agreed Tuesday to allow in (to Dili) one foreign journalist, from Reuters, for the November 12 anniversary of last year's massacre in the East Timor capital of Dili. A military spokesman said no other foreign reporters would be allowed in. The authorities did not explain why.

A UN official urged Indonesia on Tuesday to open up East Timor, which has been off-limits to foreigners following (the) army massacre a year go.

[Meanwhile] William Treat, a special UN rapporteur on trial procedures, said an open-door policy would be more conducive to a peaceful solution in the former Portuguese colony. "This would be helpful to them to create a better image," he told reporters after a two-day visit to East Timor, at the invitation of the Indonesian government.

Treat said he was speaking as an individual and not as a UN representative.

Indonesia has refused to let foreigners into (East Timor) for much of this year and rebuffed attempts by Australian parliamentarians last month to go there.

"The military in East Timor need considerable training in riot control...they should have used a less violent way of controlling the demonstration," Treat said.

Officials said the government had recently stepped up security in Dili to prevent demonstrations on the anniversary.

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## TIMORESE: RETURN THE BODIES

According to a November 11 AP story by Ghafur Fadyil datelined Jakarta, East Timor marks the first anniversary Thursday of the killing of dozens of pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian troops, and some parents of the victims say they still are waiting for the army to return the bodies.

The army has tightened security in the territory, a Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after it intervened in a civil war. But military commanders said East Timor was calm and stable with no protests expected on the anniversary.

A member of the East Timor provincial parliament said this week, "The government has not kept its promise to return the bodies of our children killed by the troops."

The legislator, who insisted on anonymity, added that there has been no explanation.

A woman, who wanted to be identified only as Maria, said she still was awaiting the return of the body of her teen-age son. Many victims' parents do not speak up about the issue, she added, because "they are afraid of repercussions from the army."

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, commander of East Timor, said he expected no protests by independence activists on the Nov. 12 anniversary.

Gen. Try Sutrisno, commander of the Indonesian armed forces, said the situation in East Timor was tranquil and general conditions on the remote island were improving steadily.

Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, head of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, told foreign correspondents recently that no fundamental change has occurred in human rights in East Timor, although the Nov. 12 shootings opened the eyes of many Indonesians.

Following a private visit to East Timor last week, William W. Treat, former U.S. ambassador to the U.N. Subcommission on discrimination and the protection of minorities, said, "I get the impression that the people are still afraid to speak freely and I think this is because they are afraid of the repercussions."

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## DILI REPORTEDLY CALM

According to a November 11 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Dili, Indonesia's military commander in East Timor said on Wednesday he did not expect any unrest on the anniversary of last year's army massacre of civilians, and residents said they were too scared to mark the event.

The streets of the capital Dili were calm.

"We have no indication of any demonstration tomorrow," said commander Theo Syafei. "Demonstrations don't erupt abruptly. People get heated first. It takes time to build up."

Local residents said they were too frightened to openly mark the November 12 incident when troops fired into a crowd of people in a Dili cemetery mourning the death of a pro-independence activist.

The UN does not recognise the annexation and has urged Indonesia to grant East Timor self-determination. But in Singapore, a senior Jakarta official ruled out a referendum for East Timor. "There will be no plebiscite," Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, a member of the Supreme Advisory Council [and former Foreign Minister] told a Foreign Correspondents' Association lunch.

In Dili, Syafei said there had been no increase in security for Thursday's anniversary [sic] and a Reuter journalist touring the capital only saw troops around the Santa Cruz cemetery where the shooting had taken place last year.

Reuters was the only foreign news organisation given permission for a correspondent to travel to Dili for the anniversary. A military spokesman would not say why other applications were rejected.

Syafei denied an Amnesty International report this week that said Indonesia had arrested hundreds of East Timorese ahead of the anniversary and that torture was routinely used on political detainees.

"No arrests have taken place," he said. "About 130 people have been questioned ... but they were not kept in prison."

A priest in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory, said a number of youths had been detained.

"Many youths between the age of 18 and 20 have been arrested," he said. "We have told the bishop. He has approached the authorities."

The government has distributed to embassies a booklet on its efforts to develop its youngest province.

"It's quite a smooth production. It will impress people who don't know much about the place," one Western diplomat said in Jakarta.



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## DILI TIGHTLY MONITORED

According to a November 12 AP story datelined Dili, flowers were scattered today at Santa Cruz cemetery, the site of last year's massacre of pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian troops. Plainclothes police kept a close watch.

The Indonesian government made no effort to mark the Nov. 12 anniversary and went to great lengths to ensure the day passed quietly.

Security agents in civilian dress were spotted at the cemetery and near the Motael Church, the initial scene of last year's protest.

Fifty people held a church service to commemorate the anniversary.

Four trucks carrying anti-riot police armed with tear gas patrolled the Dili, the East Timor capital, this morning.

Military Commander Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei said the situation was under control and that there was no truth to rumors pro-independence activists planned to stage a protest in Baucau, about 100 miles east of Dili.

In the days leading up to the anniversary, the army detained about 1,000 people who it said were not carrying proper identification. It released most after brief interrogations.

A military officer said an alleged Fretilin member was detained Wednesday while distributing leaflets in the city's business section.

The officer, an army major who identified himself only as Joséf, also said at least 19 guns had been confiscated from homes since the launching of a security operation late in October.

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## THE 'HEARTS & MINDS' WAR

According to a November 12 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined November 12, East Timorese flocked to church on Thursday watched by troops and police on the first anniversary of a massacre of civilians by the Indonesian army, but nobody dared hold services for the victims.

"For us the youth, it is an important day, our anniversary. We will remember it but we fear to do so openly," said a girl at a church near the Santa Cruz cemetery in the capital Dili.

In Dili there were no signs of any disturbances on the day of the anniversary.

But troops in battle dress drove in trucks past the Santa Cruz cemetery.

"We have been told to allow no journalists into this cemetery," a soldier said. But he relented after his superior officer told him a Reuters correspondent had been given

permission to move freely around the capital.

Inside the cemetery, the chapel that was stained by the blood of the victims of the November 12 shooting gleamed in a coat of whitewash.

Nearby a woman dressed in mourning placed flowers on an unmarked grave on which stood a large wooden black cross. She was there to mourn her sister who had died of illness.

"But this grave is also for those who died on November 12," she said.

A Dili priest said local church leaders in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory had agreed not to say any special mass for the victims but locals said most churches were well attended on Thursday for normal morning mass.

Youths said all dissent had been firmly put down after the massacre and that a priest close to the city's youth, Father Ricardo, had recently been transferred to Rome.

Ricardo's old church, Motael, which the government considers a centre of separatist activity, was under heavy security with unarmed police deployed on all approach roads.

Agus Suwarno, an army sergeant in charge of police there, said security was tight to ensure the day passed peacefully.

"There is no trouble here," he said.

Women wearing black veils, youths in jeans and nuns joined in the normal morning mass at the church, singing: "We the Timorese, remember us for we too are your children."

Students at the University of East Timor said their classes had kept them away from services.

"But we remember November 12," said one.

Military commander Brigadier-General Theo Syafei said in an interview that unemployment among youths had been used by separatists to spread discontent with the Jakarta government.

He said just over half the territory's 20,000 unemployed were in Dili and nearly 4,000 high school graduates were hitting the job market each year.

"The strategy (of the rebel Fretilin movement) has changed from military to political attacks against us," he said.

He estimated Fretilin to have 216 men operating mainly in the south and east of the territory and said its leader Xanana Gusmao had retired to the background and was only a symbol.

He said he had dropped the old system of using Timorese to inform on each other and created small defence forces in each village made up of locals commanded by an army sergeant.

The military was also using far more soldiers to help local development and only kept one combat battalion there. He said in the past year territorial troops had built over 1,000 houses, several hundred kilometres of road and trained people in skills such as fishing.

"With the operation we are winning back the hearts of the people," he said.

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## MOURNING IN TIMOR

According to a November 12 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Dili, A handful of defiant East Timorese mourned their dead on Thursday at the site of an Indonesian army massacre a year ago.

"Even a dog or a pig will search for a lost offspring, would not a mother for her child?" said Judith Maria, whose 20-year-old son was among those killed last November 12 at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

In East Timor the mood was subdued.

"For us the youth, it is an important day, our anniversary. We will remember it but we fear to do so openly," said a girl at a church near the Santa Cruz cemetery.

The military said the day passed peacefully. "The entire territory was calm. There was no trouble at all, everything is normal. It means the people have learned a lot from the past year," armed forces spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Reuters.

In the afternoon about 20 people filed into the Santa Cruz cemetery, talking in whispers to each other, under the watchful eye of soldiers and police.

Asked if she had any ill feelings against the army officers who accompanied her, Judith Maria said: "It will not roll back the years or bring back my son."

She and others mourners placed flowers at a grave marked only by a large black cross which they said stood for all those who had died on November 12.

The family of a leader of anti-Indonesian rebels also came to the cemetery. They were marking the death this month of Antonio Nasimento Jesus Horta, 52-year-old brother of rebel spokesman Ramos Horta who fled the country in 1975 and now lives in Portugal.

Arsenio Horta, younger brother of Ramos, said the family ceremony had no connection with the anniversary of the army killings.

He denounced his brother's politics though said the two kept in touch by phone. "I think he is on the wrong track... He had his ideals for an independent East Timor but we live here... We cannot afford to be an independent country."

Officials acknowledge that among their biggest problems are disgruntled young

people without job opportunities despite government promises of a better life. The territory is the poorest in the huge Indonesian archipelago.

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### TIMORESE CHURCH UNDER SUSPICION

According to a November 13 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Dili, the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor is trying to avoid clashing with Indonesia's military amid deep government suspicion of the church's role in unrest in the territory.

The church is the most powerful institution in the territory after the Indonesian army, which invaded in 1975.

"We want the church to be neutral but it is not," Tito Baptista, a senior aide to the East Timor governor, told Reuters.

He acknowledged the danger of not recognizing church influence in territory, which Indonesia annexed the year after it invaded in a move still not internationally recognized. Anti-Jakarta sentiment remains strong in the area.

Priests had agreed not to say a special mass for the dead on the anniversary of the November 12, 1991 Dili massacre. "We are not for confrontation," said one.

Some mourners say they understand their position.

"We would have liked a memorial service, but we understand that we have to be careful," said one woman at a Dili church.

Observers say the church appears to be trying to appease the government.

One of Dili's most prominent priests, Father Ricardo, has been sent to Rome. It was from his church last November that the mourning procession set off for the Dili cemetery where it met army fire.

The government considered the church a gathering point for anti-Indonesian youths, but now few young people are seen near the building.

Ximenes Belo, the territory's first East Timorese bishop, has kept a discreet profile and his house looks deserted.

"We know he (Belo) has been controversial but the church has given us our identity," said one East Timorese in the government.

Military and government officials admit that youths especially have turned to the church as a way of maintaining their identity against an onslaught of Indonesian culture.

Military spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro said: "It is good for us to work together then we can find a path to a solution."

But local military commander Theo Syafei was firmer. "We have told the bishop

"You are here to practice religion. Don't interfere in politics," he said.

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### ORCHESTRATED 'COMMEMORATIONS' IN DILI

*Remark: Reporters from Reuter, AP, and AFP now appear to be in Dili, apart from the now normal contingent of Indonesian newspaper and magazine journalists who continue to file stories on a daily basis. — John*

According to a November 13 AFP story datelined Dili, armed soldiers guarded the Santa Cruz cemetery, streets and the university here Friday in an apparent effort to prevent any demonstration marking last year's Indonesian army massacre that left scores dead.

The soldiers appeared ready for any eventuality — armed, dressed in camouflage and with blaring walkie talkies at their sides. As night fell, the number of soldiers patrolling the streets appeared to increase.

On Thursday, the first anniversary of the carnage, police had barred entry into the cemetery.

There were no signs of irregular behaviour by the local population.

While the body of the pro-independence youth Sebastiao Gomes lies at the Santa Cruz cemetery, none of those killed on November 12 were buried there. Nineteen were buried a few kilometers (miles) from Dili and the rest in unspecified locations elsewhere.

Last year's drama again brought to international attention the existence of a decolonization problem that has been allowed to fester unresolved.

The only real action in the Santa Cruz cemetery Thursday afternoon was government sanctioned: the brother of one of the leaders (José Ramos Horta) of the banned independence movement Fretilin was buried there while another brother declared to Indonesian journalists his opposition to Fretilin.

On Thursday evening, in another activity approved by the government, members of a group that in the 1960s and 1970s demanded integration with Indonesia commemorated another massacre. This one took place in 1959 — when Portuguese troops left 45 people dead on the southern coast of East Timor.

The members said they would demand damages from Portugal for exiling those who survived the massacre to Angola.

Asked about the more recent massacre, one of the members of the group said it was due to the lack of employment opportunities suffered by the East Timorese youth.

The man was quick to add that these youths owed their education to Indonesia.

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### ABILIO: 'PEACE' REIGNS

According to a November 12 AFP story datelined Dili, business appeared to be proceeding as usual Thursday in the sleepy East Timorese capital, exactly one year after a massacre here by the Indonesian army.

But the Santa Cruz cemetery, where the carnage took place, was guarded by security officers and strictly closed to those without authorization to enter.

The return of peace led East Timor's new governor, Abilio José Osorio Soares, to say that he was in favour of reopening the territory to foreigners.

"The closure is not a good thing. People do not want to believe that peace has returned," Osorio said during a flight to Dili earlier Thursday.

"As far as I am concerned, my opinion is that Timor should be reopened in a month," he said.

Osorio, who took office in October, is generally considered to be a hardliner against independence claims for the territory.

"Peace reigns in Dili," he said Thursday. "The agitators are but a small group."

According to reports, the army has recently taken precautions against possible anti-Indonesian activities by conducting raids in areas considered to support independence.

"Tourists are welcome if they do not become involved in politics," Osorio said, without commenting on the activities of human rights organizations that have focused attention on Indonesia.

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### ARMED TROOPS PATROL DILI STREETS

In a story filed from Dili on 13 November 1992, Pascal Mallet of AFP said armed soldiers guarded the Santa Cruz cemetery, streets and university on Friday in an apparent effort to prevent any demonstration to mark last year's massacre by the army which left scores dead.

The soldiers appeared ready for any eventuality — armed, dressed in camouflage and with blaring walkie-talkies at their sides. As night fell, the number of soldiers patrolling the streets appeared to increase. On Thursday, the anniversary, police barred entry into the cemetery.

The only action at the cemetery on Thursday afternoon was the government-sanctioned burial of the brother of José Ramos-Horta.

On Thursday evening, members of a group that had demanded integration with Indonesia commemorated a massacre in

1959, when Portuguese troops killed 45 people on the southern coast. According to AP, this group said Friday it was planning to sue Portugal for atrocities inflicted during Lisbon's rule in East Timor. José Duarte, member of the E Timor provincial parliament, said they would file an international case against Portugal but did not say when or how.

In Portugal, Abilio Araujo of FRETILIN called the case absurd. "The 1959 revolution was part of the anti-colonial revolution. Suing now would be the same as if East Timorese threatened to take Portugal to court for arriving on the island in 1515. Many people died then too."

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### WINNING BATTLES, LOSING WAR

According to a November 15 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Jakarta, indicating he has now left East Timor, East Timor was quiet on the first anniversary of the November 12, 1991 Dili massacre, but it does not automatically follow that the East Timorese people now accept Jakarta's rule, political analysts say.

The military had a year to prepare for November 12 and obviously took a harder line on security in the former Portuguese colony to make sure they kept the peace, a western diplomat said here.

"In keeping East Timor quiet, the government succeeded in demonstrating that the territory was not a boiling cauldron," he said.

"But it may have failed to convince the world that the people accept its rule."

Senior military officials in East Timor admit that their strategy of tolerating small-scale protests has been replaced by a firm hand.

The military has also taken a tougher line on the Roman Catholic Church, the most powerful social influence in the territory Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed a year later.

Two priests regarded as close to the most vocal opponents of Jakarta's rule have been transferred from the territory. East Timor Bishop Ximenes Belo was nowhere to be seen on Thursday.

"We agreed among us not to say any special mass for the anniversary," one priest said on Friday, adding that it would have been seen as provocative by the authorities.

Despite their tougher line, the security forces have reduced their strength in East Timor from 12 battalions a year ago to 10. The composition has also changed, according to East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei.

Now, he said, there was now just one combat battalion seeking Fretilin rebels, with nine battalions helping local East Timorese build roads, houses and schools.

"It is a battle of material values against spiritual," a military officer explained, adding that the standard of living in East Timor had risen substantially since the Portuguese abandoned the territory.

While the military has failed to dilute the church's overall influence, it may have done enough to hush up domestic criticism of its political role ahead of presidential elections in March, analysts say.

President Suharto, a 71-year-old former general, is almost certain to win another term and the new vice president is widely regarded as being well placed to succeed Suharto.

The front-runner for the job is the armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, and the military's success in keeping East Timor quiet last week may have strengthened his hand.

"It would certainly have ruined it if there had been trouble," the diplomat said.

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### JAWA POS: BANNED EAST TIMORESE ORGANIZATION (FITUN) DISSOLVES SELF

17 Nov. 92. Dateline: Dili. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.

*Remark: Antara story run unedited in many newspapers. Fitun is Tetun for 'star.' The name conveys the idea it is a ray of light providing motivation for activity in a 'dark' situation.*

The East Timorese youth in the organization Fitun which aided the Fretilin security disrupters and planned various demonstrations in East Timor officially dissolved itself Sunday evening in Dili.

An official statement of dissolution and oath by members of Fitun was read out and then immediately signed by its General Chairman Mariano Fatubai Mota, 22, and witnessed by Commander of Military District (Kodim) 1627/Dili Lt. Col.

(Infantry) Syarifudin Zein, religious figures, and local community figures.

They swore to dissolve, not to form a new organization with the same guidelines as Fitun, and to join the youth organizations legally approved by the government and unified state of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

"We take this oath consciously and motivated by the faith of our religious community. If we violate this oath, then we accept religious sanctions, customary law sanctions, and the sanctions of the unified

state of the Republic of Indonesia," Mariano said loudly.

He said that if in the future among the former members of Fitun there were those who acted contrary to the oath and statement, that was their personal responsibility and firm action could be taken against them by the authorities based on the laws in effect.

"This statement is made with full awareness. We promise to support all the development programs of the provincial and central governments," said Mariano.

Fitun, which means 'bintang' ('star') in Indonesian, was centered in Dili and had networks in several districts such as Ainaro, Suai (also called Kovalima), Lospalos (also called Lautem), Ermera, Fatumaka (also called Baucau), Ambeno, Manatuto, and Aileu. Moreover, it encompassed some high school and university students in Bali and abroad.

In Dili, Fitun was divided geographically into such groups as Fitun Kuluhun, Fitun Bekora, Fitun Matadoru, and Fitun Bidau Santana.

The membership of Fitun totaled 96 persons, generally high school students, university students, and laborers with ages 17 to 26 on the average.

Fitun was formed on April 20, 1991. Since this time, its activities included often sending aid to the forest in the form of rice and money to buy medications.

The organization planned and carried out demonstrations, among others the ones on November 4, 1991 to welcome the Portuguese parliamentary visit to Dili and on November 12, 1991 at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery which ended in a bloody incident.

Meetings for demonstration activities were held in Kuluhun village around September and October 1991 in the home of the Fitun General Chairman, Mariano Fatubai Mota and Bovacio Magno.

After the November 12 incident which resulted in 50 deaths and 91 wounded, Mariano moved from house to house in the Kuluhun area to avoid pursuit by the security forces.

By his own admission, he also was once asked by a friend to hold a demonstration in the context of the visit by Amos Wako to Dili. He had also been asked to flee to the forests and to make the June 9, 1992 general elections fail.

"But I rejected all those invitations and never thought about them at all because gradually I was coming to my senses," he said. "What I was thinking about then was how I had return to my parents' home and go back to school as usual," said Mariano.

## JAWA POS: VIGILANCE REMAINS AGAINST EX-MEMBERS OF FITUN

19 November 92. Dateline: Dili. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.

Remark: Report by newspaper's own correspondent, identified only as 'jus' at end of story.

Although the clandestine group Fitun has declared its dissolution, security personnel remain vigilant against its former members. "We still monitor and maintain vigilance on all activities of its former members so that no similar group arises or emerges in the future," said Commander of Military District (Kodim) 1627/Dili Lt. Col. Syarifudin Zein to Jawa Pos in Dili yesterday.

In his view, the dissolution of Fitun was inseparable from the guidance carried out by security personnel. The guidance took the form of explanations about the importance of a life in common, building union and unity in the Republic of Indonesia, creating understanding of the meaning of East Timor's integration into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, and acquaintance with Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state.

"We are only providing direction. Their conscious dissolution came from the Fitun members themselves," added the Military District Commander. Security personnel had even succeeded in sending back to an upper secondary school in Dili Fitun leader Marlo Mola.

He disclosed that Fitun was the largest Fretilin underground support organization in Dili. While its recorded total followers formally numbered 100, this did not include its supporters in almost every village. Those followers were generally children of school age.

Fitun under Fretilin leadership was turned into a mainstay of the movement's struggle. Fitun was considered to have succeeded in prompting the young generation to join in underground actions as an extension of Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao.

The organization first surfaced in 1990. On its establishment, Fitun immediately got the sympathy of youth circles, including high school students, university students, school dropouts, the unemployed, and civil servants. The pattern of thinking 'Fretilin-style' spread quickly among them.

To enlarge membership, each member was ordered to find a new follower. Split up into cells in this way, Fitun quickly recruited new followers. In less than a year, every village in Dili had a Fitun branch. This included the villages regarded as most

troublesome like Becora, Santa Cruz, Bidau Lecidere, Villa Verde, and Fatuhada.

The activities of the clandestine group were detected by security personnel after a report came in from the public which included the photo of a Fitun member with Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao in the forest. Security officers then began to search houses thoroughly and arrest several members of the secret organization. But before that Fitun was able to carry out a series of acts of sabotage in the form of demonstrations and certain actions by businessmen.

## CARRASCALAO: END DEMO BAN

AP. 19 November 1992. Abridged

(Jakarta) Speaking to the Jakarta Foreign Correspondents' Club Wednesday, former East Timor governor, Mario Carrascalao said the army's ban on demonstrations in East Timor would make it harder for his successor to understand the people's feelings. He added that people were still unhappy over not knowing what had become of the bodies of the victims of the Santa Cruz massacre last year.

"There will be no demonstrations any more but this doesn't mean that the people have changed their minds. I am one of those who support people who want to demonstrate. Let them demonstrate in orderly fashion, let them express their feelings," he said.

He said the new governor "is not going to get the real feeling of the people. This is a fact." He said that even in his last week as governor, people were asking him what had happened to the bodies of the Nov. 12 victims. "I never got any explanation but what I can tell you is that people in this matter feel unhappy. I believe the armed forces should keep on searching but perhaps the decision they took was in order ... not to create a bad atmosphere there."

Comment: There is no question of the army have to search for the bodies, since they were the ones who buried them in the first place.

## UNDERGROUND EAST TIMORESE ORGANIZATION OJEKTEL DISSOLVED

Source: Suara Karya. 24 Nov. 92.

Signed 'Gaudensius Mau' at end of story.

Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.

Remark: Suara Karya actually identifies the group as Ojektil, not Ojetil. The translation from the Portuguese acronym also differs. Suara Karya translates Ojektil as Young East Timorese Catholic Students Organization, whereas Ojetil usually translates as Young East Timorese Students Organization. I think the same organization is meant but stand corrected if anyone has more accurate information. There is repeated confusion in the Indonesian press over the names of the various clandestine East Timorese resistance groups.

(Dili) The clandestine youth organization called Ojetil has formally dissolved itself. The dissolution of this organization opposing integration was carried out in Kuluhun village, Dili Timur Sub-district on Friday evening, November 20. This is the second such dissolution since that of Fitun at the beginning of November.

Reacting to Ojetil's dissolution, Commander of Military District (Kodim) 1627/Dili Lt. Col. Syarifudin Zein said the dissolution of this Catholic high school student organization showed the success of security personnel in guiding youth who had joined Fretilin support organizations. "I hope with this dissolution no more groups like it will emerge."

The dissolution of Ojetil was almost concurrent with the arrest of Xanana Gusmao. he was arrested at 6 a.m., while Ojetil was dissolved that evening.

Fitun, Ojetil and some other groups not yet known had often sent food and medicine to fulfill the needs of the Fretilin security disrupters still roaming the forests. When it was dissolved, Ojetil has 45 recorded members, but those present numbered only 24. An Ojetil member said, "We swear loyalty as individuals and as a group. We promise to be loyal to integration and to the Indonesian government. But we also request protection from security personnel for ourselves since by taking this oath of loyalty we will be threatened by other Fretilin supporters." He was reluctant to make their identities known.

As commander of the area, Syarifuddin Zein expressed his willingness to safeguard them from threats by Fretilin figures or followers still in Dili. "I will watch over the safety of you all if anyone tries to threaten your lives," said Syarifudin.

Both the aforementioned organizations operated under the mother organization CNRJT, Young Timorese National Resistance Committee, led directly by Gregorio da Cunha Saldhana, leader of the November 12 demonstration who has already been sentenced to life imprisonment. According to a Suara Karya source in Dili, apart from the two aforementioned groups, there exist similar organizations under the CNRJT which security personnel will continue to try to detect. These two unknown organizations are RENETIL, East Timorese Students National Resistance, and UJTL, East Timorese Youth Union.

Fitun had 98 recorded members complete with membership cards, but Ojetil members had no signs of identification. This group was bound an anti-Indonesia emotional spirit. Its members imagined an independent East Timor state. So they always aided Falintil, the Timorese National Liberation Armed Forces, in the forests.

To meet Falintil's need for food and medicine, the CNRJT groups made monthly cash contributions. Using this money, they bought all Falintil needed and sent it to the forests. The donors originated from East Timor and abroad. Everything was organization by CNRJT before it was sent on to the forests. Now this clandestine channel has been cut off and destroyed as a consequence of November 12.

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## EXPLORING FOR TIMOR GAP OIL

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### TIMOR GAP TREATIES AWARDED

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*Jakarta Post, 30 September 1992*

Australia and Indonesia yesterday (29 Sept. 1992) oil and gas contractors 11 production sharing contracts to work in the Timor Gap area separating the two countries.

Australian minister of Resources, Allan Griffith, and Indonesian Minister of Mines and Energy, Ginandjar Kartasasmita, endorsed the 11 contracts which had been signed by the Timor Gap Joint Authority and the successful bidders at the Jakarta Hilton Hotel. The Joint Authority opened an international tender for exploration in the A area of Timor gap for 14 contract areas last year. 3 contract areas remain open but require further geographical surveys for subsurface database enhancement.

The A area of the Zone of Cooperation (ZOCA) between the two countries has been classified as a "frontier area" due to

limited availability of data and the geographical remoteness for supplies.

Ginandjar said the minimum commitment for the 11 contracts was US\$ 362.32 million over 6 years of exploration and that it would cover the acquisition of 52,100 square kilometres of seismic surveys and the drilling of 45 wells. The 1992 work commitments of the contractors, covering 30,500 sq. kms of seismic surveys and the drilling of one exploration well, would cost \$37.87 million.

He said preference had been given to goods and services produced in Indonesia and Australia, including those coming through sub-contractors coming out of the two countries.

Distribution of the contract areas according to the *Jakarta Post* is as follows:

PHILLIPS received ZOCA 91-13 contract area. Started seismic surveys 24 Jan 1992.

BHPP received ZOCA 91-01.

WOODSIDE got ZOCA 91-03/04.

MARATHON got ZOCA 91-11 (drilling is due to start in December 92 and invitations to bid for drilling and related services to support the project have been issued)

PETROZ got ZOCA 91-12 (seismic survey on Petroz' ZOCA 91-08 contract area is in progress)

SHELL and ENTERPRISE will follow immediately for ZOCA 91-02 and 91-14 respectively.

The progress to date represents 91 per cent or 27,796 sq. km of the committed seismic programs this year. The Joint Authority expects all the seismic acquisition commitments will be achieved in the last quarter of this year. The minimum exploration programme next year will cover an additional 7,000 sq. km of seismic surveys and the drilling of nine exploratory wells by Marathon, BHPP, Phillips, Woodside and Petroz at a total cost of no less than US\$68.9 million.

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## US OIL: INTO THE GAP

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*Excerpt from abridged November 5 Reuter story datelined Sydney.*

First drilling in the potentially oil-rich Timor Gap area jointly controlled by Australia and Indonesia will begin next month.

Approval from the Joint Zone Authority which controls the prospect will be granted within a week and USX-Marathon Oil of the United States will begin drilling in December.

Under a production sharing contract with the authority, jointly managed by Canberra and Jakarta, Marathon must drill an

exploration well by the end of December, spokesman Stuart Cave said from Darwin.

Oil industry analysts say the Timor Gap, between northwest Australia and southeast Indonesia, could reach production of 200,000 barrels per day by 1995 – double Australia's current offshore oil output.

The treaty is now being challenged in the World Court by Portugal.

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## MARATHON OIL POISED FOR TIMOR GAP EXPLORATIONS

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*by Gordon Feeney in Darwin*

*November 9, 1992.*

Oil giant Marathon Petroleum is expected within days to get the go-ahead to begin the first exploration drilling in the joint Australian-Indonesia Timor Gap oil-fields. The jointly managed area in the Timor Sea between north Australia and Timor was the subject of a special agreement between the two governments in December 1989. Initial seismic testing has indicated large reserves of oil may exist, but considerable doubt surrounds the size of the reserve.

Executive director of the Australia-Indonesia Joint Authority for the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation, Stuart Cave said he expected to advise Marathon of its decision on a proposed drilling contract this week. "They've come to us to approve a contract, and we're in the process of reviewing it," Mr Cave said. "We've asked them for some additional information... and if it is as they say it is, we just need the piece of paper to prove it, then we won't have any problems," Mr Cave said.

A report in the Sunday Territorian newspaper said Marathon intended to use Attwood Oceanics (Australia) Pty Ltd to carry out the drilling. The likely rig was the Falcon, presently in Bass Strait, and due to be moved to Fremantle. Marathon's exploration manager Greg Meldrum said he could not confirm either that Attwood would do the drilling, or the Falcon rig would be used (The Daily Telegraph Mirror, Tuesday, November 3, 1992, p. 25). In addition to this, British Petroleum Asia Pacific and Japan's C. Itoh & Co. Ltd have been given approval to build a \$US600 million oil refinery project on Bintan island in Indonesia (The Australian, Monday, November 9, 1992, p. 24).

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## EVENTS IN CANADA

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### EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK/CANADA NEWSLETTER

October 1992

*The ETAN/Canada newsletter is sent free to all ETAN members (membership is \$10 annually from ETAN, 104-2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2) and interested Canadians. International subscribers, please send \$10 (Cdn or US funds).*

#### NEWS

##### UN Commission condemns Indonesia

The United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights has condemned, for the first time, Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony it invaded in 1975.

The 13 to six vote (with four abstentions) blasts the Indonesian government for "continuing to shut East Timor off from the eyes of international observers." The Indonesian government is also required to free Timorese political prisoners jailed this year for "subversion" or "spreading hostility" under the Indonesian anti-subversion law. Finally, the UN commission asked Indonesia to provide aid to the families of over 100 Timorese civilians massacred by Indonesian soldiers last November 12.

The UN Commission on Human Rights is composed of representatives of 23 member governments, including Canada. Its votes are secret, but countries voting against the resolution are thought to include China and four of Indonesia's Islamic allies: Nigeria, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco. All are "countries familiar with human rights violations," noted José Ramos Horta, external representative for the Timorese independence movement CNRM.

Last February, Indonesia promised the Human Rights Commission it would show greater respect for human rights in East Timor, where over a third of the population has died under Indonesian rule. However, it has since sentenced 21 Timorese independence activists to jail terms ranging from six months to life imprisonment, over the protests of human rights groups around the world (including Amnesty International and Asia Watch).

The resolution is a sign of "shame for a country that aims to take a leadership position in the Third World," Ramos Horta said. Indonesia took over the leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement on September 1 at its triennial summit in Jakarta.

##### New Attacks in Timor Mountains

The Indonesian Armed Forces have reportedly launches a major new offensive against East Timorese guerrilla fighters in a bid to capture resistance leader Xanana Gusmao. "It's a very big offensive," said Alfred Ferreira, a Timorese representative in Australia. "These operations are progressing now. 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."

Several "intense" clashes have been reported in Viqueque, Baucau and Same regions of the East Timor interior.

There are now twelve battalions of Indonesian soldiers in east Timor, four "combat battalions" and eight "territorial battalions" (whose job is to control dissent in villages and resettlement camps). This marks an increase of two battalions since November 1991, which contradicts Indonesian government statements that troop strength in East Timor is being reduced.

##### Blaming The Victim

The Indonesian government's recent explanation to New Zealand of the death of Kamal Bamadhaj last Nov. 12 in Dili falsely accuses him of being "actively engaged in fomenting and encouraging the demonstrators to be defiant to the security officers" during the procession to the cemetery. The report again white-washes the massacre as isolated incident in which "spontaneous and unauthorized shooting took place resulting regrettably in a number of casualties, including Mr. Kamal Bamadhaj." The explanation fails to account for the fact that two military road blocks severely delayed Kamal's access to medical treatment and that his family were never notified by Indonesian authorities about his death.

What "Sincere Remorse" ?

The New Zealand government believes that the Indonesian government has shown "sincere remorse" over the Santa Cruz massacre last November. The Indonesian authorities have not even had the decency to inform the families of the 18 deceased Timorese who were given single graves. Military operations and intimidation of Timorese civilians have been stepped up in East Timor since last November and therefore there is no evidence of a change in Indonesian government policy.

On July 31 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. This endorsement of Indonesia's explanation over

the murder of one of its citizens not only defies testimonies and film-footage of western journalists, but also adds to such an outrageous loss of life.

##### Great Turn-out at UN Decolonisation Hearings

New York, July 27 representatives of over 25 groups from around the world testified for East Timor before the UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonisation. This year's hearings were particularly significant in view the Nov. 12 Santa Cruz massacre. Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman (US journalists who witnessed the massacre) and Li-Lien Gibbons (step-sister of Santa Cruz victim Kamal Bamadhaj) were among those who testified. José Ramos-Horta also presented CNRM's (National Council of Maubere Resistance) peace plan for East Timor.

The testimonies lasted a day and a half, much to the annoyance of the Indonesian delegates who frequently disrupted the session with their statements of disapproval regarding hearings on East Timor. The Tunisian delegate also complained about petitioners' terms "dictator" and "regime" as references to Suharto and his government. Indonesia testified before the committee in response to Portugal's petition, claiming falsely, as always, that the East Timorese voted for integration in 1976.

Many petitioners requested the release of Dr Amos Wako's (the Secretary General's special envoy to East Timor earlier this year) report. The committee has not draw any resolutions and is expected to make recommendations to the General Assembly this September.

##### Canada silent at Aid meet

The July inaugural meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) gave the Indonesian government \$4.94 billion in aid for the coming year, slightly more than the Indonesians had requested. The CGI is a new donor forum chaired by the World Bank that replaced the old Netherlands-based Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia when Indonesia refused to accept further aid from the Netherlands (which has a policy of linking aid with respect for human rights).

Canadian representatives at the CGI meeting ignored appeals from ETAN and 16 Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor that Canada use the forum to advance its stated policy of linking aid and human rights. Canada will give Indonesia another \$46 million in aid this year, but is still maintaining its freeze on \$30 million in future aid projects in Indonesia. The \$30 million was frozen after last November's Santa Cruz massacre. Last year's \$46 million aid package placed Indonesia third

among all recipients of Canadian Development aid.

### Portugal blocks Indonesia-EC agreement!

Last July Portugal decided to halt EC negotiations on an ambitious new economic cooperation agreement with ASEAN countries on the grounds of what Portuguese foreign minister denounced on July 20 as Indonesia's "unacceptable violation of human rights" in East Timor.

This fact sets a good precedence for other governments to start imposing sanctions on Indonesia after its cold-blooded murder of peaceful demonstrators in East Timor last November. Portugal's action is also timely given that this December will mark the 17th year of Indonesia's criminal occupation of East Timor.

Portugal's decision to block the new EC-ASEAN pact has embarrassed not only the EC Commission, which has been trying eagerly to develop EC-ASEAN relations, but also the British government which has promised to focus more attention on ASEAN and South Asian countries while it chairs the EC over the next few months.

### US Representatives Cut Military Aid to Indonesia

The House of Representatives voted unanimously on June 25 to stop funding the Indonesian military. The vote came on an amendment introduced by Ronald Machtley (Republican-Rhode Island) and Tony Hall (Democrat-Ohio) which removes \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) for Indonesia from the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1993.

Although non-binding resolutions have passed at various times, this is the first time ever that Congress has taken substantive action to support the East Timorese people. The arena now moves to the Senate, which will vote in September on cutting IMET to Indonesia.

The Indonesian Armed Forces commander, Gen. Try Sutrisno, attacked the House vote, saying "they should not use their yardstick to evaluate our performances (on human rights) because we have our own yardstick."

### Carrascalao replaced by thug.

Jakarta's newly appointed governor of East Timor, Mr Abilio Osorio Soares, is a "common criminal who personally tortured and murdered innocent civilians" according to CNRM overseas representative, José Ramos-Horta. Soares is a founding member of an organization that has always backed East Timor's integration with Indonesia, since before the 1975 invasion.

General Theo Syafei, commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces in East Timor said during the recent selection that "The new governor must fight for the integration of Timor" with Indonesia and "exterminate those who are two-faced."

### TRIALS OF TIMORESE

#### After the Massacre: Punishing the victims in East Timor

On Nov. 12, 1991, a crowd of thousands of unarmed Timorese civilians marched to the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili to lay flowers on the grave of slain independence activist Sebastiao Gomes. Indonesian soldiers opened fire on the crowd without provocation, killing at least 100 people. The Indonesian government promised to punish the guilty. Two generals were fired and replaced with more hard-line generals. Ten soldiers were court-martialled, and sentenced to jail terms ranging from eight to 18 months. Eight Timorese survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre, meanwhile, have been jailed for "subversion" or "anti-government activities" for periods ranging from five years to life.

Timorese students studying in Indonesia who joined a protest against the massacre in Jakarta on Nov. 19, 1991, have also been harshly punished with jail terms ranging from 6 months up to 10 years.

Sebastiao Gomes was killed on Oct. 28, 1991, when Indonesian soldiers entered to Motael Catholic Church in Dili and attacked civilians taking refuge there. No soldiers have been charged in connection with this murder, but five of the Timorese pro-independence activists sheltering in the church have been convicted.

Western governments, including Canada, the United States, Britain and Japan, have accepted the Indonesian response as appropriate. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall told a news conference in February that "(Indonesia) is very clearly attempting to come to grips with the situation," and praised "the commitment of the Indonesian government to ensure the perpetrators among the military and civilians will be brought to justice."

At the same news conference, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters: "What is important is for people and governments abroad to evaluate the (Indonesian) government's response, to judge us by what we are doing to overcome the incident."

A list of sentences in connection with the events around the Santa Cruz massacre follows.

#### I. Court-martials of Indonesian soldiers

Pvt. Mateus Maya 8 months for disobeying orders

Pvt. Afonso de Jesus 8 months for disobeying orders

1st Corporal I.P. Marthin 17 months for torture (cutting off the ear of a demonstrator)

1st Sgt. Aloysius Rani 18 months

1st Sgt. Udin Syukur 18 months

1st Sgt. Petrus Saul Mada 12 months

2nd Lt. Sugiman Mursanib 14 months for failing to control his troops

2nd Lt. John Aritonang 12 months for opening fire without orders

2nd Lt. Hadrianus Eddy Sunaryo 12 months for ordering troops to fire

2nd Lt. Yohanes Panpada 8 months for disobeying orders

#### II. Trials of East Timorese civilians

In Dili, in connection with Nov. 12:

Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29 life sentence for subversion

Francisco Miranda Branco, 41 15 years for subversion

Jacinto des Neves Raimundo, 34 10 years for publicly expressing hostility

Filomeno da Silva Pereira, 34 5 years, 8 months for conspiracy and hostility

Juvenio de Jesus Martins, 32 10 years for expressing hostility (prosecution had requested 6 years, 10 months)

Carlos dos Santos Lemos, 31 8 years for expressing hostility

Bonifacio Magno Pereira, 35 6 years for expressing hostility

Saturnino da Costa Belo, 21 9 years for expressing hostility

In Dili, in connection with Oct. 28:

Bobby Xavier, 18 3 years

Aleixo da Silva, 22 2 years, 3 months

Jacob da Silva 2 years

Joao dos Santos, 23 1 year, 8 months

Bonifacio Bareto 1 year, 8 months

In Dili, for sending "secret" documents overseas

Afonso Rangel 5 years

Felismina dos Santos Conceicao 5 years

Amarao de Araujo 3 years

In Jakarta, in connection with Nov. 19:

Fernando de Araujo, 26 9 years for subversion

Joao Freitas da Camara, 37 10 years for subversion

Virgilio da Silva Guterres 2 years, 6 months

Dominggus Barreto, 29 6 months for spreading hostility... (freed in May, 1992)

Agopito Cordoso, 25 10 months for spreading hostility...

### BRITISH COLUMBIA

Elaine Briere is extremely busy with her film on East Timor which is developing very positively into a unique tribute to East Timorese culture. is still involved in political

work for East Timor. An interview with Elaine which was published recently by "Z Magazine" has been very successful in raising interest about East Timor and Indonesia; Elaine has been sending out numerous Indonesia Kits by request from people who read the article in "Z."

Azé, our East Timorese refugee has just moved to Vancouver. He is attending ESL courses in Capilano college. Azé is coping well with his difficult situation thanks especially to the Wood family in Campbell River with whom he was living for the past year. ETAN is also grateful to many people in Campbell River who helped Azé during his time there.

Li-Lien Gibbons recently testified at the UN Decolonisation hearings on behalf of ETAN, Parliamentarians for East Timor and her family. "As It Happens" interviewed her in New York, marking the first time that the UN Decolonisation Hearings on East Timor have been aired on CBC radio. This October she will be leaving Vancouver temporarily to study Mandarin in China, but is due to return next summer.

#### **A Growing Interest in Vancouver...**

Ever since the Santa Cruz massacre of Nov. 12 various individuals in Vancouver have been contacting Elaine Briere for more information about East Timor and Indonesia. This is exactly what we like to see and encourage! It is a matter of time and effort before Canadians realise that they simply cannot actively ignore the issue.

So far Tony Palma has begun to link ETAN to the Portuguese community in Vancouver, mainly through the Catholic church. We really appreciate the church's offer of its photocopying facilities to Azé. It is also likely that the church (on E. 12th, near E. Broadway) will hold a mass on November 12th in commemoration of the Santa Cruz victims.

ETAN would also like to thank Plamen Gantchev (our most fearless activist!), Nick Witheford and BC PIRG for helping to raise the issue of East Timor and university involvement with the Indonesian regime in the SFU community. SFU's CIDA funded East Indonesian Development Project has become quite an issue since last Spring's forum at which Elaine, Li-Lien and Svend Robinson spoke.

#### **CBC French TV calls us !**

Again, thanks mainly to Plamen Gantchev's fervent lobbying, CBC French TV aired a special feature on the SFU-Indonesian project and East Timor on its news program early in September. The feature included brief interviews with Elaine Briere, Li-Lien Gibbons and Christopher Dagg (administrator of the SFU project) and also footage of the Santa Cruz massacre last

November. It might be a good idea to call or write to CBC (French TV) to thank them for their efforts and support. If only CBC national would show the same interest...

#### **Simon Fraser University Out of Indonesia!**

The five year old East Indonesian Development Project is coming up for renewal after spending its \$20 million from CIDA. The fundamental question is how can a Canadian university which is supposed to uphold and promote the values of academic and political freedom be involved with a government which is one of the worst human rights abusers in the world! As it so happens, SFU is involved with helping the Indonesian government "upgrade" the Eastern Indonesian region.

According to Liem Soei Liong of Tapol, "the development of East Indonesia through all kinds of projects World Bank, ADB, bilateral g to g or university projects like SFU do have one thing in common: not only do they enhance the image of the Suharto government, but even worse can support the further obliteration of the threatened cultures of the local people in the Moluccas and West Papua."

The SFU project is linked with three major state universities: Universitas Sam Ratulangi in Manado (Sulawesi), Universitas Pattimura in Ambon (Maluku) and Universitas Cenderawasih in Jayapura (West Papua). The decision to choose for eastern Indonesia is most likely made through a process of discussions in higher spheres, World Bank and the Government of Indonesia (GOI). Many other donor countries like Holland and Australia have also decided to focus on the development of Eastern Indonesia. It has become a kind of parole in the world of developmentalists to talk about Eastern Indonesia. They even developed an abbreviation IBT (Indonesia Bagian Timur, the Eastern Part of Indonesia).

SFU's project administrators claim that their involvement is "empowering the individual's academic freedom." There is no evidence of any such improvement; student councils and senates do not exist in Indonesian universities. Instead SFU is involved with universities which have been called upon by the Indonesian government "to provide research support, professional services and trained individuals with skills in production, processing and marketing" due to "an increased recognition of the market potential of the Eastern Islands' marine, forest and agricultural resources." We must bear in mind also that human rights violations in the region and in particular in West Papua are appalling. In recent months many West Papuans have fled from their

homes to the neighbouring PNG. The situation in West Papua can be compared in many ways with that in East Timor. SFU's Student Resource Centre is producing a pamphlet titled "SFU and Indonesia: Complicity in Human Rights Abuse?" which will be distributed with the help of BC PIRG in the university.

#### **Reaching out to youth**

We have had a couple of great experiences talking to young students this summer. Li-Lien was invited to do a presentation on East Timor and "Student Activism" from her personal perspective at Pearson College in Victoria. About 200 Canadian and international students attended the talk and film "Cold Blood." Azé and Li-Lien also gave a workshop to some students who were participating in the YMCA "Right On!" human rights conference on the Sunshine coast. We hope to reach out more to high schools in the future because young students seem quite keen to get active and learn about issues these days.

#### **ACTIVISM SPREADS ACROSS ONTARIO**

New East Timor support groups have formed around Ontario, and interest in East Timor in the province is running higher than ever. ETAN groups are planning many activities throughout the fall to try to raise awareness about East Timor in Ontario.

An Ontario Regional East Timor Conference was held at the 519 Church St. Community Centre in Toronto on Aug. 1, with keynote speakers Abé Barreto (speaking on behalf of the East Timor nationalist movement CNRM, National Council of Maubere Resistance), Liem Soei Liong of Tapol, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign based in London, Li-lien Gibbons from ETAN/Vancouver and Peter Monet from ETAN/Ottawa. We were happy at the good turnout (31 people for a day-long meeting) and the wide representation from ten communities in Ontario. The conference got good media coverage, especially from the local Portuguese-language press and television and campus/community radio programmers who attended. Special thanks for making the day possible go to Maggie Helwig and ACT for Disarmament.

- A tour of Ontario universities will feature talks by Timorese refugee Abé Barreto and the first Canadian screenings of the full-length version of *Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor*. A forum has already been held at Wilfred Laurier University, and more are planned at McMaster in Hamilton (Oct. 12-13), Windsor (Oct. 14-15), York and Ryerson in Toronto (Oct. 27), University of Toronto (Oct. 28), Guelph (Nov. 3), Brock,



Carleton, Ottawa, Queen's, Trent, Waterloo, and Western (dates still to be decided).

– ETAN/Ottawa is concentrating on lobbying on Parliament Hill and conducting a membership drive for Parliamentarians for East Timor (PET). There will be a demonstration in Ottawa on November 12, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, starting at Parliament Hill and going to the Department of External Affairs. East Timor supporters from across the province are invited to attend. Ottawa contact: Peter Monet, (613) 283-6933.

– In Windsor, an East Timor support group is just being formed, and has had very good response from local unions, churches, community groups, and the Third World Resource Centre. The group is lobbying the 3 local MPs to join PET, collecting signatures on a Free East Timor! petition, and working at the University of Windsor. In the summer, a picket was held in support of the Bata Shoes Boycott. Windsor contact: Jason Amyot, (519) 976-3166.

– The East Timor Working Group in Guelph keeps up its pressure on the Guelph University to end its sponsorship of the Sulawesi Regional Development Project, the largest aid to Indonesia project of any Canadian university. A talk and information display at the School of Rural Planning (responsible for the Sulawesi project) is planned for this month, along with petitioning, radio shows, newspaper articles and other events. An external review into the Sulawesi project ordered by the university Senate (the first to consider ethical and human rights concerns) should table its report in November or December. Guelph contact: Sheila Wilmot, (519) 824-2091.

– ETAN/Toronto and ACT for Disarmament continue to promote the Bata Shoes Boycott and hold educational events. This month, a joint “benefit for boycotts” involved ETAN, the General Electric Boycott Committee, United Farmworkers, and other groups engaged in consumer boycotts. A petition calling on Bata to divest from Indonesia is now available. On October 1 there will be a benefit screening for ETAN of the new film *Manufacturing Consent*: Noam Chomsky and the Media (Euclid Theatre, 7 pm, \$10). This excellent film will also be screened at the Euclid Oct. 2-7 and the John Spotton Theatre 29-Nov. 4. Peace vigils will be held on December 7 and other dates through the year. Toronto contact: David Webster, (416) 539-9589, or call ACT for Disarmament, 531-6154.

– Groups and individuals are busy gearing up for fall campaigns in Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, London, Oakville, Kingston and other communities. And

ETAN has received inquiries from across Ontario, from Belleville to Thunder Bay.

#### **ACTION IDEAS**

What you can do

Lobby your Member of Parliament. Canada should be supporting the rights of East Timor, not backing the Indonesian position. There are now 21 members of Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor, representing all three major political parties. For more information, contact Peter Monet at ETAN/Ottawa, or MPs Ray Funk (NDP), David Kilgour (Liberal) or David MacDonald (Conservative).

Write to External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. Canada gave Indonesia \$46 million in economic aid last year (third among all countries we gave aid to). Despite a freeze in \$30 million of future aid projects, Canada plans to give another \$46 million in 1992-93. If our aid money is tied to human rights, all aid to Indonesia should be suspended. Write Barbara McDougall (postage free) c/o House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6, and send copies of your letters to External Affairs critics for the opposition parties: Lloyd Axworthy (Liberal) and Svend Robinson (NDP).

Circulate a Free East Timor! petition. Activists in nine communities (Guelph/Wellington County; Hamilton-Wentworth, London/Oxford County, Oakville/Halton Region, Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver, Waterloo Region and Windsor) are carrying out petition drives to collect 5,000 signatures each. Get in touch with the contact in your area to participate in petition drives ... or we can make a personalized petition for your area (contact HANDS, PO Box 1302, Main Station, Guelph Ont., N1H 6N6, (519) 767-0313).

Collect endorsements on an open letter. ETAN and the Canadian Peace Alliance are hoping to publish an open letter to the Canadian government about East Timor in the national press on November 12, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. Contact ETAN/Toronto or the CPA (555 Bloor St. W., Toronto, M5S xxx, (416) 588-5555). Tax-deductible donations towards the cost of this letter can be made to “BC Conference, United Church of Canada” with a memo “For East Timor Relief,” and sent to ETAN.

Organize a public forum. Show the film “Cold Blood” or “Manufacturing Consent” and invite a speaker from ETAN, in your town, church, university, school, community group, union or whatever.

Boycott Bata Shoes and other Canadian companies involved in Indonesia. Over 300 Canadian companies have invested more than \$2 billion in Indonesia, including Bata, Inco Inc., Gulf Canada Resources Ltd.,

SNC-Lavalin Inc., Pratt and Whitney Canada, General Electric Canada and many others.

Ask Canadian universities to divest from Indonesia. Simon Fraser, Guelph, Dalhousie and other Canadian universities have major projects in tandem with the Indonesian government.

Join an international day of action on November 12, 1992, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. Demonstrations will be held in Ottawa (with participants from across Ontario) and Vancouver. Or, organize a demonstration of your own.

Make a donation to ETAN. We are a grassroots organization dependent on public support to pay for our campaigns. Please consider a donation to ETAN – no amount is too small! Or, organize a fundraising event for East Timor.

#### **TIMORESE VOICES**

Abe and Azé, Canada's only East Timorese refugees would like to share some of their thoughts with us.

#### ***There Was Someone Picking Them Up...***

Timor and its dreams, fears, sufferings and beauty  
already have you recorded  
humming  
in the pieces of verses  
lay down  
in an untrodden path  
There was a young poet passed  
picking them up  
and composed his verses  
spoke through the mouth  
of his verses

(Dedicated to an East Timorese poet, Francisco Borja da Costa, killed in 1975 by the Indonesian military)

#### ***Dancing Around The Planet Earth***

Walt Whitman and Pablo Neruda  
were with me in the downtown of Montreal  
spending the weekend  
We exchanged views on democracy  
and freedom

In a twinkling of an eye  
I imagined when  
the dream of my land comes true :  
holding the torch of freedom  
and dancing around the planet Earth  
with a smile on its face.

Abe Barreto Soares (Summer 1992, Kitchener, Ontario)

#### ***I Drank Blood Water***

Oh Matebian  
On top of you  
There are thousands of corpses  
Their blood colored the water  
And I drank it

To hold my liberty.

Matebian is the mountain in East Timor which the Indonesian military surrounded and bombed, killing many people everywhere and all the water filled with blood and we just used it for cooking and drinking. (Azé witnessed the Matebian massacre and lost many relatives during the incident)

### **By Blood You Build**

Indonesia,  
In scenes of your  
Buildings, television and asphalt  
Drops of human blood  
still stain them all.

Azé @ Jose Maria de Jesus Luis Gutteres  
(Summer 1992, BC)

## **SECRET CANADA-INDONESIA CONFERENCE IGNORES HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS**

By Zuhair Kashmeri, *NOW Magazine*,  
Toronto, Oct. 15-21.

### **Support network says violations are taking back seat to business**

Human rights groups are fuming over a secret conference on Indonesia, organized by the Asia-Pacific Foundation, to which watchdog associations such as Amnesty International and the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) were not invited to participate.

"They wouldn't even acknowledge the conference," says Li-lien Gibbons of ETAN. "When we called them to ask about it (after learning about the conference from NOW) they said, It was a private conference and we can't disclose anything."

However, the conference did draw high-level government officials from External Affairs and the Canadian International Development Agency in Ottawa and from the ministry of industry, trade and technology's Ontario International Corporation.

The Asia-Pacific Foundation is a non-profit corporation set up by Parliament in 1984. It receives a third of its funding from Ottawa and five provinces, including Ontario, and several private companies. The rest comes from fees for programs such as the conference.

The conference was held in Toronto on September 27 and 28. Asia-Pacific spokesperson Stanley Jung says there were 26 representatives from Canada and 25 from Indonesia.

"The topics included economic and business relations and politics, and to a lesser extent, human rights," he says. "Diplomatic relations are strained because of the actions of the government of Canada.

There is a fear on the part of Indonesia, and it was felt there was a lack of communication, and misunderstanding. This forum was to overcome those fears."

### **Aid Suspended**

Canada suspended future aid to Indonesia last December after troops in East Timor opened fire on a peaceful demonstration, killing more than 100 people. The demonstration was timed for the visit to East Timor of the United Nation special representative on torture.

Jung said the conference was private, and was not designed to be a wide forum to extensively discuss human rights. Responding to complaints that neither Amnesty nor ETAN was invited, he says a non-governmental organization, the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) was, and it put forward a participant.

However, Maggie Helwig of ETAN says the CCIC is a "very cautious" NGO. She is disturbed that playing down human rights at such a high-level conference essentially tells Indonesia that "you can keep doing what you're doing. There has to come a point when human rights take precedence over trade."

### **Rights Central**

Amnesty, which considers Indonesia among the worst human rights violators – citing arbitrary arrest, detention, torture, jailing and extra-judicial killings – says it found out about Asia-Pacific's conference by accident. At the time, co-incidentally, its representatives were meeting UN officials about Indonesia and East Timor.

"We don't have any problem with trade, but our views on Indonesia and East Timor are very clear," says Amnesty spokesperson John Tackaberry. "We would be upset even if human rights were discussed in a less than substantial way at this conference.

"We're in favour of a dialogue if that includes human rights and a country's international responsibility. At any dialogue which takes place with government officials, human rights must be discussed."

The conference did include a final session on human rights, an external official says, but the participants were two Indonesian journalists, Asia-Pacific's own media person and an academic from Simon Fraser University's Indonesia project.

The official, who holds a senior position in external's Asia Pacific unit and did not wish to be named, says the department did ask the organizers to include speakers from Amnesty and ETAN, but were told the participant from the NGO would be enough.

The official, who attended the conference, believes that even without the two

watchdog groups, the issue was not completely swept under the rug.

"But the focus was clearly more on economic co-operation, the problems we have bilaterally. We saw it as an opportunity for an exchange. Environmental discussions also played a part. After all, it was a conference on trade, and I don't think human rights was very relevant."

## **ONTARIO UNIVERSITIES KICK OFF EAST TIMOR SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN**

Press release from East Timor Alert  
Network, Canada. 13 October 1992

An Ontario universities tour in support of East Timor kicks off in Hamilton today. The tour, sponsored by the East Timor Alert Network, will travel to 12 communities representing all universities in southern Ontario between now and November 12.

The tour is designed to raise awareness in universities and surrounding communities about the genocide going on in East Timor, a small country invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since the invasion, more than a third of the East Timorese people have been killed. On November 12, 1991, the genocide came to world attention when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a crowd of unarmed Timorese at a funeral procession, killing as many as 200 people. For the first time, the massacre was captured by Western television cameras.

The resulting documentary, *Cold Blood: the Massacre of East Timor* will be shown for the first time in its entirety in Canada. Also featured will be speeches by Timorese refugee Barnabe Barreto Soares, representative to Canada for the Timorese resistance movement CNRM earlier this year. Local speakers and members of Canada's East Timor Alert Network will add details on the complicity of the Canadian government in the East Timor tragedy.

As well as the university forums, Mr Barreto Soares will be speaking to church, labour and human rights groups and high school students.

Following the tour, activists from across Ontario and from Montréal will gather in Ottawa for a dramatic demonstration on Parliament Hill on November 12, the first anniversary of the massacre.

### **EAST TIMOR UNIVERSITY TOUR SCHEDULE**

Details omitted, dates October 13 - November 10, to the following places:  
McMaster University, Hamilton  
University of Windsor  
Brock University, St Catharines  
Waterloo University

York University, Toronto  
 University of Toronto  
 Oakville (high school speaking events)  
 University of Guelph  
 Concordia University, Montréal  
 McGill University, Montréal  
 Queen's University, Kingston  
 Carleton University, Ottawa  
 University of Ottawa  
 Trent University (Peterborough),  
 University of Western Ontario (London).

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## CANADIAN ARMS TO BURMA

*The ACTivist, 8#11, November 1992*

Project Ploughshares has revealed that Canadian arms components continue to reach the military dictatorship of Burma, supposedly a country to which Canadian companies may not export arms. The parts are reaching Burma via China, a permitted customer despite the numerous human rights violations of the Chinese government.

Burma has been on an arms-buying spree for several years, preparing for a major offensive against the Karen rebels, who control considerable territory in the south of the country. It is the Karen-controlled areas that offer refuge for student dissidents, Buddhist monks, and others persecuted by the ruling junta known as SLORC.

The SLORC has massacred unarmed, nonviolent student protestors, and continues to hold thousands of 'political prisoners,' including 1991 Nobel Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi.

In a report on indirect Canadian weapons sales to the Third World,

(Ploughshares Monitor, September 1992) Ploughshares states that, in 1991, Burma obtained, from China, Y-12 military planes. The planes were powered by Canadian-made Pratt & Whitney engines – adding one more point to Pratt & Whitney's record-breaking achievements in selling arms to every military dictatorship in the world.

This is not the first time Canadian-made weapons parts have travelled from China to Burma – Pratt & Whitney engines also reached Burma in 1990, in Swiss Pilatus combat aircraft.

1991 recipients of indirect sales of Canadian arms and arms components, as well as Burma, included Indonesia (waging genocide in occupied East Timor), and Peru (involved in a vicious war with Sendero Luminoso guerrillas, in which both the government and the guerrillas are subjecting civilians to massive violations of human rights).

Direct Canadian sales to the Third World included such favoured customers as south Korea, Saudi Arabia and Thailand. Ploughshares estimates that 92% of our

military exports to the Third World went to countries with a record of "official violence against their people."

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## CANADIAN COMMITTEE FOR DARWIN SCHOOL

*From ETAN/Canada, Nov. 8, 1992*

Following a recent visit to North America by Michio Takahashi of the Free East Timor! Japan Coalition, a Canadian support committee for the Darwin East Timor School has been formed. More information is available from project co-ordinator Angelo Gonsalves c/o ETAN/Toronto, PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto M5S 2T1. The text of the committee's leaflet follows.

### CULTURAL SURVIVAL FOR EAST TIMOR

Appeal for the establishment of a self-supporting cultural learner centre for the refugees of East Timor

In 1975, a week after East Timor gained its independence from Portugal, it was invaded by Indonesia. Since then more than 200,000 East Timorese have been killed: one person in three. In no uncertain terms, this is genocide.

East Timor has also been subjected to cultural genocide.

East Timor was home to more than 30 languages and dialects. Today, only Bahasa Indonesian is taught in schools, and native languages and traditions are discouraged. Every aspect of the native culture is being destroyed on this war-torn island. Timorese languages and cultures stand on the brink of extinction.

Until East Timor regains its independence, the only people capable of preserving and renewing the rich cultures of East Timor are Timorese refugees living in other countries. One of the largest refugee communities is settled near Darwin, Australia, the nearest city to East Timor itself. They intend to establish a cultural centre that will teach present and future generations the culture, traditions, language, history and geography of East Timor. Teaching will be carried out in Tetun, the common language of East Timor.

As well as teaching, the cultural centre will edit and publish books, do translations to and from Tetun of other valuable texts, and help preserve the myths and legends of East Timor. The Timorese near Darwin intend to build their own school and be self-sufficient in every aspect of life including food, shelter, clothing, water and renewable sources of energy in tune with the environment of the region.

This ambitious project is already under way, but it needs to raise start-up costs. We appeal to you to support generously the

goals and aspirations of these displaced people. Please send donations payable to "East Timor School" to:

Bread and Roses Credit Union  
 248 Danforth Ave. #211  
 Toronto, M4K 1N8

or  
 c/o ACT for Disarmament  
 736 Bathurst Street  
 Toronto, M5S 2R4

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## 12 NOVEMBER: EVENTS PLANNED IN CANADA

Local groups of the East Timor Alert Network will be organizing vigils for peace in six cities in Canada on November 12, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre.

Vancouver, BC	Garuda Airlines offices
Calgary, Alberta	Asamera Oil offices
Guelph, Ontario	University of Guelph
Toronto, Ontario	Indonesian Consulate
Ottawa, Ontario	Parliament Hill
Montreal, Quebec	Location TBA

We will also be publishing an open letter to the Canadian government on 12 November in either *The Globe and Mail* or the *Ottawa Citizen*, as well as opinion pieces in several city and campus newspapers.

Finally, there will be a news conference with CNRM representative Abé Barreto Soares and members of Parliamentarians for East Timor and ETAN, to be held on Parliament Hill before the vigil. We expect to have East Timor raised as a question in the House of Commons the same day.

These events are being co-sponsored by ETAN and: ACT for Disarmament (Toronto), Calgary Disarmament Coalition, Canadian Peace Alliance, Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (Ottawa), Ontario Public Interest Research Group (Guelph) and others.

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## SILENCE BESPEAKS DEATH IN EAST TIMOR

*Catholic New Times, Toronto, 8 Nov. 1992.*  
 By David Webster

It's been a year, now, since Indonesian soldiers gunned down as many as 273 East Timorese women, men and children in cold blood while Western journalists looked on. The 12 November 1991 massacre, which followed a peaceful funeral procession at the Santa Cruz cemetery, threw Indonesia's brutal military occupation of East Timor into harsh relief.

Italian priest Stefani Renato, a witness at Santa Cruz, wrote later of his shock at the sheer scale of brutality: "It was a sea of blood. Hours after the massacre I saw

bloodstains on the road – even though the soldiers tried to scrub them out.”

The Santa Cruz massacre wasn't anything new in East Timor. Since the Indonesian armed forces invaded in 1975, around 200,000 Timorese have been killed, according to the Indonesian government's own census figures. Priests in the predominantly Catholic territory report the number of dead is more like 300,000 – a figure that represents close to half the pre-invasion population.

According to Amnesty International and other monitoring groups, every imaginable type of human rights violation, from forced abortions and sterilization of Timorese women to indiscriminate mass executions of villagers, has been commonplace. East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo has begged the world community for help, saying “we are dying as a people and as a nation.”

Almost anywhere else, this would be called genocide. In East Timor, we call it unfortunate. Our governments call it a “fait accompli.”

A year ago, after the Santa Cruz massacre was filmed by a British television crew, Timor supporters thought all that might be changing. Indonesian President Suharto promised to punish those responsible for the killings. Western leaders, like Canada's External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, vowed to hold him to that pledge, and backed up their promises with the threat of cutting off economic aid.

Today, a handful of soldiers who opened fire at Santa Cruz are in the middle of jail terms that range from eight to eighteen months. (The generals who are ultimately responsible for ordering the killings have not even been prosecuted.) Pro-independence Timorese, including survivors of the massacre, face years in jail after they were convicted of subversion and spreading hostility against the Indonesian state. One of them, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, will spend the rest of his life in an Indonesian prison. Three other “subversives” have nine or ten year jail terms ahead of them. Hundreds more East Timorese are imprisoned simply for wanting the independence the United Nations says is theirs by right and by law.

But the quality of Western mercy is a fleeting thing. Donor countries met in July and gave Indonesia \$4.94 billion in aid for this year – even more than the Indonesians had asked for. Barbara McDougall, who froze Canadian aid to Indonesia and made the first expression of concern for human rights in East Timor by a Canadian government official in sixteen years of genocide, shrugs off reports that the plight of the Timorese is even worse in November 1992

than it was in November 1991. Canada is satisfied with the response of the Indonesian government to the Santa Cruz massacre, she says. Indonesia remains the number three recipient of Canadian aid dollars.

Even the Church, where most Timorese have placed their hopes since the Indonesian invasion, has held its peace.

A year after Santa Cruz threatened to make President Suharto an international pariah, he was the keynote speaker as the United Nations General Assembly opened its 1992-93 session in September. He called for international action to help the people of war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, while he stayed silent on East Timor, a country torn apart by his own military. Only one voice, a lone Canadian woman in the public gallery, was raised against him while he held the world stage.

For dictatorships like Suharto's, silence is as good as consent.

In the end, East Timor will still gain its independence, because the Timorese people and their supporters will continue to resist until they win. But Western silence, in the mean time, continues to equal death.

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### **END ARMS SALES ON ANNIVERSARY OF TIMOR MASSACRE, CANADIAN PEACE GROUPS URGE**

*For Immediate Release Nov. 11, 1992*

Toronto – David Suzuki, Nobel Prize winner John Polanyi and over 30 organizations are marking the first anniversary of a massacre in East Timor by calling for a ban on Canadian weapons sales to Indonesia.

In an open letter to appear in The Ottawa Citizen and Vancouver Sun, the prominent Canadians and groups say that on November 12, 1991 Indonesian soldiers opened fire on an unarmed crowd of Timorese villagers, killing over 200 women, men and children.

Also signing the letter: Bishop John M. Sherlock, Bishop Remi J. De Roo, Noam Chomsky, Maude Barlow, singers Bruce Cockburn and Raffi, and 12 Members of Parliament, including two parties' human rights critics.

Representatives of all the major Canadian churches are signatories.

According to statistics from the Department of External Affairs, Canada sold military goods to East Timor in 1991.

“We're saying these weapons sales to Indonesia have to stop immediately, Canadian arms are contributing to a genocide in East Timor,” says David Webster, a spokesperson for the East Timor Alert Network.

East Timor, a tiny country in the South Pacific, was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since that time more than 200,000 people – a third of the East Timorese population – have been killed, according to Amnesty International.

The open letter is a joint project of The Canadian Peace Alliance and The East Timor Alert Network.

For more information: David Webster, East Timor Alert Network, (416) 539-9589  
Gideon Forman, Canadian Peace Alliance, (416) 588-5555

### **OPEN LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA**

*Ottawa Citizen, 12 November 1992*

### **MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR**

One year ago today, at a peaceful pro-independence procession in East Timor, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on an unarmed crowd, killing over 200 women, men and children.

The massacre was only the latest in a long string of atrocities committed by the Indonesian army since it invaded the tiny country of East Timor in 1975. More than 200,000 people – a third of the East Timorese population – have been killed since, according to Amnesty International and the Catholic Church. Despite repeated United Nations resolutions, Indonesia has refused to let the East Timorese decide their own future.

The government of Canada has supported Indonesia with aid, trade, and even military equipment. After the November 12 massacre, the Canadian government made its first-ever statement of concern for human rights in East Timor, and asked that those responsible for the massacre be punished.

In the past year, the suffering of the East Timorese has increased. Soldiers who opened fire have been jailed for short periods, while the generals who bear ultimate responsibility have gone unpunished. East Timorese survivors of the massacre, meanwhile, have been charged with subversion and “expressing hostility.” Their sentences range up to life imprisonment. The government of Canada says it is satisfied with the response of the Indonesian government.

We urge the Canadian government to:

- Impose a ban on weapons sales to Indonesia, and to support a general ban by all countries on weapons sales to Indonesia

- Work for peace talks without preconditions between Indonesia and the East Timorese resistance

- Speak up for the rights of the East Timorese, a people living under a forgotten genocide.

Signatories:

**Churches:**

Anglican Church of Canada  
 United Church of Canada  
 Presbyterian Church in Canada  
 Canadian Catholic Organization for  
 Development and Peace  
 Canadian Friends Service Committee  
 (Quakers)  
 Mennonite Conference of Eastern Canada  
 (Peace, Justice and Social Concerns  
 Committee)  
 Peace and Justice Office - Scarboro Foreign  
 Missions  
 Canada Asia Working Group of the national  
 churches

**Religious leaders:**

John M. Sherlock, Bishop of London  
 Remi J. De Roo, Bishop of Victoria  
 Bruce McLeod, President of the Canadian  
 Council of Churches  
 Clarice M. Garvey, Superior of Our Lady's  
 Missionaries  
 Anne O'Brien gsic, Editor of the Catholic  
 New Times

**Prominent Canadians:**

June Callwood, writer  
 Timothy Findley, writer  
 David Suzuki, writer and ecologist  
 Bruce Cockburn, musician  
 Bob Bossin, musician  
 Raffi, children's entertainer  
 Stephen Lewis, former ambassador to UN  
 Clayton Ruby and Marlys Edwardh, civil rights  
 lawyers  
 Maude Barlow, President of the Council of  
 Canadians  
 Iona Campagnolo, former President of the  
 Liberal Party of Canada  
 Martin Silva, Toronto City Councillor

**Academics:**

John Polanyi, Nobel Laureate, University of  
 Toronto  
 Noam Chomsky, writer and US foreign policy  
 critic, MIT  
 Ursula M. Franklin, University of Toronto  
 Metta Spencer, University of Toronto  
 Howard Pawley, former Premeir of Manitoba,  
 University of Windsor  
 David Wurfel, University of Windsor  
 Terrence Keenlyside, University of Windsor  
 Bruce Burton, University of Windsor  
 Claus Reichoff, President of the Senate,  
 Simon Fraser University  
 Peter Eglin, Wilfred Laurier University

**Members of Parliament:**

Svend Robinson (NDP-BC)  
 Lynn Hunter (NDP-BC)  
 Dawn Black (NDP-BC)  
 David Kilgour (Liberal-Alberta)  
 Ray Funk (NDP-Saskatchewan)  
 Chris Axworthy (NDP-Saskatchewan)  
 Bill Blaikie (NDP-Manitoba)  
 Beryl Gaffney (Liberal-Ontario)  
 Christine Stewart (Liberal-Ontario)  
 Dan Heap (NDP-Ontario)

Steven Langdon (NDP-Ontario)  
 Howard McCurdy (NDP-Ontario)  
 & many other individuals

**National Organizations**

International Centre for Human Rights and  
 Democratic Development (Ed Broadbent,  
 president)  
 INTER PARES  
 World Council of Indigenous People  
 Cultural Survival Canada  
 Canadian Peace Alliance  
 East Timor Alert Network  
 Greenpeace Canada Staff  
 Necessary Illusions (makers of new  
 documentary, Manufacturing Consent)  
 Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade  
 Association of United Ukrainian Canadians  
 First Portuguese Canadian Cultural Centre  
 Portuguese Canadian Democratic Association

**Regional Organizations:**

Nuclear Free North (Northwest Territories)  
 Simon Fraser Public Interest Research Group  
 (Vancouver, BC)  
 Calgary Disarmament Coalition  
 Ontario Voice of Women  
 Toronto Disarmament Network  
 ACT for Disarmament (Toronto)  
 Student Christian Movement (Toronto)  
 Ontario Public Interest Research Group  
 (Toronto)  
 Oakville Community Centre for Peace,  
 Ecology and Human Rights  
 HANDS (Guelph)  
 McMaster University Peace Camp Club  
 (Hamilton)  
 Ottawa Disarmament Coalition  
 Ontario Public Interest Research Group  
 (Carleton)  
 Southeast Asia Working Group (Ottawa)  
 Centre des Ressources sur la Non-Violence  
 (Montreal)  
 New Brunswick Voice of Women  
 Nova Scotia Voice of Women

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## CANADA CHOOSES PROFITS OVER RIGHTS

*Toronto Star, 12 November 1992 main  
 feature on op-ed page, with photo.*

*By David Webster*

A year ago today, Indonesian soldiers  
 gunned down more than 200 mourners at a  
 funeral procession in East Timor. The mas-  
 sacre was nothing new in East Timor, a tiny  
 southeast Asian country that Indonesia in-  
 vaded in 1975 and annexed the following  
 year. According to Amnesty International  
 and sources in the local Catholic Church,  
 one in every three Timorese has died under  
 Indonesian rule.

What made this particular atrocity dif-  
 ferent was the presence of several foreign-  
 ers, who filmed the massacre at the Santa  
 Cruz cemetery and spread eye-witness ac-

counts of the unprovoked shootings around  
 the world.

This prompted the external affairs min-  
 isters of most First World countries to make  
 their first-ever condemnation of human  
 rights violations in East Timor. Among them  
 was Canada's Barbara McDougall, who  
 called the massacre "a shocking turn of  
 events (that) will only serve to worsen what  
 is already a troubling human rights  
 situation."

Indonesian president Suharto promised  
 to punish those responsible for the massa-  
 cre.

One year later, the promise has been  
 thoroughly broken. Ten soldiers who  
 opened fire at Santa Cruz are in the middle  
 of jail terms that range from eight to eighteen  
 months. (The generals who are ultimately  
 responsible for ordering the killings have not  
 even been prosecuted.)

Pro-independence Timorese, including  
 massacre survivors, face years rather than  
 months in jail, after being convicted of  
 subversion and spreading hostility against  
 the Indonesian state. One of them, Gregorio  
 da Cunha Saldanha, will spend the rest of  
 his life in an Indonesian prison.

The human rights situation, meanwhile,  
 continues to deteriorate. In the last week of  
 October, Indonesian soldiers arrested 1,000  
 people in a three-day house-to-house search  
 throughout East Timor, a staggering figure in  
 a supposedly "integrated" territory.

Indonesia-watchers have been expecting a  
 strong stance from governments, like  
 Canada's, that crusade for human rights.  
 Canada, however, has been largely silent  
 since freezing \$30 million in aid to Indonesia  
 last December. (The existing \$46 million aid  
 project, Canada's third-largest, remains in  
 place.)

McDougall insists Canada is "seeking  
 further assurances from the Indonesian  
 government that they are committed to a  
 progressive approach to human rights in  
 East Timor." The actions of her government  
 tell a different story.

While the United States recently ended  
 all military aid to Indonesia, Canada has re-  
 fused to impose a ban on weapons sales \_  
 despite our stated policy of not selling to  
 countries at war or countries that might use  
 the weapons against their own citizens. In  
 1991, External Affairs issued permits for  
 military exports to Indonesia valued at  
 \$28,000. The final figures for 1992 are not  
 yet in, but officials at External say more  
 sales have been authorized this year.

Canadian military supplies "have played  
 an important role in the war in East Timor,"  
 according to José Ramos Horta, external  
 representative for the Timorese nationalist  
 umbrella group CNRM.

Money is at the root of Canada's reluctance to confront Indonesia. With 180 million people, Indonesia ranks along with China in the minds of many businessmen as one of the world's great untapped markets. "Of all the countries of the Pacific Rim in terms of opportunities, Indonesia is number one," says Mahmood Hak of Toronto-based Bata Shoes. With its low wages and strict laws against labor activism (a 1979 strike by Bata workers was defused by troops), Indonesia ranks as an investor's paradise.

More than 300 Canadian companies invest in Indonesia. Inco alone has spent \$1 billion on a nickel mining complex in the jungles of Sulawesi island, while cutting back its Canadian operations.

This September, a Canada-Indonesia trade conference in Toronto put human rights on the back burner. Both the federal Conservative and provincial NDP governments sent representatives to re-assure Indonesian delegates that, whatever Ottawa said about East Timor, business would go on as usual.

When corporate profits and the rights of a tiny country like East Timor come into conflict, Canada doesn't think twice about which it will give the nod.

(David Webster is a Toronto writer and a member of the East Timor Alert Network.)

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## MASSACRE MERITS MORE THAN A SLAP ON THE WRIST

*Toronto Globe and Mail, 13 Nov. 1992*

*World View column By Linda Hossie*

A year ago yesterday, Indonesian troops opened fire on a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in Dili, the capital of East Timor, and killed between 100 and 200 people. The massacre prompted outrage around the world. Several countries, including Canada, suspended aid projects.

The Canadian government also played host to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas right after the massacre, however, thereby sending a carefully mixed message to the Indonesian government – a government that invaded and occupied East Timor in 1975 and has killed as many as 200,000 of the island's people through war, starvation, forced birth control and other abuses.

Indonesia depends on foreign aid. In the fiscal year 1991-92, it received more than \$4.7 billion from various sources, about 20 per cent of its annual budget. So in the aftermath of the massacre, President Suharto did what he could to patch things up with the world community.

He appointed a commission of inquiry, but its report proved to be a whitewash that reflected almost exclusively the army's version of events. In the end, a few token

victims were thrown to the wolves: Two generals were replaced and a handful of soldiers got brief terms. (Dissidents in East Timor got life sentences for peaceful opposition to Indonesia's illegal occupation of their homeland.)

Still, Canadian External Relations Minister Monique Landry was impressed and defended Indonesia last spring, arguing that "they do admit (their wrongdoing) and they're trying to address the situation. I think we have fair reason to believe they're acting in good faith."

It's a touching sentiment, but history seems to demonstrate that few are in good faith where East Timor is concerned. In spite of the protests, shock and outrage after the Dili massacre, overall aid to Indonesia increased slightly in the 1992-93 fiscal year to \$4.9 billion.

Indonesia, no doubt heartened by such developments, recently appointed a new governor for East Timor, who commented on the Dili massacre by suggesting that troops should have done a more thorough job of annihilation. "In my opinion there should have been more people killed," were Abilio José Osorio Soares's precise words. "Why did only that number die? Why not all one thousand?"

Human rights have not improved in East Timor. In a recent report, Amnesty International says the situation has actually deteriorated and that "torture and ill-treatment of prisoners continues to be common and routine." (Amnesty also reports that as many as 100 people are still missing after the Dili massacre and that the government has released the names of only 19 of those who died.)

In the weeks leading up to the anniversary of the killings, Indonesian authorities arrested hundreds of people suspected of supporting independence for East Timor "to prevent them from publicly and peacefully pressing their views," Amnesty says.

There is no simple solution to a human-rights problem of this magnitude. At a recent conference sponsored by the North-South Institute, a representative of the Canadian International Development Agency, Elizabeth McAllister, warned against making foreign aid conditional on a country's human rights performance. She argued that such pressure can create resentments that damage co-operation on other global issues, such as the environment.

Linking aid to rights is an appropriate tool in its place, but it is only one of a range of options that governments can use. The campaign against apartheid in South Africa is a classic example of a strategy that used both economic sanctions and support, financial and political, for anti-racist groups in that country.

Maureen O'Neill, president of the North-South Institute, likes to point to Canada's aid program to Sri Lanka. This provides aid not to the government but to groups that "support human rights, provide relief to victims of human-rights abuses ... and assist in the development of documentation and procedures to record human-rights violations in Sri Lanka."

What clearly will not work is doing business as usual. Yet with only a few exceptions, business as usual seems to be the order of the day with Indonesia. It must bring a smile to Governor Soares' lips.

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## NOV. 12 IN CANADA

*Toronto Star, 13 November 1992. Story with Reuter photo of East Timorese praying in Dili. By Tim Harper*

### AID POLICY FOR INDONESIA UNDER FIRE

OTTAWA – Opposition politicians and peace activists marked the first anniversary of the East Timor massacre yesterday by calling for an end to aid and weapons sales to Indonesia.

Canadian policy was under fire in newspaper advertisements, Parliament Hill protests and statements from MPs.

A wreath was laid at the National War memorial, commemorating the unarmed Timorese mourners who were gunned down by Indonesian soldiers a year ago.

The Indonesian government has acknowledged that 50 in the funeral procession were killed, but independent witnesses have put the death toll at upwards of 250.

Canada suspended a proposed \$30 million aid project in the wake of the massacre, but continues to provide more than \$40 million annually to the Indonesian government.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 shortly after its Portuguese colonial rulers left. The tiny region of 750,000 has been fighting a guerrilla war since in a bid to win its independence.

Most governments, including Ottawa, do not recognize the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia.

NDP external affairs critic Svend Robinson said Indonesia should be denied aid based on Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's stated policy of linking aid with human rights.

"The Canadian government is abdicating any leadership in the commitment to human rights," said the Vancouver MP, who addressed a parliament Hill rally. "For this government, it's been business as usual."

But Denis Boulet, a spokesperson for External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, rejected that characterization.

"It has not been business as usual," Boulet said. "The minister has put pressure on the Indonesian government over human rights."

Bilateral trade between Indonesia and Canada totaled \$500 million last year.

In Ottawa and Vancouver newspapers yesterday, an open letter called for a ban on weapons sales to Indonesia. Among those signing the letter were Nobel Prize winner John Polanyi and writer June Callwood and former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations Stephen Lewis.

The letter was also signed by nine NDP and three Liberal MPs.

## REPORT ON FREE XANANA PROTESTS IN CANADA

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

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

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

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

## EVENTS IN THE USA

### SUING SINTONG IN AMERICA

*Forum Keadilan, No. 13. Original language: Indonesian. 15 October 1992.*

*Dateline: Jakarta. By Agung, Tony, and Sri Raharti. Brief excerpts.*

**An American NGO sued Sintong Panjaitan in federal court in America. Was their any basis in law for it? Or was it only a political maneuver?**

The calm of former Military Area (Kodam) IX/Udayana Commander Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan's studies in America was disrupted. Just as he was ending his education at Harvard, Sintong was sued by Helen Todd, stepmother of Kamal Bamadhaj, a New Zealand citizen who died in the 12 November Incident in Dili. Through her lawyer, Beth Stephens, Helen filed the suit on September 21, 1992 in Boston Federal Court.

According to Beth Stephens from the Center for Constitutional Rights, Sintong, who is now already in Indonesia, was responsible for the death of Kamal, an activist in an Australian NGO. The lawyer accused Sintong of committing human rights violations in East Timor. Hence Helen Todd's suit demanding millions of dollars in compensation.

Beth Stephens said Sintong could be tried in America under a 1984 human rights convention signed (diteken) by more than 20 countries. Under its provisions a person violating human rights in one country can be tried in another.

International law expert Prof. Dr. Komar Kantaatmaja believes, however, that such a suit could not be filed against Sintong in America. "At the time of the incident, Sintong was not there in person, but only in his role as Udayana Commander," said Komar. If anyone wanted to sue Sintong, it must be done in Indonesia, specifically, Jakarta or Bali, and using Indonesian jurisprudence, not that of other countries.

ABRI's own voice was clear. "ABRI will pay no heed to the suit," said ABRI Assistant for Social and Political Affairs, Lt. Gen. Harsudiyono Hartas. If they dare, he said, sue us here. They are just looking for adversaries, remarked Hartas.

The suit appears to smack more of politics than law. Hartas said, "They are only playing a political game."

Stephens herself didn't deny there was a political goal in the CCR's act. She said frankly the act was timed for President Suharto's UN appearance and the re-open-

ing of discussions between Indonesia and Portugal over East Timor.

Sintong himself has already returned to Indonesia. According to Head of ABRI Information Center Brig. Gen. Nurhadi, his studies had been completed. Right now, he did not want to be interviewed. Forum tried to contact him several times but was unsuccessful. "He's not yet come home," said his family.

### FEDERAL JUDGE IN BOSTON EXPECTED TO ORDER MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR PAYMENT

*Press Release of the Center for Constitutional Rights, Boston, issued on 11 November 1992.*

An Indonesian general has fled the United States in the face of a lawsuit charging him with responsibility for a bloody massacre on November 12 of last year in which as many as 200 East Timorese civilians were murdered. His departure constitutes an admission of guilt, and the Boston federal court judge hearing the case is expected to order him to pay millions of dollars to the family of one of the victims.

The Center for Constitutional Rights filed the lawsuit on September 17 1992, on behalf of Helen Todd, the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, a New Zealand citizen who was killed in the massacre, one year ago tomorrow. The suit charges General Sintong Panjaitan as one of the Indonesian military leaders responsible for a program of systematic human rights violations which included the execution of Bamadhaj. Panjaitan, who had lived in Boston since early this year, fled from the United States within a few days of receiving notice of the lawsuit.

"General Panjaitan has admitted his guilt by running away," Ms. Todd said. "I hope the Indonesian military now realizes that none of their officers travelling abroad will be able to hold up their heads with honor until the East Timor issue is solved."

Panjaitan's departure does not diminish his legal obligation to respond to the lawsuit. Since he failed to file an answer to the complaint within the 20 days required by US law, the court can hold him responsible for the massacre and enter a multi-million dollar judgment against him, after reviewing documentation about the harm caused by the massacre and the history of egregious human rights violations in East Timor.

Beth Stephens, a CCR attorney working on the case, said, "Panjaitan's departure underscores one of the objectives of this type of lawsuit and the laws under which they are filed: the United States is not a safe refuge for torturers and murderers." 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, or face the danger of lawsuits every time you travel to the United States.”

Kamal Bamadhaj was killed while visiting East Timor, when hundreds of Indonesian soldiers opened fire without warning on a peaceful memorial procession. Bamadhaj was shot twice and died shortly thereafter.

Helen Todd noted 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 added 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.

The lawsuit was filed under two US laws which allow victims of gross human rights violations to bring suit in US federal courts no matter where the violations occurred, as long as the defendant is in this country.

*For more information, contact Beth Stephens (212) 614-6424, or Michael Ratner (212) 614-6485, both at CCR.*

### **PANJAITAN LEAVES US, ESCAPES LAWSUIT**

According to a November 11 Reuter report datelined Boston, an Indonesian general charged in a U.S. civil lawsuit with responsibility for the killing of 200 civilians in an East Timor demonstration last year has left the United States, a lawyer for the plaintiff said on Wednesday.

The lawsuit was filed in U.S. District Court in Boston on Sept. 17, 1992 against Indonesian General Sintong Panjaitan. It was filed on behalf of Helen Todd, mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, a New Zealander killed in the Nov. 12, 1992 incident in East Timor.

Panjaitan had lived in Boston since early this year and left the United States shortly after receiving notice of the lawsuit, attorney Beth Stephens said.

“We were told by people in Indonesia that the army had said, ‘We don’t need to respond to this because the general is back,’” said Stephens, an attorney with the New York-based Centre for Constitutional Rights.

Since Panjaitan did not answer the complaint within 20 days as required by U.S. law the court can summarily find for the plaintiff and enter a judgment against the general. Todd is seeking unspecified damages of several million dollars.

## **EAST TIMOR ALUMNI**

*Letter to the Editor published in the New York Times, October 15, 1992*

To the Editor:

We would add a clarification to your much-appreciated “Cemetery Called East Timor” (editorial, Sept. 25): True, two Indonesian generals have been removed from their posts as a result of the killings last Nov. 12 in Dili, East Timor, but one should not infer that they have been punished.

Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, military commander of the Udayana military command, has been sent away and is studying business administration at Boston University. Brig. Gen. Rudy Warouw, who was military commander of East Timor, is taking an English course before embarking on a similar academic program.

However harsh the New England winters might be, this can hardly be seen as the Indonesian equivalent of Siberian exile.

Anne Treseder, San Francisco

*The writer is a member of the East Timor Action Network.*

## **FERNANDO DE ARAUJO GETS HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD**

*Original document from Reebok Human Rights Programs October 15, 1992*

Fernando de Araujo, the East Timorese human rights activist who was tried and sentenced to nine years’ imprisonment in Jakarta earlier this year on charges of subversion, is one of four people to receive this year’s award by the Reebok Human Rights Programs.

The others honoured are from Zaire, Northern Ireland and the USA.

The recipients will share an award of \$35,000, to be given to the human rights organisation(s) of their choice.

The award citation for Fernando reads as follows:

“Fernando de Araujo works to promote human rights and to alert the world to the suffering in occupied East Timor. For his efforts, he is currently serving a nine-year sentence on the charge of ‘subversion.’ He is chairman of RENETIL, a student group campaigning for the independence of East Timor from Indonesia.

“Indonesia invaded and annexed neighbouring East Timor in July (sic) of 1975, and has occupied the territory by force ever since. The occupation has been a brutal one, with repeated human rights violations on a massive scale.

“Working in an environment of repression, intimidation and fear, de Araujo col-

lects information on government human rights abuses, acting as an invaluable source of information for the international human rights groups. He has alerted the world to the arrest and prolonged torture of students; developed a network of young people to promote human rights, and organised peaceful demonstrations in East Timor and Indonesia.

“On November 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a group of mourners attending the funeral of a pro-independence activist in East Timor. Twelve days later, de Araujo was arrested at his home after having led a peaceful demonstration against the massacre (sic). He is currently the subject of an international campaign to seek his release.”

*Note from TAPOL: It’s a pity the Award Board could not get the facts straight. The demonstration of protest against the massacre took place on 19 November in Jakarta; Fernando was in Bali at the time, from where he encouraged other RENETIL members to take part. However, the award is a great boost for Fernando and his colleagues from RENETIL, and a slap in the face for the Suharto regime.*

*We should not ignore the fact that Reebok, the world’s second largest shoe manufacturer, contracts production from factories in Indonesia which pay starvation wages to their workers.*

## **INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES WONT LET EAST TIMORESE PICK UP HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD**

*AFP. 1 November 1992 Abridged*

Indonesian authorities have refused to allow an East Timorese jailed for subversion to go abroad to receive a human rights award, the Java Pos reported Sunday.

The US-based Reebok Human Rights Foundation, led by former president Jimmy Carter, decided last month to award one of this year’s prizes to Fernando de Araujo.

“I have denied Fernando the permit to go to the US,” Deputy Chief for General Courts, Adi Andoyo Sucipto, said, adding that it was fully within his powers to do so. Araujo has said he wants to go to the US to pick up the prize.



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## US SENATORS TO SUHARTO: FREE FERNANDO ARAUJO

United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510  
October 5, 1992

Dear President Suharto:

We are writing to express our concern about the arrest and detention of Fernando de Araujo, an Amnesty International prisoner of conscience and a 1992 recipient of the Reebok Human Rights Award.

Last November 24, Mr. de Araujo was arrested in his home and charged with subversion. The charges were based on his leadership role in organizing non-violent protest demonstrations in response to the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili twelve days previously. Mr. de Araujo has been sentenced to nine years in prison despite the lack of any evidence that he has advocated, or engaged in, violent activities against the state.

We appeal to you and to your government to recognize the right of individuals to express peaceful dissent to government policies and to demonstrate this recognition through the immediate release of Fernando de Araujo from prison.

Thank you for your consideration of our views.

Sincerely,

John Kerry, US Senator  
Edward Kennedy, US Senator  
Joe Moakley, Member of Congress  
Claiborne Pell, US Senator  
Alan Cranston, US Senator  
Patrick Leahy, US Senator

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## TEMPO: NO MORE CAPTAINS TO AMERICA

*TEMPO on the IMET cut-off, 17 October 1992. Abridged*

The number of captains and majors going to the US will decline next year, now that the US Congress has refused to grant funds for scholarships amounting to \$2.3m train armed forces (ABRI) officers in the 1992/93 financial year. At present there are 120 undergoing training at various US military colleges.

The budget cut-off is linked to the 12 November incident last year. The campaign was organised by human rights activists and members of Congress who have many Portuguese in their constituencies.

The White House strove hard to oppose the cut-off. "I personally believe the programme should have been increased," said Douglas Pall, director for Asia of the National Security Council. Various studies

confirm that the IMET programme is very much in the security interests of the US itself.

The IMET began soon after the Second World War, and funding reached \$47.7m last year. For the coming year, the programme will go down to \$42.5m. But the US State Department is not happy about this. A spokesperson said: "This will be counter-productive for America's efforts to promote an appreciation of human rights in Indonesia."

More than 6,000 Indonesian officers have graduated under the programme since 1948, and it is considered to have contributed significantly to strengthening US-Indonesian relations, particularly at the beginning of the New Order.

"Six of the seven heroes [the officers killed on 1 October 1965] were IMET graduates," said a retired US official. Since 1976, an average of 180 officers have had training in the US each year.

The fact that there were 2,800 officers with US training at the beginning of the New Order is seen as one reason for the US to recognise it fast. The list of alumni is impressive, including such people as Rudini, L.B. Murdani, Wismoyo Arismunandar and Prabowo.

Besides fostering contacts with ABRI leaders, the US State Department and the Pentagon are convinced that the IMET programme has helped enhance the professionalism and outlook of the participants in the programme. The General Auditing Office, an independent Congressional watchdog, drew attention to the fact that none of the officers involved in the Dili event was an IMET graduate.

But, Sayidiman Suryohadiprojo, who was on the IMET programme in 1951 and who one headed ABRI's National Defence Institute (Lemhanas), doesn't agree. "It's nonsense to say that the US opens the officers' minds to human rights. We went there only to study military affairs, and there's no connection whatsoever with human rights."

It was because the issue was being linked to the question of East Timor that the Indonesian lobby rejected the compromise on offer. One lobbyist for Indonesia in Congress said: "We knew the compromise wouldn't be acceptable to the Indonesian government which is why we rejected it."

That is indeed Jakarta's position. Minister Moerdiono (State Secretary) said: "Such a linkage with East Timor is very problematic because this is an internal matter." If it was only a question of economising, it would have been understandable, he said.

With the cut in the IMET programme, the linkage with East Timor is gone. "If Indonesia wants to pay for them, its officers

can still come to the US," said one TEMPO source in Washington.

*Comment: Of the sponsors of this bill, only Ronald Machtley (R-RI) has a significant number of Portuguese in his constituency. The others who fought hard for it, Patrick Leahy (VT), David Obey (WI), Tony Hall (OH), Tom Harkin (IA) have virtually none.*

— Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

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## ETAN/US NEWSLETTER (EXCERPTS)

*Network News #3 November 1992*

### Congress Cuts Military Aid to Indonesia

On 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 bill was signed into law by President Bush on October 6.

The cutoff of the only direct US military aid for Indonesia came after a hard-fought battle, in which Indonesia enlisted members of the US military, government, and major corporations to lobby for the program, which trains about 150 military officers annually in the US. More than 2600 have come since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975.

By resisting pressure from business interests and the Suharto and Bush administrations, Congress sent a strong message. This is the first time that Congress has cut aid to Indonesia over East Timor. When they convene in January, supporters of East Timor will try to cut off weapons sales (over \$250 million in 1990), and for other sanctions included in H.R.5176, a comprehensive economic sanctions bill which suspends military and non-humanitarian economic aid until the East Timorese can decide 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 each economic aid project for 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 made this a major issue. Business representatives told Congress that Jakarta had threatened to retaliate against US firms if aid was cut, and Senators were contacted by cabinet officials and admirals. Lobbyists for General Electric,

AT&T, Freeport-MacMoRan and McDonnell-Douglas went to work.

The debate garnered television coverage (ABC-TV sent reporter Charles Glass to East Timor under cover, and World News Tonight broadcast an excellent segment on September 21), an editorial in the Wall Street Journal, and widespread discussion. Senators heard from human rights, church, peace, and East Timor solidarity groups. 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. Particular credit goes to students at Brown University, who telephoned hundreds of East Timor supporters all over the country.

On September 23, the Senate Appropriations Committee voted 15-12 to disallow IMET unless the State Department certified that conditions proposed by Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI), were met. Unfortunately, the conditions did not require anything concrete from Jakarta. The Committee voted down stronger conditions from 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. Voting for Leahy's position were Senators Leahy, DeConcini, Harkin, Mikulski, Lautenberg, D'Amato, Specter, Hatfield, Fowler, Byrd, Adams and Sasser. Senators Inouye, Johnston, Rudman, Nickles, Kasten, Stevens, Cochran, Bond, R. Kerrey, Reid, Domenici, Hollings, Gramm, Garn and Gorton supported Inouye.

When the conference committee met October 2, 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 rejected by the Senate, 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.

Although the aid cutoff was not extensively reported by the United States media, it did get worldwide attention. According to the Indonesian newsmagazine Tempo, the US State Department called the cut "counter-productive for America's efforts to promote an appreciation of human rights in Indonesia," claiming that IMET promotes

democratic values. At least one Indonesian IMET graduate, Sayidiman Suryohadiprojo (former head of the army's National Defense Institute), disagrees: "It's nonsense to say that the US opens the officers' minds to human rights. We went there only to study military affairs, and there's no connection whatsoever with human rights."

Jakarta adamantly rejects any linkage of aid to East Timor, calling it "an internal matter." Perhaps their sensitivity to such pressure will encourage them to seek an "internationally-acceptable solution" in the UN-brokered negotiations with Portugal now underway.

#### Suharto Visits USA

While Congress was debating IMET, Indonesian President Suharto visited New York, where he addressed the UN General Assembly as the new chair of the Non-Aligned Movement on Thursday, September 24. ETAN/US had decided not to do a confrontational action, and we issued a press statement calling on the Indonesian and U.S. governments and the international community to implement the Non-Aligned Movement's global commitment to "the achievement of freedoms and for securing the right to self-determination" for the people of East Timor.

During Suharto's speech, Canadian Li-Lien Gibbons (whose step-brother Kamal Bamadhaj was killed by Indonesian troops during the Santa Cruz massacre), shouted "Free East Timor" from the General Assembly gallery, where she stood with a sign carrying the same words. Although Li-Lien was promptly escorted out and banned from the UN forever, her plea was heard worldwide, as the media contrasted Suharto's call for an end to "policies of hegemony and domination" with his conduct in East Timor.

On the day of Suharto's address, The New York Times ran \$180,000 of pro-Indonesia advertisements (four full-page and two half-page ads, including the back page of every section), paid for by oil, mining, and banking companies. On the following day they editorialized about The Cemetery Called East Timor, calling the 1975 invasion "just heinous as the more recent and more highly publicized territorial grabs by Iraq and Serbia. And the evil continues."

Friday evening, the American business community hosted a dinner for Suharto at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. About 30 ETAN members picketed outside in the rain for four hours, distributing a flyer which called on General Suharto to hear the words against "aggression and foreign occupation" which he had spoken the day before. We had cordial discussions with several businessmen.

#### Negotiations Begin

The next day, the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal met in New York under the guidance of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. They agreed to meet again in mid-December to continue negotiations leading toward an "internationally-acceptable solution to the question of East Timor." Although the East Timorese have not been invited to the talks thus far, many are encouraging the participants to include East Timorese representatives as a step toward true self-determination.

#### November 12 Commemorations

Thursday November 12 is one year after Indonesian troops shot and killed over 140 people in cold blood at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. Recent reports put the death toll at 273 or higher. In New York, we will remember the 200,000 East Timorese victims, including the Santa Cruz casualties, at an interfaith memorial service that day from 2:00 to 4:00 pm at the UN Church Center, 777 UN Plaza (First Avenue and 44th Street). This service is organized by the International Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations for East Timor, and is one of many events taking place worldwide. In the US, there will also be events in San Francisco (call 408-946-4899 for details) and other cities.

#### Video available

At the end of October, ETAN's half-hour TV program Aggression and Self-Determination: Massacre in East Timor was distributed by Deep Dish TV. VHS copies are available from ETAN/US for \$20 plus \$3 shipping. The program describes the history of East Timor, the massacre, and follow-up responses, with particular focus on United States government involvement. It includes footage of the massacre, UN and Congressional hearings, and teach-ins, and is an excellent way to activate Americans on the issue.

#### Araujo Receives Human Rights Award

Fernando de Araujo, an East Timorese student sentenced to nine years in Indonesian prison for organizing a November 19, 1991 peaceful protest in Jakarta against the Santa Cruz massacre, was one of four recipients of the 1992 Reebok Human Rights Award. Araujo, 26, is a student in Bali and chairman of RENETIL (Timorese nationalist student group). Indonesian authorities refused him permission to visit the US to collect the award.

Reebok, the athletic shoe manufacturer, has presented the award annually since 1988. Its laudable public concern for human

rights contrasts with the treatment of workers in Reebok's factories in Indonesia.

### Support Timorese School in Darwin

Michio Takahashi of Japan recently visited North America to encourage support for the Darwin East Timorese School, which will provide an education for East Timorese refugee children living in Darwin, Australia. The Japanese have raised 60% of the money necessary for the school, and are hoping the Northern Territory government will donate land so the school can be built in 1993. Mr. Takahashi's hopes that "the East Timorese refugees can return to their own country as early as possible. We ask for your hearty cooperation in supporting the school, where the Timorese children will learn the Tetum language and the history and geography of East Timor."

A US support committee for the Darwin School is being formed. For more information, contact ETAN/US or Mr. Michio Takahashi, Miyagiken Kyoiku Komin Kosaikai, 1-2-6 Nishiki-cho, Aoba-ku, Sendai-shi, Miyagi-ken, 980 Japan. Fax +81/22-223-1323.

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## NOV. 12 MASSACRE COMMEMORATION IN NEW YORK

### Flyer and announcement of event

We will remember the courageous and determined people of East Timor, 200,000 of whom have died as a result of Indonesia's 17-year invasion and occupation.

#### Interfaith Memorial Service

on the first anniversary of the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery, where Indonesian soldiers killed over 150 mourners in cold blood.

November 12, 1992 2:00 - 4:00 pm

Chapel, United Nations Church Center  
777 U.N. Plaza, New York City

On November 12, 1991, the Indonesian Army methodically fired M-16's into an unarmed memorial procession in Dili, East Timor. They murdered over 150 people; some reports say 400. This was business as usual in East Timor, a tiny half-island between Australia and Indonesia.

The United States provides the weapons. More than one-third of the East Timorese population has died of violence, starvation, and disease since Indonesia invaded and occupied the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Since the massacre, a worldwide outcry has brought new hope for an end to this nightmare. Congress has terminated U.S. military training for Indonesia, and U.N.-brokered negotiations are in process. Yet the

repression inside East Timor is harsher than it has been in years.

Join with spiritual leaders from many traditions in remembering the martyrs of East Timor as their survivors continue to struggle to control their own destiny.

International Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations for East Timor  
6 Soundview Circle, White Plains, New York 10606 USA. (914)761-3074.

*Report: About 50 people attended the event, which brought together people from many religious groups and NGO's who had not been active on East Timor. The new Portuguese Ambassador to the U.N. attended, as did their Consul in New York, two East Timorese who were visiting New York. It was a moving and effective event, organized primarily by Kan Akatani and Rev. Max Surjadinata. -- Charlie Scheiner*

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## NOVEMBER 12 COMMEMORATION IN LOS ANGELES

*PRESS RELEASE: From East Timor Action Network - Los Angeles 6 November 1992*

On November 12th at 12pm in 1250 Bunche Hall at UCLA, the Interdisciplinary Committee on Genocide and its Prevention and the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles, along with a coalition of student organizations, will hold a memorial screening to the documentary film "Cold Blood" which contains unprecedented film footage of the 12 November 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor filmed by British film journalist Max Stahl and smuggled out of Indonesia late last year.

On the eve of the one year anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre on November 12, as Indonesian Armed forces tighten security with house-to-house searches and massive arrests in East Timor, human rights organizations coordinate memorials in major cities all over the world to spotlight Indonesia's latest series of atrocities in their 17 year old genocide in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

On November 12th, East Timor solidarity groups throughout the United Kingdom will be holding memorial events in London, Oxford and Lancaster; East Timor Alert Network of Canada will be sponsoring events in Vancouver, Calgary, Guelph, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal; the East Timorese community of Australia will commemorate the one year anniversary with a vigil outside the consulate and later mass at St. Mary's Cathedral, and the New York based East Timor Action Network/US will hold an Interfaith Memorial Service at the Chapel of the United Nations Church Center.

In the year since the massacre, international efforts to focus attention on the massive human rights violations in East Timor have produced a watershed of international action. US-based Reebok Human Rights Foundation, led by former president Jimmy Carter, decided last month to award one of this year's prizes to Fernando de Araujo, yet the Indonesian regime has refused to allow him to pick up his award. "I have denied Fernando the permit to go to the US," Deputy Chief for General Courts, Adi Andoyo Sucipto, said, adding that it was fully within his powers to do so. Araujo has said he wants to go to the US to pick up the prize.

This year has brought the issue again to the attention of the United Nations, where ten resolutions opposing the invasion by Indonesia in 1975 as illegal are still standing. In a joint letter, 293 members of the Japanese Diet and the US Congress appealed to the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali to end the 17 year old occupation of East Timor.

The US Congress moved to cut military aid to the Indonesian regime unconditionally on October 2, 1992 by cutting \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) funding for Indonesia from the Foreign Aid appropriations bill. In the next congressional session, House of Representatives Bill H.R. 5176 to cut all aid to Indonesia until East Timor has been allowed a UN supervised act of self-determination will be come before congress.

### SUBJECT: DOCUMENTARY ON EAST TIMOR

On the one year anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre in Indonesian-occupied East Timor, the UCLA Committee on the Study of Genocide, UCLA Concerned Faculty and the East Timor Action Network/L.A. invite you to a screening of:

*Cold Blood*, Recipient of Amnesty International's award for best human rights documentary of 1992

Thursday, 12 November, 12 noon,  
Bunche 1250

17 years after the Indonesian invasion which has claimed the lives of around 200,000 people (almost one third of the 1975 population), the genocide continues.....Come learn what you can do.

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## DEMONSTRATION AT INDONESIAN CONSULATE IN SAN FRANCISCO

*From the East Timor Action Network/San Francisco*

On 12 November, one year after the Santa Cruz massacre, thirty people —

University of California students, Catholic clergy and laity, and activists — demonstrated their support for self-determination in East Timor in front of the Indonesian consulate. The action was set for 4:00 pm, during business hours, so that representatives could meet with consular officials. But they must have gotten cold feet, since they had all disappeared by the time we got there.

Demonstrators handed out educational literature to passers-by, and then read the names of some of the victims while candles burned. Then we read the names of the political prisoners and demanded their release.

Similar actions are planned for the future, both at the consulate and at the Garuda Airlines office.

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## WE LOOK FORWARD, NOT BACK

*Brown Daily Herald, Providence Rhode Island. Nov. 12, 1992.*

*By Loren Ryster*

Today marks the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. One year ago today, we sat horrified, wondering if November 12 would soon become just another date of another tragic but transient third world “disaster” which would wash by like a flood or reverberate with the momentary rumble of a tremor after an earthquake. After all, in the American mind, violence, especially that which occurs beyond our borders, is a natural occurrence, untied to our actions, dehistoricized, a lamentable but unavoidable calamity. We wondered how we could scratch away at the ideological gloss of freedom and democracy to reveal one example of the direct connection between American interests and foreign state-sponsored violence, all while making sure that November 12, 1991 would not be forgotten. We are encouraged by the outcome. A year ago today, when we mentioned “East Timor” we paused to brace ourselves for the inevitable “East what?” Today, we are heartened to hear, “What is happening now?”

East Timor today rests half way between freedom and oblivion. Hopes for a just political solution to what the United Nations still calls “the question of East Timor” look brighter than they have in seventeen years, but at the same time repression within East Timor is as intense as it has been in a decade. Indonesia is simultaneously bracing itself to make concessions and pushing the East Timorese to willfully submit to integration through a combination of coercion and persuasion. (An example of persuasion: the Indonesian Ministry of Education and

Culture recently ordered the drafting of a “history of East Timor” to teach the East Timorese about “the struggle of their parents for integration with Indonesia.”) Indonesia is playing the same firm but tender strategy it has been playing for a decade, but the stakes are higher, and the Indonesians and the East Timorese both know that change is coming, it is just a question of when, how much, and in which direction.

To make sure that the independence demonstration cum massacre of last November 12 remains a memory of a regrettable past aberration, rather than a mark of an unfaltering permanent determination, the Indonesian army has taken precautions to guarantee there won't be any public displays of dissent today. The military today concludes Indonesia's biggest military exercise in the nation's history, a two week operation. Also in the past week, the army has conducted sweeping house to house identity checks, arresting at least one thousand East Timorese by Brigadier General Theo Syafei's own admission and bringing them in for “questioning.” Anyone found to be outside of his or her district is being made to return home within 24 hours. Anyone wishing to visit the Santa Cruz cemetery to pay homage to loved ones on the anniversary of their death must register with the military police. Explaining the recent clamp down, General Syafei remarked, “I must be realistic. [The East Timorese] are also looking for the right moment to do something...I would be deceiving myself if I did not consider those dates as moments for them to use. I don't want them to run away with the idea that we are vacillating, still less that we are weak.”

East Timor remains totally closed to outside observers, and Amnesty International was explicitly denied entry after making a special request to monitor the situation this past week. Early in October, observers were stunned that Indonesia unexpectedly granted permission to a team of Australian parliamentarians to visit East Timor—that is until that permission was suddenly withdrawn. The delegation had insisted on coming October 28, the day of the death of Sebastiao Gomes, whose funeral memorial procession on November 12 sparked the massacre. Syafei explained that this was a clear indication that the Australians were coming with an intent to “stir up” trouble.

Recent reports suggest that the number of people killed last November may have exceeded even the highest estimates. East Timorese external representative José Ramos-Horta, whose eldest brother recently died mysteriously in a Dili hospital, becoming his fourth brother to die since the inva-

sion, revealed the findings of an extensive inquiry involving 72 researchers working “round the clock for three months” to determine the extent of the Santa Cruz casualties. At a press conference last week in Australia, Ramos-Horta showed reporters a list of the names of 273 killed, 355 “disappeared” and 376 wounded East Timorese civilians. It is unlikely that these figures will ever be independently verified.

Yet as if to confirm his findings, even the new governor of Dili, an East Timorese collaborator named Abilio José Osorio Soares who boasts of his pre-“integration” contacts with high placed Indonesian army officers, is now admitting that several times the official estimate of 50 people died last year. In an interview with an Indonesian weekly, he granted that more than 100, perhaps 200 out of one thousand demonstrators had died. Then he minimized the deaths, rhetorically asking “And what percent is this?... Why only that much? Why did not all the thousand die?”

On the bright side, unlike a year ago today, the international community can no longer get away with ignoring these sorts of shockingly frank comments. After Soares' remarks were widely reported in Australia, Australian MPs fell just short of demanding a retraction, saying they sincerely hoped the governor had been misquoted. Soares later remarked he had been misunderstood. The cutting off of US military training aid to Indonesia for FY 93 has committed the US Congress to acknowledge the severity of the situation in East Timor. For seventeen years it has been an uphill struggle to get members of congress even to sign letters of concern, but now we can expect support to be far more forthcoming.

Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers will resume talks on East Timor in New York in December for the first time since talks were broken off when the planned Portuguese parliamentary delegation was canceled in October of last year. Because of the level of international pressure, this time Indonesia will be playing with a weakened hand, and it is even possible that East Timorese will be able to directly participate in the talks, an arrangement that Indonesia has thus far refused to consider. Evidence suggests that the Indonesian foreign ministry is tiring of focusing its entire diplomatic energies on diffusing criticism of East Timor. Alluding to the stubbornness of some other leaders over the issue, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas likened East Timor to a stone in one's shoe, commenting that one “could keep on running,” but only implying the logical conclusion.

Soon after the election of Bill Clinton, Ali Alatas sought to moderate the tough stand

of some Indonesian generals who continue to publicly state that they will "tolerate no meddling." Alatas commented that Indonesia has no intention of having a confrontation with the West over human rights, and that Indonesia has "the right to put forward [its] basic views" and "should discuss them together [with the West] and reach an agreement." This comes as a marked departure for Indonesia, who just last April refused all aid from the Netherlands after they had pressed Indonesia on human rights, and has since toughened its position that the West should not impose its standards of human rights on developing countries.

This surreal dance over "human rights imperialism" deserves a word of caution. Indonesia and like minded countries should be granted that the developed countries often hypocritically invoke "human rights" for ulterior political motives. But this cheapening of human rights is also much despised by concerned people who see "human rights" as more than a piece of rhetorical flim-flam, and recognize that they should mean the rights of human beings not to be arbitrarily executed, disappeared, or tortured for narrow political motives.

Whether or not Indonesia's concerns that the Clinton administration will be tougher on human rights are justified remains to be seen. Clinton may hit the ground running with his objections to human rights abuses in China and Cuba, but be paralyzed when it comes to countries like Indonesia, continuing a bipartisan tradition of shouting loudly about human rights abuses in countries whose borders are not wide open to American direct investment and remaining conspicuously silent about human rights abuses in countries which welcome American companies to exploit their enforced cheap labor and abundant natural resources. All this is part and parcel of Clinton's pledge to shore up a faltering American economy: when it comes to potential threats to the profits of American companies operating abroad (translated for domestic consumption as a potential loss of American jobs), we can be sure that human rights will be politely asked to return to the land of rhetoric where they properly belong. Clinton has already commented in no uncertain terms that when US "security needs or economic interests" are at stake, the US will prudently restrain "our commitment to democracy and human rights." Clinton added, "we cannot support every group's hopes for self-determination."

These sentiments do not bode well for the hopes of the East Timorese, although we should not be surprised to see business as usual from an American president. But with our congressional success redeeming a modicum of confidence in the political

process, we must remember that we can keep the "question of East Timor" on the agenda *despite* realpolitik, in order to help sharpen that irritating stone in Indonesia's shoe. As we mark the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, we look forward, not back.

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## BILL CLINTON ON U.S. POLICY TOWARDS EAST TIMOR

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*The following quote from President-Elect Bill Clinton was recorded by Pacifica radio reporter Amy Goodman when she asked him about East Timor following a foreign policy speech in New York City in April, 1992.*

"I'm very concerned about what's happened in East Timor, and I think we have to review it. I'm not prepared at the present time to say categorically we should cut off all aid, but I do believe we have ignored it so far in ways that I think are unconscionable. I think we have to engage the government on the question of how those people are being treated. And I certainly wouldn't rule out the prospect of cutting aid."

This citation is from *Massacre: The Story of East Timor*, a 29-minute radio documentary produced by Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn and broadcast on about fifty community radio stations in the USA on November 12, 1992, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. The Clinton quote was covered by the Portuguese news media as a new development.

Audiotapes of the radio program are available for \$10 from the East Timor Action Network/US.

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## TIMORESE APPEAL TO CLINTON

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*Original English-language document from the East Timorese Non-Violence and Solidarity Committee, dateline East Timor, 4 November 1992.*

Most Honorable President Clinton,

In the name of the oppressed youth and people of my country, I would like to extend to you our most sincere and heartfelt congratulations for the victory you have won through a truly democratic process. Our congratulations and good wishes also to Democratic Party members and sympathisers, and to the American people in general.

We have followed the progress of your presidential campaign with great interest and we are greatly heartened by your victory. In our view, your win represents a victory for

democrats worldwide, including those sympathetic to the ideals of democracy in Indonesia, and in East Timor in particular.

Mr President,

The greatest desire of the youth and people of East Timor is to end the suffering which we have borne under the occupation of the Indonesian forces for 17 years. The oppression has taken various forms, both open and rigorously concealed, as acknowledged and noted by a number of American Senators and Congressmen to date.

Through this message of good will and congratulation, we would also like to take this opportunity to draw your attention to the desperate political situation we now face. We are struggling to defend the human rights of the Maubere people and for the realisation in our homeland of democracy, justice, peace, love and an internationally recognised solution of our country's political stalemate.

Through this simple message, we humbly appeal to you and your new administration to be open to both our call for a just settlement of our country's problem and to that of our diplomatic resistance leaders working in international fora, and particularly those based in the USA.

Long live Democracy!

Long live the American people!

Long live the Maubere people!

signed (name withheld) for Canvisti and in the name of the people and nation of East Timor

*Twenty-three further signatures are attached, all of which we are withholding.*

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## HORTA'S HOPES FOR CLINTON

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According to a November 5 Reuter story by Wilson da Silva datelined Sydney, rebels fighting Indonesia's 1975 invasion of East Timor have pinned their hopes on U.S. President-Elect Bill Clinton who they say will press Jakarta for an independence referendum in the troubled territory.

José Ramos Horta of the Fretilin rebel group said indirect talks with aides to Clinton indicated he would press Jakarta for an act of self-determination as prescribed by United Nations resolutions.

Some 900 to 1,200 guerrillas are sporadically battling 10,000 Indonesian troops in the former Portuguese colony. The United Nations does not recognise Jakarta's annexation of the territory.

"I am confident that with a Clinton administration, the Americans will detach themselves from the current military dictatorship in Indonesia and will move more aggressively in support ... of an independent

East Timor," Ramos Horta told reporters after a speech on Thursday.

He said the change in Washington's approach to relations with Jakarta would be evident by June next year.

Talks between Lisbon and Jakarta over East Timor are to start on December 17 under the auspices of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Ramos Horta said Timorese rebels would play a part.

### **BRUNO KAHN, AGIR POUR TIMOR**

November 4, 1992

So Clinton is the new president of the United States. With a Democratic Congress, this would look like hope as far as East Timor is concerned. However, I would like to argue here that it may be more difficult to defend East Timor in the US with a Democratic administration than with a Republican administration.

The first point of the argument is comparison with two other countries where there had been a change of power: Australia and France. The case of Australia is very well-known: the change from a Conservative to a Labour government had no positive impact on Australia's stand on East Timor, and quite possibly a negative one. In France, besides a few goodwill statements, the election of Francois Mitterrand as President in 1981 did nothing to change the actual policy of France with regard to East Timor. Worse, the Socialist Party, which had previously supported the East Timor struggle, even inviting Fretilin to one of its congresses, conspicuously refrained to do so after it came to power. Also, it is likely that France had a not negligible influence on the suspension of voting on East Timor at the General Assembly after 1982, by informing Portugal that it would take Indonesia's side during the 1983 session, rather than abstaining as before.

The second point of the argument is that East Timor is a minor issue in the United States, so that the country's stand is not likely to be influenced by a change of power. The structure and respective influence of the pro-Indonesian and pro-Timorese lobbies will not change overnight. There may be old hands in the State Department, with positions too minor to move out with a change of administration, who will keep influencing policies negatively regarding East Timor.

Finally there are economic and political issues at hand, and Clinton has the reputation to be a pragmatist rather than an idealist. Whatever promises he made during his campaign, what he does when in power may be a quite different thing. Clinton is said not to know much about foreign policy, so his

advisors on South-East Asia are probably key people.

The last point is that having a Democratic Congress together with a Democratic President could make it more difficult for the Congress to oppose Presidential policies. An essential asset of Congressional support to East Timor is that it is bi-partisan. But if Clinton chooses to support the military regime in Indonesia as the former administrations did, the Democratic supporters of East Timor may well feel awkward.

### **CHARLES SCHEINER, ETAN/US**

November 6, 1992

Bruno – Thanks for your comments on the US elections. A few more points to consider:

1) The worst genocide in East Timor came during the Democratic administration of Jimmy Carter (1976-1980), which also had a Democratic Congress.

2) Clinton seems determined to reject his past as an anti-Vietnam War activist. (I worked with him in the 1972 McGovern campaign against Nixon, and in the Democratic primaries, and he was passionately against the war then.) He wants to show that he is 'man' enough to engage in war if 'necessary.' I don't think he is as psychopathic as Bush, who had a personal need to direct the killings of tens of thousands of people, but I don't hold a lot of hope for him as a peace advocate.

3) I think he will be somewhat more sensitive to human rights concerns than Bush, tempering this concern with economic pragmatism. If the US could take an activist role on East Timor without threatening the profits of US companies who do business there (or sell weapons), he might go along with it. However, we should recall his support of the Seawolf nuclear attack submarine during the Connecticut (where the subs are built) primary last spring – this is a dangerous, useless, and expensive new program which even the Bush Administration wanted to scratch.

4) The only statements I've seen from Clinton on East Timor this year are totally vague and ambiguous. Ramos-Horta seems to be more optimistic, and I hope he knows more than I do. We shall see.

### **CARMEL BUDIARDJO, TAPOL:**

November 7, 1992

I want to pick up Charlie Scheiner's point about the Carter presidency. What happened then? Carter set up a special division at the State Department to pursue human rights issues vigorously, run by a woman, Pat something-or-other. Fine. She led a mission to Indonesia to visit political prisoners, mostly at that time from the

PKI/1965 generation. This helped to break the deadlock, I do believe, persuading the regime that holding tens of thousands of untried political prisoners was counter-productive.

But this became a quid pro quo... for war-planes with which to wage the war in East Timor. In our June 1978 Bulletin, the lead story was entitled "Bartering human rights." We quoted from an article in the New York Times of 14 May 1978:

"Jakarta has been seeking authority to purchase a squadron of A-4 ground-attack bombers to augment its antiquated air force. The request has been held up on procedural grounds and was flatly opposed by human rights advocates in the State Department who felt that Jakarta should be compelled to release some of Indonesia's 20,000 political prisoners. Rather than make a final decision in advance, Mr Carter asked Mr Mondale to take soundings on the ground on both the plane request and the Suharto Government's attitude on human rights.

"Once there, the Vice-President found that the planes were indeed important to the Indonesians [at the time, the 'encirclement and annihilation' campaign was reaching its climax] and with a little gentle prodding they could be induced to accelerate the release of political detainees. Some hurried phone-calls back to Washington, and a few hours later, the Vice-President was given discretionary authority to grant the plane request if he felt adequate progress could be obtained on human rights. More talks with the Indonesians persuaded him that this was the case. Shortly before he left, he announced the plane sale."

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### **ALATAS: NO CONFRONTATION WITH CLINTON**

*Excerpt from Kyodo, Jakarta, Nov. 4:*

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Wednesday he hopes the United States under the presidency of Bill Clinton will not reduce its attention toward Southeast Asia.

Alatas also said he hopes both Indonesia and the United States will not let any "new protectionism trend" emerge.

On human rights issues, he told reporters Indonesia does not intend to have confrontations with any Western country.

"But obviously we have our basic views based on our perceptions," he said.

"Our position is that we have no intention of having confrontation on those issues, but we have the right to put forward our basic views, so let's discuss them together and reach an agreement."

## US PROBLEMS, INDONESIAN PROBLEMS (FK)

*Excerpt from November 12 Forum Keadilan column by Juwono Sudarsono, Dean of Social and Political Sciences Faculty at Universitas Indonesia. This column was written shortly before the November 3 US elections. Press coverage in Indonesia pre-November widely assumed a Clinton-Gore victory. Juwono's specialty is American foreign policy. – John*

Bill Clinton (born 1946), Dan Quayle (1947), and Albert Gore (1948) are post-World War II baby-boomers. George Bush is the last representative of America's "1945 Generation."

The election means "active government." This is a reaction against the greed, the rich-poor imbalance, and deadlocked democracy in an America well-known for its narrow lobbies in Congress. America won the fight against communism abroad, but lost it against its domestic problems, particularly racism, unemployment, the collapse of the quality of urban life, and the increasing decline of the standard of secondary school education.

Consequently, it is more appropriate to express feelings of sorrow than congratulations to whoever wins on November 3. The problems America faces cannot be overcome in just four years.

What will be the impact of this situation for the world, the Asia-Pacific region, and Indonesia itself? It appears there will not be any big changes. The election of a president this time round will only marginally change the pattern of policy long adhered to since Ronald Reagan was elected in November 1980.

The budget deficit and America's trade will still produce a presidency and Congress which is protectionist. Why? If Clinton wins, he has to repay political debts to his supporters in the agricultural, industrial, and manufacturing lobbies, especially those who feel threatened by the NAFTA bloc, Europe, and the Asian group led by Japan.

Fortunately for Indonesia, most of America's West Coast states are quite open to the need for free trade with us.

Although Clinton will lead a team of horses stronger on human rights and the environment, we need not be anxious that America will more fiercely demand this or that about the situation in our country. This is because America's own domestic situation is itself quite serious. The American nation still is seeking its future direction.

Certainly we should pay attention to the election results. But the great problems we face domestically, including those of human rights and the environment, will first of all

and mainly be problems among we Indonesians ourselves.

## CLINTON, ASIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS (FEER)

*Extracts from an article on the possible ramifications of Clinton's election on US-Asian relations in the Far Eastern Economic Review*

*12 November 1992, By Susumu Awanohara*

(Washington) A heralded Clinton speech on Asia...was never crafted. ...But Clinton is not without a foreign policy agenda. In a nutshell he believes that the US must continue to lead the world - "a world we have done so much to make." And to provide that leadership, Clinton has said that the US must...foster the spread of democracy in other countries and restructure the military to meet new security challenges.

Divided counsel and confusing signals are increasingly evident on the subject of promoting democracy and human right. Clinton has said that he is "in the mainstream, pro-democracy tradition of American foreign policy" and excoriated (ed: "skinned alive" OED) Bush for "[coddling] tyrants from Baghdad to Peking."

He agrees with the Congressional Democrats that Bush should link China's most favored nation (MFN) trading status to its human rights observance, good trade behaviour and restraint in weapons exports. Clinton has also called for the establishment of a "Radio Free Asia" and a "Democracy Corps" similar in structure to the Peace Corps, to promote democracy in Asia and elsewhere.

But while maintaining this idealistic stance, Clinton diluted his message on democracy, delivered in October, with numerous pragmatic caveats and qualifiers. While condemning China as before, Clinton said: "I do not want to isolate China. There is much to admire in the phenomenal progress that has been made there..."

The US is made special by "the powerful appeal of our democratic values and our enduring political institutions" Clinton went on. But he added: "that does not mean that we can force every ideal ... on other people. Our actions must be tempered with prudence and common sense." He then listed situations under which the US may have to restrain itself; when countries and cultures are many steps away from democratic institutions. " , when "[US] security needs or economic interests ...diverge from our commitment to democracy and human rights," and when "we cannot support every group's hopes for self-determination"

Asians will be waiting for the real Bill Clinton to reveal himself, though Johns

Hopkins University's Evelyn Colbert is convinced that non-Japan and non-China Asia will not get much attention from the new administration.

## HUMANITY WON'T WAIT

*From the New York Times op-ed Page, 13 November 1992:*

*Abroad at Home column by Anthony Lewis (excerpts)*

At his first press conference since the election Bill Clinton was asked what his priorities would be in foreign policy. He listed a multi-year defense budget plan, nuclear weapons reduction, continuation of the Middle East peace process, and global economic arrangements.

These are matters of profound long-term importance. But there are some immediate crises that will clamor for his attention. As it happens, they will test one of his campaign promises: to make American foreign policy focus more on humane values and democracy.

Yugoslavia is the first of these crises. ...

Elsewhere in the world other examples of humane concerns coinciding with political wisdom await Mr. Clinton. One, of urgency, is Cambodia. ...

A final, pathetic example is East Timor. Indonesia seized that remote land 17 years ago, illegally using American-supplied arms while Secretary of State Kissinger winked.

One year ago yesterday Indonesian troops fired into a peaceful march by 1,000 unarmed East Timorese, killing more than 100. The Indonesian government put on a show of concern. But its new governor of East Timor, Abilio José Osorio Soares, has just said: "In my opinion there should have been more people killed. Why did only that number die? Why not all 1,000?"

Realpolitik, as it is called, says we should not care about brutal and murderous governments. But they have a way of coming back to haunt us.

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## EVENTS IN INDONESIA

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### ABRI COMMANDER GENERAL TRY SUTRISNO: NO NEED TO LIMIT PRESIDENTIAL TERM

*Bernas (Yogyakarta). Original language: Indonesian.*

*1 October 1992. Substantial excerpt.*

*Remark: All the changes rejected by Gen. Try have been publicly proposed inside Indonesia by a wide variety of military and civilian figures and groups. His only concession to status quo practices is mentioned in the last paragraph.*

(Jakarta) ABRI Commander (Pangab) Gen. Try Sutrisno says that ABRI believes the total number of ABRI members in the Indonesian People's Representative Council (DPR) is quite a relevant matter. The total does not yet need to change. ABRI disagrees with the desire of some social and political organizations which have proposed that the term in office of the president be limited to a specific period.

The statement of the ABRI Commander was delivered by ABRI Head of Social and Political Affairs (Kasospol) Lt. Gen. Harsudiyono Hartas in a talk to PPP members of the DPR and People's Consultative Council (MPR) at the Sahid Jaya Hotel in Jakarta Wednesday night.

"In our state system, sovereignty rests in the hands of the people which is carried out wholly by the MPR," he said.

According to the Pangab, article 7 of the 1945 Constitution is quite democratic. It provides that the MPR, manifesting the people's sovereignty, is given the authority to elect or re-elect a president.

Limiting the presidential term to a specific period, he went on, could be interpreted as infringing on the people's sovereignty and changing the 1945 Constitution. "So let the election of the president for each period be decided by the wishes of the people themselves through each MPR General Session (SU, Sidang Umum)," the Pangab continued.

According to the Pangab, there are still voices in some groups which question the presence or total membership of ABRI in the DPR and MPR. These voices say the presence of ABRI is undemocratic and the total ABRI membership is too great. "In addition, there are those who say that having ABRI members just in the MPR is adequate and that there is no need for ABRI members to sit in the DPR."

The Pangab said ABRI would not react emotionally to these voices. "ABRI's view is clear. The presence and total of ABRI members in the DPR and MPR is in line with all operative provisions of law," he emphasized.

If the total number of ABRI members was felt to be excessive and needed to be adapted to the situation, ABRI would still take as its guideline the state speech of President Suharto on 15 August 1992 before the DPR in which the president said any changes needed to be discussed and a national consensus reached on them.

The important thing, he went on, is that ABRI's function as dynamizer and stabilizer still be able to be carried out in accord with ABRI's social and political mission. ABRI's presence as a social and political force in legislative institutions is something absolute and everlasting in accord with the mandate of the constitution as well as from the sociological angle and the history of ABRI's birth and ABRI's role.

The Pangab also stated that ABRI sees the 'floating mass' concept as preventing the compartmentalization of society. Compartmentalization yields no benefits to efforts to cultivate the national union and unity which is absolutely necessary in the context of national development.

The 'floating mass' also will enable a more democratic life to grow since the mass is free to choose the political organization with the best program. "So the 'floating mass' still needs to be retained and there is no need to eliminate it. The same for Law No. 3/1985 concerning the political parties and Golkar. There is no need for it to be changed," he said.

He also spotlighted the leadership offices of the DPR and MPR. The Pangab said ABRI believes the DPR and MPR leadership do not need to be separate. Rather, they should still double up as now for the sake of efficiency.

According to the Pangab, article 2, clause 2 of the 1945 Constitution mentions the MPR as meeting at least once in five years. "ABRI sees the basic task of the MPR leadership as leading the MPR sessions. The MPR leadership does not have the authority to issue political statements in the name of the MPR. The MPR itself oversees the implementation of the president's tasks, not the DPR," he emphasized.

The Pangab also touched on the Group Representatives (Utusan Golongan) in the MPR. He believes the Group Representatives do not need to join one of the other factions (fraksi). "Elements among the Group Representatives already have vehicles inside the existing factions in accord with the rules of order of the MPR," he explained.

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## HIGH CIVILIAN TOLL IN ACEH

*AFP, 1 October 1992. By Pascal Mallet. Unabridged*

*Comment: The number of Acehnese tried and convicted according to our records is at least 52, as compared with his figure of 40. Also regarding sentences, he understates the situation; there have been two life sentences and four 20-year sentences. Also, it is not correct to describe Aceh Merdeka as 'fundamentalist Islam.' While Islam certainly plays a role, it is essentially a nationalist movement.*

### HIGH CIVILIAN TOLL IN FAILED INSURGENCY

(Medan) Separatist insurgents in Aceh province, on the Indonesian island of Sumatra, have been crushed by government troops at a cost of at least 3,000 civilian dead and missing, sources here said.

Indonesian troops went on the offensive from June 1990 to March 1992 to suppress the Islamic fundamentalist guerrilla movement led since 1976 by Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh).

The province of 4 million, 55,000 square kilometres (22,000 square miles), is rich in hydrocarbons. It has also traditionally been rebellious towards the central government in Jakarta.

Some 40 militants, some of whom received military training in Libya, have been sent to prison, in some cases for as long as 18 years.

This week, traffic on roads once blocked by military posts was generally back to normal, except at points near army bases where vehicles were required to slow down and open their windows for identity checks.

But the toll of the anti-guerrilla operations was high among civilians. Reliable estimates, including those from highly-placed Indonesian officials, put the number of dead and missing at between 3,000 and 15,000, most of them villagers.

Aceh Merdeka's leader, Hasan M. di Tiro, who lives in exile in Stockholm, said on September 22 that the military left 50,000 casualties, a figure widely regarded as excessive.

The security forces, for their part, lost dozens of personnel.

Human rights groups, notably Amnesty International, have spelled out atrocities committed by soldiers. Indonesian authorities have denied the allegations and said they are ready to guarantee the safety of hundreds of Acehnese who fled as refugees to nearby Malaysia.

But Acehnese here told AFP of rapes, torture, mass executions and common graves. "At least 120 young Acehnese dis-



appeared and their families fear they were executed by the police as suspected GPK," said one resident, using the Indonesian acronym for "troublemakers."

Similar accusations are often made in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony unilaterally annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Several hundred Aceh Merdeka guerrillas operated from jungles in the Sumatran interior or from across the Strait of Malacca in Malaysia or Thailand, according to credible sources. Their activities were made easier by the fact that tens of thousands of Acehnese live in Malaysia, and that Moslem areas in southern Thailand also yearn for a degree of independence.

Fighting was concentrated around three areas on Sumatra's west coast, Peureulak, Lhokseumawe and Sigli, Acehnese said. In Lhokseumawe, an officer known for his energy, Colonel Prabowo Joyohadikusumo, a son-in-law of President Suharto, headed a command unit from August to December 1991. Three towns have profited from an industrial boom due mainly to the discovery of gas offshore. The influx of money and the contrast in living conditions between Javanese cadres and the poorer local people stoked both Islamic and secessionist feelings among the latter, analysts say.

The Indonesian authorities have responded to the Islamic aspect of the insurgency by making it obligatory for schoolgirls to wear veils - a gesture that is left to families' discretion elsewhere in the country. Imposing mosques are also under construction everywhere.

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## INDONESIA CALLS WEST RUDE AND MEDDLESOME

Source: Reuter and BBC 20 October 1992.

By Jonathan Thatcher and Adam Brooks.  
Abridged

(Jakarta) The West should stop its impolite meddling in the internal affairs of developing countries and realise there is no perfect system of government, Indonesia's defence minister was quoted on Tuesday as saying.

"In relations with developing countries, the West seems to pay little attention to the virtue of politeness," the *Jakarta Post* quoted Benny Murdani as telling a two-day meeting of Indonesian military leaders. His comments follow warnings by a senior Philippines official to the European Community (EC) not to impose its view of human rights on countries in the region.

Murdani cited the way in which the West linked aid programmes to humanitarian issues, using them as a political tool. "The West will insert this policy (of democracy, human rights and the environment) into

every opportunity and forum whether we like it or not."

There was no perfect system and every country had to work out its own needs, Murdani said, defending the prominent role of the military in social and political life in Indonesia.

Earlier this month the US Congress voted to freeze aid for military training to Indonesia because of events in East Timor. Objections by Portugal to Indonesia's human rights record in the territory have blocked progress on a new cooperation agreement between the EC and ASEAN.

On Monday, Philippines Foreign Minister Roberto Romulo said attempts by the EC to impose its view of human rights on ASEAN could damage talks between foreign ministers of the two groups later this month. "I would hope that Portugal will view the ASEAN-EC ministerial meeting this time round as a multilateral gathering and not impose a bilateral matter on it," Romulo said.

ASEAN, which groups Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei, has become increasingly irritated by the West's attempts to tie aid to political issues.

Western diplomats counter that with the end of the cold war, developing countries must get used to the fact that such issues as human rights and the environment will take a much more prominent role in their dealings with the West.

[BBC adds]

Murdani accused the international media of fanning negative opinions about the Indonesian political system and of gossiping about the armed forces role in politics. He said that the West's biased information system would not let the issue of East Timor rest.

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## HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER ARRESTED IN SURABAYA

### Amnesty International Urgent Action

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: ASA 21/15/92

Distr.: UA/SC

UA 331/92 Legal Concern 23 October 1992

INDONESIA: Dadang Trisasongko, human rights lawyer

Amnesty International is concerned at the recent arrest of human rights lawyer Dadang Trisasongko.

Indonesian human rights lawyer, Dadang Trisasongko, has been arrested and accused of subversion by Indonesian authorities for his activities in defence of a village community in East Java. Dadang Trisasongko is a legal adviser at the Surabaya, East Java, office of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute,

LBH (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum), a respected legal aid organization which provides assistance to the socially and economically disadvantaged, and to victims of human rights violations.

Mr Trisasongko was arrested by police at 9am on 19 October 1992 on charges of "subversion" and "incitement" as he stepped off a boat at Tanjung Perak harbour in Surabaya, East Java. Although precise details of the allegations against him are not yet known, the LBH believes that he was arrested because of his legal work on behalf of the villagers of Singosari-Gresik, East Java, who have been threatened with eviction from their land to make way for construction by the state electricity company.

Although he was feeling ill, Mr Trisasongko was taken immediately to the office of Police Intelligence on Jalan Ahmad Yani, Surabaya, for questioning. He was reportedly denied the right to have a lawyer present during interrogation - an internationally recognized right also guaranteed under the Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP).

Following the arrest, the Head of the armed forces Agency for the Reinforcement of National Stability (Bakorstanasda) for East Java, Major General R. Hartono, told the press that Mr Trisasongko had been arrested because his activities "threatened national stability." He said that Mr Trisasongko might be charged under Indonesia's sweeping Anti-Subversion Law, which carries a maximum penalty of death. In a press release, dated 22 October 1992, the LBH national office rejected the allegations, saying that Mr Trisasongko's actions on behalf of the village community had been entirely legal.

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Indonesia's Anti-Subversion Law (UU Anti-Subversi PNPS/1963) has been used to imprison thousands of real or alleged government opponents since it was introduced by Presidential Decree in 1963. There are currently more than 500 political prisoners held in Indonesia and East Timor, most of whom have been convicted of subversion.

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

- expressing concern at the recent arrest of the human rights lawyer Dadang Trisasongko in connection with legal defence work on behalf of the community of Singosari-Gresik;
- expressing concern that Mr Trisasongko was denied the right to have a lawyer present during his interrogation by the police, a right which is guaranteed by

Indonesia's own Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP)

- asking to be informed of the precise reasons for his arrest and of the nature of the charges to be brought against him.

#### APPEALS TO:

General Try Sutrisno; General Kunarto; Major General R. Hartono; Brigadier General Koesparmono Irsan. (addresses omitted)

### ASIA WATCH PROTESTS INDONESIAN ARREST

October 26, 1992

Asia Watch is deeply concerned over the four-day detention of an Indonesian human rights lawyer, Dadang Trisasongko, 29, and the possibility that he may be charged with subversion for defending the interests of a community affected by the construction of an electric power project.

Mr. Dadang, a staff lawyer with the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation in Surabaya, East Java, was arrested on October 19 in Tanjung Perak, the port area of Surabaya, as he was returning from a trip to the city of Ujung Pandang. According to the arrest warrant issued on October 12 by the provincial office of the police, Dadang was suspected of violating Article 160 of the Criminal Code (incitement to use violence or commit illegal acts) and the Anti-Subversion Law. A spokesman for the internal security agency, BAKORSTANASDA, later said that Dadang was believed to be engaging in activities that could undermine national stability. He was taken to the provincial police headquarters and released four days later. The charges against him, however, have not been dropped.

Dadang's arrest was linked to his work on behalf of the people of Singosari, Gresik, a town in the district of Surabaya. In 1991, the National Electricity Company (PLN) decided to erect a power grid of high-voltage wires (500 KV) over the homes of Singosari villagers. PLN tried to convince the villagers that there would be no health or safety problems from the grid, but experts say the grid would have created such a strong electric field that voltage would be induced in metallic objects, giving rise to significant shock hazards – not enough to electrocute but nevertheless dangerous. Out of 97 households in the village, 33 left the area, saying it was unsafe and demanded to be moved to another area.

The villagers came to the Surabaya branch of the Legal Aid Foundation for help, and Dadang took up their case. On October 20, in discussing why Dadang was arrested,

the military commander of East Java, Major General Hartono, gave the press six reasons.

Dadang, he said, had deliberately compiled press clippings about the Singosari case. He had paid for several families from Singosari to travel to Bekasi, West Java to look at the effects of a similar project; he described in a distorted fashion the impact of a case in Sukabumi; he suggested names of people and organizations the Singosari villagers should contact; and in his interrogation, he admitted having been instructed to undertake these activities by an unnamed person. On top of all this, Dadang had not kept BAKORSTANAS informed of his activities, Hartono said.

The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation issued strong statements of protest about the arrest on October 20 and 22, calling the arrest and detention arbitrary and illegal. Asia Watch endorses the Foundation's statement and calls on all charges against Dadang to be dropped. It also called the action an attempt to deny Singosari villagers the right to information about the impact of the PLN project and as such constituted a violation of freedom of expression.

Addendum October 28, from Asia Watch:

According to LBH in Jakarta, the subversion charges against Dadang have been dropped, but the spreading hatred charges (Article 154) remain.

#### UPDATE FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

*AI F1331/92 EXTERNAL (for general distribution) AI Index: ASA 21/16/92*

*Distr.: UA/SC 28 October 1992*

*Further information on UA 331/92 (ASA 21/15/92, 23 October 1992) - Legal Concern*

INDONESIA: Dadang Trisasongko, human rights lawyer

Amnesty International has received further information concerning Dadang Trisasongko, a human rights lawyer arrested on 19 October 1992 on charges of "subversion" and "incitement."

Dadang Trisasongko was released on 23 October 1992, pending further investigation of his case and the charge of "subversion" was subsequently dropped. However he still faces charges of "expressing hostility toward the government" (Article 154 of Indonesia's Criminal Code) and "incitement" (Article 160). If found guilty of "incitement" he could face a sentence of up to six years' imprisonment. The maximum penalty for "expressing hostility toward the government" is seven years' imprisonment. In addition, police maintain that there is a basis for the allegations that he opposed the government.

Amnesty International remains concerned as to the fate of Dadang Trisasongko.

#### FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

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

- acknowledging the release of Dadang Trisasongko on 23 October and the withdrawal of subversion charges, but expressing concern that he still faces charges under Articles 154 and 160 of Indonesia's Criminal Code;

- expressing concern at the recent arrest of the human rights lawyer Dadang Trisasongko in connection with legal defence work on behalf of the community of Singosari-Gresik;

- expressing concern that Mr Trisasongko was denied the right to have a lawyer present during his interrogation by the police, a right which is guaranteed by Indonesia's own Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP);

- asking to be informed of the precise reasons for his arrest and of the nature of the charges to be brought against him.

APPEALS TO (same as before):

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### TWELVE STUDENTS AND ACTIVISTS DETAINED IN YOGYAKARTA

*Slightly edited by apakabar. Original poster apparently ASA (Asian Students Association).*

On 27 October 1992, anti-riot police and local military detachments from Yogyakarta arrested participants in a Free Forum discussion that was part of the preliminary activities before a planned youth and students rally and march to be held at Gajah Mada University. Students were attending from Java, Bali and Sumatra. According to our sources, the students were dragged out on the streets and beaten and were accused of being communists. Those arrested include: Heli (in charge of the action, student, Faculty of Education, Sarjana Wiyata, Taman Siswa School, Yogyakarta), Budiman (Faculty of Economics, Gajah Mada State University), Vidi (woman student, Faculty of Theology, Duta Wacana University), Ernawati (activist, Cut Nyak Dien, women's organization), Aji (Faculty of Philosophy, Gajah Mada State University), Tangsen (youth activist), Yuni (woman activist, organizer of a children's group), Ade (woman activist from the Committee for Environmental Research and Protection), Nur (woman student, Faculty of Philosophy, Gajah Mada State University), Ita (student, Gajah Mada State University), Lina (woman student, Faculty of Arts,

Gajah Mada State University) and one journalist.

### UPDATE FROM TAPOL OCTOBER 29:

The latest information is that all these people have been released but the situation is being checked.

According to a report in Kompas on 28 Oct, 14 people were arrested, not 12.

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## SUHARTO ASKED TO STEP DOWN

According to an October 30 Reuter report datelined Jakarta, a group of Indonesian students called on President Suharto on Friday to step down.

"We want changes. We're at the peak of our boredom with him," said Eggi Sudjana, head of the little-known student group, the Institute for Society and Economic Studies.

Sudjana led a group of 50 students to the DPR (People's Representative Council) to urge Suharto to move aside and allow a dissident former marine general, Ali Sadikin, to replace him next March.

"In 1967 I was in the primary school and he (Suharto) was already there. Now I have graduated from the university and he is still there," Sudjana said.

Suharto has already received the backing of ABRI, Golkar, and PPP for another term. Only PDI has not yet formally endorsed his re-nomination.

The students met PDI members in the DPR building and urged them "not to end up nominating Suharto," Sudjana said.

Sadikin is informal leader of the Petition of 50 group, which has also urged Suharto to retire.

### MORE ON STUDENTS' STATEMENT

JAKARTA, Indonesia (UPI) – A group of students Friday demanded President Suharto be replaced in 1993 as Indonesia's president by Ali Sadikin, a leader of a prominent dissident group and one of Suharto's critics.

"It's time for the national leadership which has gone on for 25 years to be changed to (bring) political democracy and social justice to Indonesia," said a spokesman for the group of student and youth activists known as the Institute for Society and Economic Studies.

Eggi Sudjana said, "We propose that Ali Sadikin be nominated as the Indonesian president for 1993-1998 period" at a meeting with members of the legislature from the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI).

The 64-year-old Sadikin, a retired marine lieutenant general and governor of Jakarta

for 11 years, is de facto leader of a dissidents' group known as "The Petition of 50," which is critical of Suharto.

The group came into existence in 1980 after 50 people signed a letter sent to Parliament that Suharto regarded as critical of him.

Sadikin and his colleagues have repeatedly called for a change in the national leadership to put the country under more democratic rule, and have urged Suharto to step down from his 25 years in power.

The students group also proposed that Delian Noer, a leader of a group known as the People's Sovereignty Purification Forum (FPKR), become the country's vice presidential candidate.

"We want a change," Sudjana said, adding that Sadikin is "one fearless man fighting the current regime."

Two other parties, the ruling Golkar party and the Muslim-backed United Development Party (PPP), backed by the powerful armed forces faction, have decided to nominate Suharto for another five-year term when his current term ends in March.

Suharto, 71, accepted plans for him to seek another term last week when the Golkar party publicly nominated him for a sixth five-year term.

The re-election of Suharto to the country's highest state authority, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) in March is not in doubt. But, given his age and his long tenure in a demanding job, many expect his sixth term to be his last.

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## 'PAPER TIGER' ABRI EXERCISES

*Abridged November 1 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Surabaya forwarded by Paulus.*

Indonesia's politically powerful armed forces on Sunday began their biggest exercises, to prepare to deal with the country's greatest security threat – unrest at home.

"The challenge is not from outside but inside," military spokesman Nurhadi Purwosapturo said.

Diplomats said the military had timed the exercises, which involve the police for the first time, to end on the first anniversary of an army massacre in East Timor in a bid to refurbish the army's image.

"The military is making a point here, saying they are planning strategies to handle internal unrest at a time when the relevance of their role in politics is being questioned," a diplomat said.

"This November 12, the military may attempt to regain their pride and standing among the people," the diplomat said.

Political analysts say critics have used the mishandling of troubles in East Timor, which Indonesia annexed in 1976, to underscore the military's inability to deal with modern political issues.

Critics want the military to lose its 100 appointed seats in the 500-seat parliament, which forms part of the electoral college that will pick the president and vice-president in March.

It is a crucial time for the military as it tries to make sure its candidate is elected vice-president.

Political analysts said civilians were also vying for the job of vice-president this time and the winner could well be in line eventually to replace the 71-year-old Suharto.

Burhan Magenda, dean of the National University's faculty of social and political science, said he believed General Try's chances may have been affected by the East Timor violence though he appeared to be recovering.

The exercises involve about 15,000 personnel from the army, navy, air force and police. In his opening speech Try stressed the importance for the military of increasing its professionalism.

Military officials said the police were included this time because they needed the training.

The exercises take place every five years and this time will put on display the pride of the armed forces, including its U.S.-made F-16 fighters.

They are the cutting edge of a military that lacks money to improve an army without adequate training, an aging naval fleet and an air force short of advanced fighter pilots.

The air force has almost halved planned purchases of British Hawk fighter-trainers to 24 and its navy had to be content recently with 39 aging vessels from Germany.

The purchases are only partially financed by a military budget that was 3.0 trillion rupiah (\$1.5 billion) for 1992 or 1.93 per cent of gross national product. The rest is sanctioned by the president from other funds.

Analysts said successful exercises in east Java this week would cap the military career of Try, who has been quietly given another extension as armed forces commander for an unspecified period beyond November 15 when he turns 57.

The normal retirement age is 55.

However, he is widely expected to step down in February when the military puts him forward as vice-presidential candidate.

"Up to now no one has asked me. I have no comment," Try said when asked whether he would run for the job.

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## TRY SUTRISNO: WE SHALL OVERCOME

According to a November 2 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Surabaya, ABRI Commander Try Sutrisno accused the West of distorted vision in its criticism of last year's massacre in East Timor and pledged to continue to deal firmly with those who disturb the peace.

"The West views us through coloured glasses," Try said on Sunday in an interview after launching Indonesia's biggest-ever military exercises. The exercises end on November 12, the first anniversary of the East Timor massacre.

Try denied there was any connection between the anniversary and the exercises.

He also said Indonesia would not suffer from a U.S. decision last month to cut \$2.4 million in aid for military training because of events in East Timor.

"I don't care about that. There are many alternatives," Try said, adding that Western criticism was based on human rights values which did not apply to Asian cultures.

Try said Indonesia would continue to deal firmly with those who broke the peace in separatist-prone regions like East Timor.

"But the situation is getting better and better in East Timor," he said, adding that the former Portuguese colony was well on the road to recovery from the violence on November 12.

He said the military's emphasis in the territory, which Indonesia annexed in 1976, was on using troops to further local development.

"We are building bridges, roads and teaching the people simple technology," Try said, referring to the "territorial operations" the military has undertaken to win over the East Timorese.

"It (the November 12 shooting) was an accident ... it was an accident," Try said on Sunday, adding that the firing was triggered by an unspecified "force" that wanted to disrupt the peace in East Timor.

Try denied reports that he had said Indonesia's dissidents would have to be wiped out.

"I was misquoted," he said. He also denied ordering troops to be tough on dissidents.

"We come from the people ... it is (therefore) impossible for us to be tough on the people."

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## HAKIM: WORSE ON THE WAY

According to a November 6 Reuter story datelined Jakarta by Jonathan Thatcher, Indonesia has made no progress in promoting human rights, and proposed legal

changes could make things even worse, according to the head of the country's leading human rights group.

"I feel ashamed to talk of this reality with you. I'm very upset about the situation of human rights in Indonesia," Abdul Hakim, who heads Indonesia's Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), told the Jakarta foreign correspondents' club on Friday, November 6.

"I haven't seen any progress in the area of civil and political rights ... there are a lot of restrictions."

He accused the government of going against human rights values in the constitution in draft changes in the criminal code, which could go to parliament next year.

The changes could mean imposition of the death penalty for any conduct considered against the state ideology.

"The draft is very, very dangerous especially on definitions of crimes against the state," the lawyer said.

"It's totally crazy, it's ridiculous," he added, noting that police would have the right to investigate anyone staying in a hotel room in case they were committing adultery.

Hakim also mention a lack of political openness and government reforms of the economy which helped the rich get rich but made life even worse for the poor.

Ordinary people had no say in policy-making and no chance to protest against policies they disliked.

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## MIDDLE-RANKING OFFICERS TRIED?

*From Tapol, Nov. 13.*

Reports reaching us in London from several sources say that seven middle-ranking [Pamen] army officers were secretly tried in Yogyakarta a few months ago for their part in the massacre in Dili, East Timor on 12 November 1991. These are in addition to the ten officers of lower ranks who were tried earlier.

We have been unable as yet to discover the names of the officers or the nature of the punishment meted out, whether prison sentences, dismissal, or what.

If these trials did indeed take place, one question that needs to be answered is: why were they held in secret? The only logical answer is that this was the result of a compromise between Suharto (assuming that the trials took place at his insistence) and ABRI (unable to resist his demand, but insisting in turn that the trials not be made public to save them further humiliation).

We would like to hear from anyone who is able to substantiate this report and to fill in the details of this new twist in the Dili mystery.

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## WORLD BANK FUNDS INDONESIA

*Xinhua, Fri., 13 Nov. 1992*

### World Bank Helps Indonesia Reform Financial Sector

Washington (Nov. 13) Xinhua - The World Bank said today it has approved a 307 million U.S. dollar loan to Indonesia to accelerate reform of the country's financial sector.

following the onset of financial reform in 1983, the world bank said, Indonesia's financial sector has been transformed into a competitive, market-based system.

however, rapid growth in both financial assets and products, as well as financial intermediaries, is straining supervision and regulatory capacities. in addition, existing weaknesses in the legal and information framework have resulted in unequal access to credit.

the world bank-aided project will support the government in reforming credit allocation practices that have handicapped competitive forces in the financial sector, as well as the rest of the economy.

this will be accomplished by increasing the autonomy of state commercial banks and by changing their legal charters and restructuring their balance sheets, the world bank said. the project will lay the foundation for partial privatization of the state commercial banks.

the project will also strengthen prudential banking regulations and improve bank Indonesia's supervision, and credit information systems and staff skills.

the project is expected to result in substantial efficiency gains in resource use. the loan represents continued world bank support for the government's program to establish a stable, market-oriented and well-diversified financial system with its institutions operating in a transparent legal and regulatory framework.

the Indonesian government will on-lend 300 million do of the loan to five state commercial banks for sub-loans to finance private investment activities, the on-tent funds will subsequently be converted to government equity in these banks. the remainder of the loan will help finance technical assistance to bank Indonesia.

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## EDI SUDRADJAT: CRUSH ALL REBELS

According to a November 17 UPI story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia's top soldier says his troops have weakened three different separatist insurgencies, but must crush

the rebels "once and for all," the Kompas newspaper reported Tuesday.

"We must pay serious attention to overcoming, once and for all, these security disturbances," Army chief Gen. Edi Sudradjat said prior to a meeting that hundreds of his officers attended.

The military is currently fighting insurgencies in the Indonesian provinces of East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya.

Amnesty International, U.S.-based Asia Watch and other human-rights groups accuse Jakarta of summary executions, torture and arbitrary arrests in its drive to crush the various rebellions.

However, Indonesian authorities deny such charges.

In East Timor, the government faces an insurgency by the Fretilin guerrilla movement, which has fought for independence ever since Indonesia annexed the province in 1976.

Small OPM bands have waged a sporadic guerrilla campaign for more than 20 years in Irian Jaya, but their attacks have had little impact.

In heavily Muslim Aceh, government troops have faced an insurgency since 1990 by the "Aceh Merdeka" (Free Aceh) movement. The rebels seek independence.

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## ANTI-SUHARTO DEMO AT DPR!

*Remark: The familiar abbreviation ABS (asal bapak senang, colloquially, if it pleases the boss) has been given a new interpretation in recent weeks in Indonesia. ABS now has added the English meaning, Anyone But Suharto. – John*

According to a November 17 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, dozens of Indonesian students staged a rare demonstration against President Suharto on Tuesday, calling for him to step down.

About 60 students staged the two-hour demonstration in front of parliament after failing to meet representatives of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI).

The party, the nearest Indonesia has to an official opposition, has not yet nominated anyone for the presidential polls in March.

"We demand that the party not nominate (retired) general Suharto," the students said in a statement. "The people are waiting for PDI to announce its candidate ... anyone as long as it is not Suharto."

"He was good at the beginning, but later on ... his family business has gone beyond the public interest," a student said.

The students also carried banners reading: "You have been too long. We want you no

more," and "Thanks Suharto, but you should have been replaced."

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## MILITARY BUDGET GOING UP

According to a November 20 Kyodo story datelined Jakarta, the Indonesian government plans to increase its military budget by 18.8% for the next fiscal year starting in April, the official Antara news agency reported Friday.

The hike will mean that the armed forces will enjoy an allocation of 2 billion dollars, Antara reported, quoting Tjokong Tarigan Sibero, a member of parliament's foreign affairs and defense commission.

Sibero said that the budget hike is acceptable considering the heavier national and international responsibilities facing the country in the future.

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## EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

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### AUSTRALIAN MP'S TO VISIT INDONESIA, BUT NOT EAST TIMOR

*The Age (Melbourne) 13 Oct. Unabridged*

The Indonesian Government has withdrawn permission for an Australian Parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor because of worries about the security situation on the island so close to the anniversary of last year's Dili massacre. The chairman of the joint parliamentary committee on foreign affairs, defence and trade, Senator Schacht, said the Indonesian authorities had withdrawn approval for the delegation's study tour to East Timor. The decision is a setback to the Australian Government's assertion that the proposed trip reflected a return to normality on East Timor. The delegation will still visit several other parts of Indonesia, including West Timor and Irian Jaya.

### ABC-TV NEWS ON AUSTRALIAN TOUR PLANS

*News transcript made available by East Timorese in Sydney. 13th Oct. 1992*

ABC TV news (TRANSCRIPT). The report had crosses at the background, as well as old Canberra ET Protest footage.

An Australian Parliamentary delegation will press ahead with a visit to Indonesia despite the sudden cancellation of the crucial East Timor leg of its mission. As diplomatic correspondent Michael Marr reports Jakarta says the former Portuguese colony isn't safe enough for foreign visitors.

*REPORTER: Just 3 weeks ago Indonesia surprised many observers by giving the go-ahead for Australia's Parliamentarians to visit East Timor. It would have been the first such mission to the trouble province (sic) since last year's massacre but now at the last minute Jakarta has changed its mind.*

SENATOR CHRIS SCHACHT: I see it as a disappointment, I know the Foreign Affairs department is disappointed, the Minister for Foreign Affairs is disappointed that we can't visit .

*REPORTER: The change of heart according to the Indonesian Govt. has come about because of fears for the MPs safety who are due in the former Portuguese colony shortly before the Dili massacre first anniversary while dismissing such concern Senator Schacht is playing down the importance of the East Timor's trip.*

SCHACHT: Our work is not just on East Timor. It's about the full gamut of issues relating to Australia and Indonesia.

*REPORTER: The way East Timorese Independence movement sees it Jakarta's about face is yet another example of deceitful behaviour.*

ALFREDO FERREIRA : They first say yes and later on they come and say no. I think Australia after 17 years in dealing with the issue of East Timor should be aware of this fact.

*REPORTER: The parliamentary delegation hasn't giving up all hope of visiting East Timor and intends to further press it case when it arrives in Indonesia next week. But it's highly unlikely there will be another change of mind giving more weight to the view that Indonesia has something to hide.*

### EAST TIMOR OFF LIMITS FOR VISITING MPS

*NOTE : A similar report appears in today's Sydney Morning Herald newspaper, but with comments from Amnesty International Australia's campaign director, as well as reports of Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister accepting Indonesia's explanation of the cancellation, and that this would not affect Australia's relationship with Indonesia.*

*Sydney Morning Herald 14 Oct. 92.*

*Dateline : Canberra By Tony Wright, Foreign Affairs Writer Abridged, with comments from AI.*

Amnesty International called on the Prime Minister to appeal directly to Indonesia's President Suharto to restore

approval for the delegation to visit East Timor and Aceh, north Sumatra.

"As an indication of Australia's commitment to human rights in the Asian region, Mr Keating should convince the Indonesia Government that the parliamentary delegation should be granted access to Aceh and East Timor," AI campaign director, Mr Andre Frankovits, said.

"Mr Keating needs to convince Mr Suharto that out of sight does not mean out of mind," he said.

Denying access to East Timor and Aceh pointed to the Indonesian Government having something to hide, especially in the wake of reports Amnesty had received about a new wave of repression in East Timor since the start of September.

### INDONESIA BARS AUSTRALIAN MPS FROM EAST TIMOR

*Reuter, 13 October 1992 Dateline: Jakarta  
Byline: Moses Manoharan Abridged*

Indonesia has barred Australian parliamentarians from visiting East Timor next (sic) month, saying the presence of foreigners would create tension.

A foreign ministry spokesman said on Tuesday the timing of the planned visit was too close to the first anniversary of an army shooting in Dili last 12 November.

"We believe that East Timor should be given a chance without interference of foreigners," he said.

Australian Senator Chris Schacht, head of parliament's foreign affairs committee and of the delegation, said in Canberra Jakarta was reportedly worried about the safety of the parliamentarians near the anniversary of the massacre. "We are disappointed," Schacht said, adding that the decision "indicates that everything is not stable inside East Timor."

"I don't think any of us believe that if we'd visited, we would have had our safety at risk. Not being able to visit East Timor restricts us from getting first-hand knowledge," he added.

The delegation will travel widely across Indonesia on a 12-day trip beginning 19 October. It has been granted entry into Irian Jaya, which is also troubled by separatists.

A western diplomat said a successful visit could have strengthened Jakarta's hand in December when it begins UN-sponsored talks with Portugal on East Timor.

*[It is known that the delegation also asked for permission to visit Aceh but this was not agreed.]*

## INFIGHT'S OPEN LETTER TO AUSTRALIAN MPS

*Original document. 20 October 1992  
Unabridged*

### AN OPEN LETTER TO THE AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION ON ITS INDONESIAN STUDY TOUR

Honorable Parliamentarians,

Welcome to Indonesia, and the government which boasts the chair of the Non-Aligned movement and a long list of human rights violations. You are also welcomed by the New Order government, whose period of governing was inaugurated with the massacre of approximately one million people, followed by continued massacres such as Tanjung Priok (1984), the Mysterious Killings of 1984, Ujung Pandang (1987), Aceh (1990), Lampung (1989) and Dili (1991).

Welcome to Indonesia, where the last 25 years of development have brought violations of human rights, in the form of grossly unfair compensation of payment to farmers for transformation of their farming land for development purposes (as evident in the Kedung Ombo case).

Welcome to Indonesia, the country of tropical rainforests which, for the sake of foreign exchange, disappear at a rate of no less than 1 million hectares per annum, resulting in the marginalisation of forest communities, and the disappearance of their cultures, from their forest homes. Prime examples are Siberut, Yamdena, Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Irian Jaya.

Welcome to Indonesia, where workers are forbidden to organise, where political and civil rights are repressed, where detainees are tortured, sometimes to death. Welcome to a country where to speak out and to organise means jail.

It is no coincidence that in an international climate which is becoming more favourable for the realisation of human rights, certain events have preceded your arrival. These include the stoppage of military educational aid (IMET) by the US government, while the Australian government continues to train Indonesian military officers and carry out joint military exercises with the Indonesian military, the awarding of the Reebok Human Rights Award to Fernando de Araujo (East Timorese activist now in prison on a subversion charge), and the Japanese government's statement that it is now to link its aid disbursements with the realisation of human rights and democracy. It is also no coincidence that your request to visit Dili has been refused, with the reason that the sovereignty of the Indonesian

government may not be disrupted by foreign elements. On the other hand, we believe that on the basis of the universal principles of human rights, all people have the right to question, discuss and struggle to overcome human rights violations. Moreover, while the Question of East Timor remains on the UN agenda and Indonesia's annexation of the territory is yet to be recognised by most governments excepting the Australian government, we feel it is only appropriate that a referendum be held there.

Considering the above, we very much appreciate this opportunity to request you, as Honourable Parliamentarians, to urge the Australian government, in the spirit of international co-operation and in the interests of upholding human rights and democracy in the region, to:

1. call on the Indonesian government to hold a referendum in East Timor to allow the East Timorese people an opportunity to freely determine their own fate,
2. frequently and continuously monitor the condition of East Timorese detainees and call on the Indonesian government to release all political prisoners,
3. call on the Australian government to ensure that development aid is not used for development projects which violate human rights by marginalising farming and forest dwelling communities from their land with unfair compensation payment,
4. call on the Australian government to ensure that, in its efforts to expand trade with Indonesia, Australian capital investment in Indonesia does not work to support the repression of workers' wages and rights to organise.

As a final note, we would like to reiterate our demands as presented to Prime Minister Paul Keating on the event of his visit to Indonesia in March (enclosed - but not enclosed with the text faxed to TAPOL).

We would also like to say that we take responsibility for the validity of the above-mentioned human rights violations, because we are also the victims of such violations.

We wish you luck on your Study Tour

INFIGHT,  
Jakarta, 20 October 1992,  
Saleh Abdullah (Coordinator)

### SCHACHT: SUHARTO SHOULD LOOK AT EAST TIMOR ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR

*Radio Australia, 28 Oct. English.*

The leader of an Australian delegation currently visiting Indonesia says that the Suharto government will have to look at what he described as an atmosphere of fear in East Timor. Speaking in neighbouring West Timor, Senator Chris Schacht said

such action was needed if Jakarta was to resolve the problem of East Timor internationally.

Ian McIntosh reports from Kupang in West Timor: "Senator Schacht said that he did not have enough evidence to verify recent reports of a major crackdown in ET as the 1st anniversary of the Dili massacre approaches. But the leader of the Joint Parliamentary Mission said that there was overwhelming evidence of an atmosphere of fear created by the Indonesian military in the former Portuguese colony." Senator Schacht said that despite his delegation having been denied permission to visit ET, Jakarta would be pressed for a negotiated settlement for the province's problems.

Meanwhile the governor of ET, Abilio Osorio Soares, says an Indonesian military presence is still needed in the province because of continuing divisions among its people. Speaking to journalists (...) for a meeting with Pres. Suharto in Jakarta, Mr. Soares said he believes the military presence in the province could be reduced but its quality should be improved. He says the military could help develop efforts in places where commercial enterprises refuse to go because of high costs due to the lack of infrastructure....

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### SENATOR BOURNE TELLS OF FEARS ON TIMOR

*Article in The Age of November 2 by Nicholas Johnston forwarded by Paulus.*

Human rights abuses are continuing in East Timor despite international protests about the Dili massacre, according to a member of a joint federal parliamentary delegation which recently visited Indonesia.

Senator Vicki Bourne (Democrats, New South Wales), who returned to Australia at the weekend, said the delegation was told that East Timorese who favored self-determination lived in fear.

"The people who had actually been there were saying that you can't have a meeting to discuss anything to do with self-determination because that's an offence and you could be put in jail for that," Senator Bourne said.

The 10 members of the joint parliamentary delegation on foreign affairs, defence and trade were barred by Indonesian authorities from visiting East Timor during their 13-day tour.

Senator Bourne said they were told the delegation could not visit East Timor because it was too close to the anniversary of the Dili massacre. At least 50 people were killed in Dili on 12 November last year when security forces opened fire on a memorial procession.

"I don't think it was an acceptable reason not to go there but it is their country and we couldn't have got in without them agreeing to it," she said. However, the delegation had met several East Timorese dissidents who said the situation in the province was tense.

Senator Bourne said the delegation had made it clear to the Indonesian Government that it needed "to clean up its act in relation to human rights and ... that it will be a continuing irritant in the (Indonesia-Australia) relationship until something is done."

The delegation's tour included visits to Jakarta, Balikpapan, Ujung Pandang and Irian Jaya.

Senator Chris Schacht (Labor, South Australia), who chaired the delegation, told Indonesian authorities that it was disappointed it could not visit East Timor but hoped a future visit would be possible.

Senator Schacht said he had been astonished at the economic development in Indonesia, which could no longer be considered a poor and underdeveloped country. "It is a rapidly developing country that is going places very, very quickly with a very determined and positive outlook about how it is going to develop itself over the 25 years."

Unlike Malaysia, he said, Indonesia was enthusiastic about Australia's proposal for regular meetings of member countries of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, discussed the idea with Indonesia leader, President Suharto, during his visit to Indonesia last April.

"They (Indonesian Ministers) see APEC as a very useful forum indeed and want it to develop," Senator Schacht said. "I think they look forward to maybe hosting the first meeting of APEC leaders in 1994."

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### SCHACHT: AUSTRALIAN TRADE FOR EAST TIMOR DIALOGUE

*The Australian, 2 Nov. 1992. By Richard Sproull, Unabridged*

Australia had missed opportunities for large-scale investment in Indonesia in the past decade but could treble its two-way trade by 2000 without compromising its stance on human rights, the chairman of the joint Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade committee, Senator Chris Schacht, said yesterday.

Senator Schacht said establishing closer economic ties between Australia and Indonesia - including the export of uranium and mining technology - would give the Federal Government a firm platform to raise human rights issues, including the reduction

of forces in East Timor. The province (sic) has been declared "temporarily closed" to outside visits since Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators at Dili on November 12 last year, killing 50 people (sic) and injuring hundreds of others.

Speaking after leading a 10-member parliamentary delegation on a 13-day study tour of Indonesia, Senator Schacht said gov't ministers and officials in Jakarta and outlying regions showed a sense of "basic and strong goodwill" towards Australia.

The delegation held discussions with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, the commander of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, and East Timorese dissents.

But with the first anniversary of the massacre approaching, Indonesian concern for the level of safety inside East Timor meant permission for the delegation to visit the province was withdrawn.

Senator Schacht said the delegation asked Gen. Sutrisno for a reduction of forces inside East Timor to create a better atmosphere as well as dialogue between the Indonesian authorities and East Timorese people.

He said many Indonesian officials were critical of Australia's failure to recognise the country's significant economic, political and social progress. Australia had missed out on opportunities to increase its \$2 billion two-way trade program.

The Indonesian Gov't was keen to develop either direct or joint ventures with Australia in mining for oil coal and gas as well as upgrading the nation's electricity supply and developing nuclear energy by 2000 to cope with the country's rapidly growing demand for electricity.

Pmce Indonesia had demonstrated its ability to meet international atomic energy safety standards, Australia was well placed to begin uranium export program, Senator Schacht said.

Indonesia's economic and social progress during the past 10 years - which included cutting the number of people below the poverty line from 60 million to 27 million - presented an "enormous" market opportunity for local businesses willing to export.

"The more we are involved economically with Indonesia the better we will be able to promote human rights issues with them," he said.

"They will see that we are genuinely interested in engaging with their economy and therefore when we raise human rights issues it is not something that is coming from nowhere, it's part of our genuine relationship."

Senator Schacht said that as Indonesia's economy, living standards and education continued to improve, many Indonesians

wanted to discuss human rights and realised that East Timor had to resolved "one way or the other."

## SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE ANNIVERSARY TO BE OBSERVED IN SYDNEY

*From Tata Mai-Lau News Oct. 19, 1992*

To commemorate the 1st anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, the East Timorese community in NSW will stage a three-day protest, starting on the 12 of November with a vigil outside Indonesian consulate, and ending on the 14 November (Saturday) with a mass at St Mary's Cathedral which will lead to a march to Sydney Town Hall.

Speakers: Members of the East Timorese community. Father Frank Brennan and Bernard Collaery, human rights lawyer.

The theme of this year's protest is "EAST TIMOR - A KILLING FIELD UNDER INDONESIAN RULE" and the following text is the way this theme is articulated:

Whoever had given the order to gun down the East Timorese civilians on 12th November 1992 at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, was implementing the genocidal policy of the Indonesian government towards the East Timorese people.

Eyewitness accounts by East Timorese and foreign journalists say that more than 200 East Timorese civilians were gunned down during the Dili massacre. The military enquiry established by the Indonesian government found that only 50 East Timorese were killed and 90 disappeared.

The East Timorese civilians involved with the 12th November demonstration were sentenced from 6 months to life imprisonment. In contrast, the Indonesian soldiers who premeditatedly killed and tortured East Timorese on that day were given light sentences ranging from 8 to 18 months.

Twelve months after the horrendous killings at the Santa Cruz Cemetery, the whereabouts of hundreds of East Timorese youth are still unaccounted for.

The overall approach taken by Indonesia was aimed defusing the international pressure on Jakarta and thus, securing its colonial status over East Timor.

The role of the Australian Government in the East Timor's tragedy has been most deficient, considering that the island of East Timor is one of the closest neighbours to Australia's north and that 40,000 East Timorese people died during W.W.II to help defend Australia.

We demand:

1. the immediate and unconditioned withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor;
2. that Australian Govt. support negotiations currently undertaken by the United Nations Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali between Portugal and Indonesia, as we believe that it is the only way to find a just and comprehensive solution for the people of East Timor;
3. the immediate release of all East Timorese political prisoners;
4. the establishment of an international enquiry into the Dili massacre;
5. access to East Timor by NGOs and humanitarian organisations; and
6. the setting up of Human Rights monitoring organisations in the East Timor capital of Dili as well as other territories throughout East Timor to protect the civilians from malicious attack.

*The above is part of the leaflet being distributed in NSW. The leaflet is illustrated with two pictures one of a weeping woman and the other an old man holding his son. These two pictures overlook a map of East Timor which is covered with many small crosses surrounding a big one. The latter highlights Dili, the capital of East Timor, where the massacre took place. The message of these pictures is "East Timor - A Killing Field Under Indonesian Rule."*

Appeal: Join this protest so that no more crosses can be added to the existing ones.

### Dili Massacre Anniversary Protest:

12 and 13 November: Vigil outside the Sydney Indonesian Consulate, Maroubra Road, Maroubra, from 10am to 6pm.

14 November: 10am Mass at St. Mary's Cathedral. 11am, March to Town Hall. Speakers: East Timorese; Recent Visitor to ET; Human Rights Lawyer.

## EAST TIMOR CAMPAIGN WELCOMES AUSTRALIAN VISIT OF IRISH PRESIDENT

*East Timor Talks Campaign, Melbourne. 27 October 1992*

The visit to Melbourne this week of the Irish President, Mary Robinson and her Foreign Minister, David Andrews, is of particular interest to the East Timorese community and those working for a political settlement of the conflict in East Timor.

The coordinator of the East Timor Talks Campaign, Pat Walsh, said today that Mars Robinson has had a long-standing personal concern about East Timor and her Foreign Minister, David Andrews, met with East

Timor's special representative, José Ramos Horta, in Dublin on 15 September.

As a mark of her concern, the Irish President has invited the President of the Timorese community in Melbourne, Ms Emilia Pires, to attend a reception in Mrs Robinson's honour this Friday. The reception will be held at the Grand Hyatt at 6pm.

At his meeting with José Ramos Horta, Mr Andrews re-stated the Irish government's support for the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination. Mr Andrews also pledged to raise the issue of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor at international forums such as the EC Council of Ministers and The United Nations.

'Ireland's concern over East Timor no doubt reflects its concern to resolve the Northern Ireland conflict through negotiation with the assistance of Australia's Sir Ninian Stephens,' said Mr Walsh.

'We believe the same energy and spirit of dialogue would be applied to East Timor and hope the Irish Government will act where the Australian government has failed so abysmally,' said Mr Walsh.

## IRISH PRESIDENT ASKED TO INTERVENE ON EAST TIMOR

*East Timor Talks Campaign, media release. 30 October 1992*

Melbourne's East Timorese community today released the text of a letter to be presented to the Irish President, Mary Robinson, at a reception in Melbourne this evening.

The letter makes three requests of the Irish Government:

1. to urge Indonesia to immediately release East Timorese political prisoners wrongly imprisoned following last year's Dili massacre;

2. to press Indonesia and the UN to include the East Timorese resistance in talks to resolve the conflict in East Timor; and

3. to advocate the suspension of all military sales and aid to Indonesia by the members of the European Community, including the EC chair Britain, until East Timorese prisoners are freed and the conflict in East Timor 'has been fully resolved in accordance with UN principles and procedures.'

The letter will be presented to Mrs Robinson at a reception at the Grand Hyatt between 6 - 7.30 this evening (Fri.) by Ms Emilia Pires, President of the Timorese Association of Victoria, who has been invited to represent the Timorese community at the function.

The letter pays tribute to Mrs Robinson's known concern over East Timor and the recent undertaking by the Irish Foreign Minister, Mr David Andrews, to



uphold the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination and take action in the EC and the UN. Contact: Emilia Pires  
Tel: (03) 309 5172 ah Pat Walsh  
Tel: (03) 417 7505 w; 481 1581 h

## STATEMENT BY JOSÉ RAMOS HORTA TO SYDNEY CORRESPONDENTS

*SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MAUBERE RESISTANCE, AT THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT'S ASSOCIATION, SYDNEY CLUB, 5th November 1992*

*The National Council of Maubere Resistance - CNRM - was created in the mountains of East Timor in 1987 to unite all East Timorese nationalist organisations that are based inside the country under a non-partisan leadership organisation. Headed by Mr. Xanana Gusmao as the Leader of the Resistance, the CNRM comprises the East Timorese National Liberation Armed Forces (FALINTIL), the Directive Commission of FRETILIN and all the student and youth organisations.)*

Mr. President and distinguished members of the Foreign Correspondent's Association, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am grateful to you, Mr. President, for the kind invitation extended to me to address this gathering of distinguished journalists and guests on the eve of the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili on 12 November 1992.

Almost one year after the horrendous massacre of innocent East Timorese civilians, women and children, I am able to state to you without hesitation and ambiguity the exact extent of the casualties on 12 November 1991.

### **273 killed, 355 "disappeared" and 376 wounded.**

The data I am now sharing with you has been compiled by 12 teams of East Timorese students, school teachers, priests, nuns, nurses, paramedics, hospital staff, workers at the morgues, totaling 72 researchers, working round the clock for three months, interviewing household members in each "bairro," immediately after the 12 November 1991. (*This data is in pages 85-92 of this document set.*)

The preliminary report reached Lisbon in February and was handed over to two specialist groups in Portugal that have been investigating human rights abuses in East Timor for more than 10 years. A copy was channeled to Amnesty International for independent verification.

It took six months for mass of the detailed information sent from East Timor to

be processed and analysed. The researchers took extreme care in double-checking each piece of information.

I can state without hesitation, ladies and gentlemen, that I know the exact location of several mass graves. I am prepared to hand over the information to independent investigators nominated by the UN Secretary-General.

I challenge the Indonesian authorities to prove I am wrong. And the only way they might be able to prove I am wrong is by inviting in an independent mission of investigation as the one recently appointed to investigate the killings in South Africa. The fact is the Indonesian military regime headed by President Suharto has a far worse record than any time by the white minority South African regime.

The killings did not stop on 12 November 1991. In the days and weeks that followed, more people were killed in Dili and many, many more were killed in the country.

Ladies and gentlemen, for many years you did not believe us. For too long you ignored the information we passed on to you. For years we told you of massacres perpetrated by the Indonesian army and you didn't believe us. And yet we knew we were telling the truth and because we derive no satisfaction when we talk about our dead. I wish, ladies and gentlemen, that 12 November 1991 was only a bad dream, a nightmare. I wish that no one single person had been killed.

### **Try Sutrisno gave the orders**

Gen. Try Sutrisno is the man who directed the killings of 12 November 1991. I have made this charge twice already, once at the European Parliament in Brussels on 23 April and the second time to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on 14 May 1991.

I am now repeating the charge. Gen. Try Sutrisno, Armed Forces Chief of the Republic of Indonesia, issued the orders to "shoot and kill" to the Bali regional commander, Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, on 10th November, on an open line telephone conversation. The same day, Gen. Try Sutrisno told a group of Indonesian officers in Jakarta, the "agitators must be dealt a severe blow like the Chinese did at Tian Nian Men."

Indonesian authorities knew about the plans by East Timorese students to hold a religious procession and demonstration to mark the second week of the death of their fellow student Sebastiao Gomes killed inside the Mota' Church by Indonesian troops.

No effort was made to preempt the demonstration although the security forces were fully aware of the frantic preparations by

the students. Their plans were in fact an open secret in Dili. The intention of the Indonesian military was to draw out into the open the youth leaders and "teach them a lesson," in the words of Gen. Try Sutrisno.

The 12 November 1991 massacre was premeditated murder ordered from the above. Several Western governments, most notorious being the Australian, went to great lengths to excuse the Indonesian government by arguing that the Dili massacre was the work of local personnel. The 12 November 1991 massacre of 273 East Timorese was ordered from the above, was ordered by Gen. Try Sutrisno.

I am sending a warning to Gen. Try Sutrisno. We are taking all possible legal actions to sue him as it happened recently in the US. in the case of his colleague who carried out his orders, Gen. Panjaitan. He will have to pay for the crimes he is responsible for. The international community has not forgotten the Japanese and German officers and their collaborators responsible for war crimes and is continuing to prosecute those who escaped justice even almost half a century later. Gen. Try Sutrisno and many other members of Indonesian military are guilty of the Crime of Genocide as defined by the 1949 Geneva Convention on Genocide and we will spare no effort in seeing them brought to justice. Their time will come.

### **Portugal**

Portugal colonized East Timor for almost half a millennium. True, it neglected its most Eastern colony. However, ladies and gentlemen, I strongly reject the charges so often made in this country by Australian government officials who do not have the courage to denounce Indonesia's brutal occupation of East Timor and quit hypocritically prefer to bully a small Mediterranean country that has the courage and moral decency to fight for a small nation.

Australia and other Western countries seem to want that Portugal follow their own policies of abandonment and betrayal of the East Timorese and of appeasement and complicity with one of the remaining dinosaurs of the world. Having colonized East Timor for 500 years, the Portuguese are now showing moral courage in standing up for the East Timorese. shouldn't they be commended and supported? Shouldn't we all praise and support a country, any country, that stands up for human rights and democracy? Should the world abandon Burma? Should the world ignore the war in Croatia and Bosnia? Was it wrong for the US., France, the UK. and little Australia to have intervened in the Gulf to "liberate" Kuwait?

We applaud the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs for his courage in standing up for human rights in the recent ASEAN-EC Ministerial meeting in Manila. It was not only East Timor that was at stake. At stake was the EC own official proclamation of 28 November 1991 linking cooperation with human rights and democracy. However, certain Western countries like the U.K. which invented racism and hypocrisy and Germany (no adjectives needed), succumbed to their own greed and bullied Portugal. The Asia region has the worst human rights record in the world today while democracy and human rights are well entrenched in the rest of the world. An alliance of feudal landlords, corrupt military oligarchies and drug lords, is resisting the winds of change.

#### **War damages compensation**

Ladies and gentlemen, few nations have suffered as we in the past 50 years. In the 40's, we were invaded and occupied by the Japanese imperial army. Between 40,000 to 70,000 East Timorese lives were lost. The country was thoroughly destroyed - schools, hospitals, churches, roads and bridges. At the end of the world we were forgotten. No war compensation was ever paid to the East Timorese. Australia took part in the destruction of our country. Yet, Australian gov't leaders have the audacity in criticizing Portugal for not having developed East Timor in 500 years. Whatever was built was destroyed by Australian and Japanese forces during W.W.II. Whatever was built in East Timor was by the Portuguese alone. Not one cent went from Australia or Japan. Time will come when we will have to sit down with Australian and Japanese leaders to discuss to long overdue war damages compensation to the East Timorese.

In spite of the enormous suffering inflicted upon us by those who call us their enemy, we remain ready to meet our Indonesian brothers half-way to resolve our differences in a peaceful manner. Our leader, commander Xanana Gusmao, has stated time and again the collective and firm desire of the East Timorese to enter in to a process of dialogue with the Indonesians, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, either directly or as part of a Portuguese delegation or in any other formula to be worked out by the Secretary-General.

We are now satisfied with the initiatives taken by Dr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali in promoting the first round of talks between the Portuguese and the Indonesian Foreign Ministers. The new Secretary-General took office at a time of dramatic transformation in the world favoring the strengthening of the UN system and the office of the Secretary-

General. His own personal history and credentials lend him considerable moral strength. He is himself a microcosm of the UN. The conditions that did not exist during Javier Perez de Cuellar's mandate are there now.

The Secretary-General is aware that there cannot be "an internationally acceptable solution" and lasting peace in East Timor without the East Timorese themselves being consulted on their own fate. A process of consultation cannot be other than a referendum on self-determination under international supervision.

However, to move towards the final act, the East Timorese are prepared to be as flexible and creative as possible to consider every possible interim arrangement that is also acceptable to Indonesia. Speaking before the European Parliament in Brussels in April and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York in May I outline a set of ideas which I believe could contribute towards a comprehensive settlement of the problem. These ideas have been formally endorsed by Mr Xanana Gusmao, the Resistance Leader of East Timor in an exclusive interview to the largest Portuguese weekly NOTICIAS MAGAZINE of 27 Sept. 1992.

#### **East Timor's independence is inevi table.**

Our vision. East Timor will be independent in this decade. We have no doubts. However, before this day, many more thousands will pay with their lives the price of freedom.

Let me assure everyone concerned that an independent East Timor will endeavour to co-exist with its neighbours through a series of treaties that would bind us together in the economic, security, scientific, and cultural spheres. In the months preceding our independence will be busy negotiating our membership in ASEAN, Pacific Forum and Asia-Pacific Economic Conference. Through the ACP-EC (Lome Conventions) we will seek to foster North-South Cooperation.

While we are aware that we are part of this region, we will not betray 500 of our common history with Portugal and through Portugal we will seek closer involvement with the European Community. In a world increasingly locked in regional pacts and with the Northern industrialized countries obsessed with Eastern Europe and ex-Soviet Union, Portugal has been the most loyal advocate of Third World aspirations. It is a bridge between Africa, Latin America and the EC and we intend to use this bridge for mutual benefit.

With Brazil we will seek ties with the South American countries. The Portuguese-speaking African countries that share with us a common history will take us close to Africa and we will bring them close to

Southeast Asia and the Pacific region in what could well be a model of South-South cooperation.

East Timor is the cross-road of three culture, civilizations and religions. Our own Malay-Polynesian and Melanesian ancestry compel us to our Southeast Asian and South Pacific neighbors. Centuries of Portuguese Latin influence make us a unique bridge between Europe and the region. Our deep catholic faith coexisting for centuries with animism and Islam make us believe in harmony among peoples of different religions and we would be in a unique situation to promote racial and religious tolerance.

On day one of independence, we will proclaim a policy of national reconciliation. To be true to ourselves, we must forgive our worst enemies among us. The Indonesians already living in our land will be invited to stay on in a different East Timor and to help us rebuild a common home for all. Properties lawfully acquired will be protected. East Timorese forced to live overseas who lost their properties will have to be able to return to the homes they built with so much sacrifice.

Our vision of an independent East Timor is the vision of East Timor and the seas surrounding it as a Zone of Peace. East Timor will not have an army and will not enter into any military arrangement. For the protection of its international borders, we will rely on a status of neutrality to be guaranteed by the UN Security Council.

On day one of independence, the new government of East Timor will propose to the National Parliament the ratification of all existing international human rights treaties binding us to full respect for human rights and democratic rule.

I thank you.

#### **EXCERPT FROM AFP, SYDNEY, ROBERT HOLLOWAY, NOV. 5.**

Indonesians who have been resettled in East Timor would be welcome to stay after eventual independence despite abuses by the Indonesian army there, a spokesman for the Timorese resistance declared Thursday.

In a speech to mark the first anniversary of a massacre by troops in the island capital, Dili, spokesman José Ramos Horta said 273 civilians were killed.

Horta told the Australian Foreign Correspondents Association that his figures were based on research by 72 schoolteachers, students, paramedics, and morgue attendants, priests, nuns and nurses who had interviewed residents of every district of Dili in the three months immediately after the November 12 shootings.

In addition to the dead, 376 people were wounded and 355 missing, Horta said.

Details were given to Amnesty International "for independent verification." Amnesty's campaign director in Australia, Andre Frankovits, told AFP the human rights organization had been unable to confirm the figures "because the Indonesian authorities have not allowed access to East Timor."

But he said "Mr. Horta's figures are not impossible."

Indonesian authorities' "initially admitted 19 dead, then 55 after the inquiry, and now the governor of East Timor admits the toll could be as high as 200," Frankovits noted.

Governor Abilio Soares was quoted in the October 29 edition of the Indonesian magazine Forum Keadilan (Law Forum), as saying that the death toll was 200.

Despite such statements, Horta insisted that the Timorese resistance pledged itself to national reconciliation "on day one of independence" and would refrain from taking revenge even on collaborators.

Since its army invaded East Timor in 1975, Indonesia had resettled between 100,000 and 150,000 of its own people in the island, he said, but "they will be invited to stay on in a different East Timor."

"To be true to ourselves, we must forgive our worst enemies among us," he said.

The settlers, he said, "are 90 to 95 percent barefoot peasants who came seeking a better life. With them we shall build a common home."

...José Ramos Horta told the Australian Foreign Correspondents Association that East Timor Governor Abilio Soares, himself a Timorese, was "half illiterate and corrupt" and said his appointment proved as governor proved the hollowness of Indonesian claims to have raised education standards.

Soares, he said, "is only mildly better than Pablo Escobar," the Colombian drug cartel leader.

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## EAST TIMOR'S STRUGGLE CONTINUES

*Green Left #79, November 11, 1992*

Fretilin representative Estanislao da Silva spoke at a Democratic Socialist forum in Sydney on the eve of the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. The following is excerpted from his talk.

The Santa Cruz massacre is an important event to be remembered by every Timorese and those who support the struggle of my people for freedom and independence. For the first time an example of the atrocities committed by the Indonesian troops in East Timor over the last 17 years of occupation

was witnessed by TV cameras and foreign journalists.

Whoever gave the orders to shoot at the Santa Cruz cemetery was implementing Jakarta's policy of genocide. It was a pre-meditated mass killing.

The evidence of Jakarta's policy was spelled out by the Indonesian army commander hours after the massacre. He said: "Timorese like those who gather outside the cemetery are people who must be crushed ... In the end they must be shot down."

The Dili massacre has deeply affected Jakarta's image. For example, the recent decision of the United States Congress to cut military aid to Indonesia, even though the amount of the aid is small, [shows that] the political implications are very great in terms of Indonesia as a developing country.

Australia has played from the very beginning an important role in the issue. Jakarta would never be so arrogant without the complicity of Australia, its most powerful and only Western neighbour. Jakarta might have had to retreat from its initial position and consider the implementation of UN resolutions if Canberra had strongly condemned Indonesia's action. Canberra's complicity is indeed evident with the signing of the Timor Gap Treaty.

More recently, Senator Gareth Evans has asked Western nations not to raise the hopes of East Timorese. He went further, saying that the issue of East Timor has to be resolved within the context of Indonesia as a nation. Like the Indonesian generals, Gareth Evans shows his lack of knowledge of the history of the East Timorese people. We were able to survive as a people and keep our cultural identity alive for more than four centuries under European domination. So not in 17 years will Indonesia destroy it.

Indonesia has claimed that our resistance has been reduced to a hundred or a couple of dozen guerrillas all over the territory. They have been saying this since 1979. But if you look at the number of Indonesian troops in East Timor, you see the real situation.

Falantil [the armed wing of the resistance] now is everywhere, in the cities, in the mountains. It is much more difficult for Indonesia to locate our guerilla units. We are all over the territory.

The massacre itself has motivated people more than ever to join the resistance. [The Indonesians] had hoped that with the transmigration program, with all the development that they have been introducing, they will control the situation.

But with the massacre, the gap between Indonesian forces of occupation and East Timorese has widened more than ever. The people are much more determined to struggle and to win.

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## NEIGHBOURS NEED TO TALK TO EACH OTHER

*From FINANCIAL REVIEW, Thursday, November 12, 1992, p. 17.*

Many people in and beyond East Timor will today rightly be mourning the Dili massacre of a year ago. Among them are some Australians who are disappointed they are not also mourning the death of the relationship between Australia and Indonesia. It is often a fine line that a nation treads, especially when emotions are understandably heightened by events such as in Dili, between appearing craven on the one side and pompously interventionist on the other. But that's diplomacy. And Senator Evans plays it pretty well. He made clear to Jakarta Australia's disgust at the massacre. And Jakarta, showing a different face from earlier years, earlier suppressions, responded by admitting it was wrong, ordering an inquiry and removing those responsible.

That positive reaction has been somewhat undermined by events since: the jailing of protesters for up to 15 years compared with the stiffest sentence for the soldiers involved of 17 months; and appointment of an authoritarian new military commander (who said he was not as "patient" as his predecessor) and governor (who said "I think far more should have died"). It is disappointing that the Indonesian authorities denied permission to Australian parliamentarians, who are reviewing relations between the two countries, to visit East Timor - allegedly on security grounds.

Yet dealings between the two countries are now developing on a broad front, at last, at such a rate that legitimate concerns about events such as the Dili massacre can be raised robustly without endangering the whole relationship. Neighbours who don't talk tend to end up, at best, throwing rubbish over the fence, at worst, having a punch-up. Almost since Indonesia's struggle for independence from the Dutch - and briefly from the Japanese, too - the great dry continent of Australia and the lush archipelago to its north have been talking across, sometimes at, each other. Their cultures, their languages, their international reference points have been vastly different. But today the two neighbours are talking - which means there is a good chance they are also listening. Conversations are being conducted between Australia and Indonesia at many levels - business, military, cultural, sporting, religious. And even at the political level the contacts are much deeper than just Canberra-Jakarta; the Australian States and territories, too, have established relations with Indonesia. Western Australia,

Queensland and the Northern Territory have sent trade delegations there in the past year.

Exports to Indonesia grew from \$500 million in 1987-88 to \$1.43 billion in 1990-91 while imports almost doubled too, to \$784 million in 1990-91, providing Australia with a healthy surplus. The joint Indonesia-Australia authority to explore for oil in the Timor Gap, plus the agreement to be signed next week between the two governments on nuclear co-operation - possibly leading to uranium sales for reactors planned for Java - are welcome elements of a commercially sound approach to sharing regional resources. The relationship truly contains, at last, what Senator Evans calls "ballast" - essentially comprising mutual trade and investment. Thus all conversations, including those about human rights, now have a context. A key element of that context is the recalibration of Australia's sights on to Asia.

In the past 30 years the Asian economies' share of world Gross National Products has soared from 4 to 25 per cent. And although recently a degree of political liberalisation has followed an earlier, successful, pattern of economic liberalisation, such success has not been achieved without considerable direction from government. The World Bank conceded in its 1991 World Development Report that "market-friendly State intervention" - development the Asian way - had a role, but however apparently self-contradictory the prescription. Singapore's elder statesman and long-time wry commentator on Australian failings, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, said in a speech last year: "The first basis we start with in Asia is that people do not want disorder."

In Indonesia, order derives from the army and from the ruling Golkar party it once spawned but which has now grown something of a life of its own. The Golkar Government was re-elected earlier this year, through less overwhelmingly than before. Its candidate for the presidency next year will be the 25-year incumbent, President Suharto, certain to be returned for his sixth term, by the end of which he would be 77. The key question concerns his choice of Vice-President, likely to be, at last, the chosen successor, after previous vice-presidents were discarded at the end of single terms.

The appointment of another soldier would not, in the context of Indonesia today, automatically mean a reversion to a stricter authoritarianism. For the modern army, and especially the corps of younger, well-educated, economically literate officers, has a considerable affinity for the fast-growing Indonesian middle class which is pushing for carefully paced economic and political liberalisation. At the same time, the

middle class remains firmly supportive of the army's unifying role, since it fears that a too-rapid liberalisation could lead to an upsurge of Muslim fundamentalism.

The cliché is true: Indonesia, land of the shadow plays, is a complex country, one of huge unresolved problems, considerable potential and deep ambiguities. A year after the Dili massacre, though, the gulf between Indonesia and Australia has, if anything, narrowed and the ambiguities in the relationship have diminished. The winners, ultimately, will include the East Timorese.

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### MILITANT PROTESTS IN AUSTRALIA

According to a November 12 Reuter story datelined Sydney, more than 270 Timorese and their supporters, many carrying wooden crosses, blocked peak hour traffic in Darwin, joining protesters around Australia on the first anniversary of a massacre in Indonesia-ruled East Timor.

As protesters lay on the street in the northern Australian city, 600 km (370 miles) from East Timor, the sound of gunfire and wailing sirens played through a loudspeaker.

Protesters marched to the Indonesian consulate where there were angry scenes when a window was broken, tomatoes were thrown and police detained one protester.

In Sydney, about 50 protesters shouted slogans outside the Indonesian consulate, demanding Jakarta leave the former Portuguese colony it invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year. The United Nations does not recognise Jakarta's rule.

"Nothing has changed in East Timor," said Estanislau da Silva, a local organiser of the rebel Fretilin movement.

"Indonesian security forces have been stepping up their activities all over the territory, they are intimidating the people and East Timor is isolated from the rest of the world," he added.

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### AUSTRALIA ON TIMOR AID LINK

According to a November 17 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Jakarta, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, asked about the controversy surrounding East Timor, said Indonesia did not mind discussing human rights questions.

"The question is how it is being raised, whether it is being based on fact ... or whether it assumes the tone and nature of a deliberate misleading campaign against Indonesia," he added.

Visiting Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said Canberra linked aid to

human rights only in extreme cases where violence was state-sponsored.

Canberra has expressed concern over the East Timor killings, but says it believes neither the Indonesian government nor the military command in Jakarta had been involved in the violence.

"The human rights issues Australia does raise from time to time in Asia go to matters not of Australian values, or peculiarly Western values, but rather to universal values," Evans said.

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### MORAL VICTORY IN OZ CROSSES CASE

*The Canberra Times, 27 November 1992.  
By Rod Campbell Unabridged*

#### Regulations Valid, But Judges Query Measures Against Embassy Protest

Timorese demonstrators won the moral victory, when the Federal Court ruled yesterday that government regulations authorising the removal of 124 crosses from near the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra early in the year were valid.

The Government's technical-legal victory may prove to be a hollow one.

Two of three Federal Court judges did not accept that the placing of the 124 crosses - in protest against the November 1991 Dili massacre - had in any way disturbed the peace, or impaired the dignity, of the Indonesian Embassy in Yarralumla.

The court decided 2-1 in the government's favour that the Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities (Amendment) regulations, rushed into force in January, were valid. It allowed an appeal by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Gareth Evans, the Commissioner of the Australian Federal Police, Peter McAulay, and the Commonwealth against a ruling of a single Federal Court judge that the regulations were invalid. But the issue of whether the removal of the crosses was authorised by the regulations is yet to be decided. If yesterday's decision - handed down in Sydney - is any guide, the East Timorese demonstrators have a fair chance of emerging the successful party.

The minority judge on the validity issue, Justice Marcus Einfeld, was outspoken in his critique of the regulations. He virtually accused the government of seeking to bury the constitutional right of Australians of free speech for reasons which had little or nothing to do with the protection of diplomatic facilities.

Bernard Collaery, the solicitor for the two Timorese directly involved in the litigation, said late yesterday that no decision had yet been made on whether to take the case to the High Court. East Timorese were

intending to re-erect on Sunday a small lantern near the embassy.

"I do hope that Senator Evans, having won his technical victory, will relent and heed the remarks of the court which, by a majority, finds nothing wrong with the peaceful actions of my clients," he said.

"Recent decisions of the High Court on freedom of expression give no comfort to the Government on this issue. My clients should not be put through any further expense and anxiety. They have lost the battle but won the war."

Justice Robert French, who upheld the validity of the regulations, said it was difficult to see how "the placement of a reproachful and dignified symbol on public land in the vicinity of a mission would amount to a disturbance of the peace or an impairment of its dignity or an attack upon the dignity of its officers."

He said a foreign country must take its host country as it finds it. If it found it with a well-defined tradition of free expression, including public comment on matters of domestic and international politics, it could not invoke the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations against manifestations of that tradition. In any event, demonstrations and other like activity were "an expression of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of speech and assembly" accepted in a number of international conventions.

Justice Enfield said diplomatic protection legislation was designed to protect embassies from conduct or threats which were so undignified and ungracious as to impede on diplomats' capacity to carry out their functions. Steps to ensure this must minimise possible interference with, and take full account of, the fundamental right of every person in Australia to freedom of speech.

The judge said "nations governed by autocratic, authoritarian or military rule cannot be the arbiters of, or even true contributors to setting, the extent or limits of free expression granted or applied in Australia."

"We are unlikely to set our standards by those of less benevolent or generous regimes," he said.

The regulations permitted an unreasonable curtailment of freedom of speech and were out of proportion to what as justified by diplomatic protection laws, he concluded.

## NORTHERN TERRITORIES WANT TO DO BUSINESS IN TIMOR

According to a November 30 Reuter story datelined Darwin, the government of Australia's outback Northern Territory on Monday created the country's first Ministry for Asian Relations and Trade.

"It reflects the realities of new opportunities in Asia, including the importance of the Timor Gap oil and gas potential," said chief minister Marshall Perron.

As part of a major shake-up in the conservative territory's government, former education minister Shane Stone was appointed Minister for Asian Relations and Trade.

Since coming to power in 1988 the Perron government has focused on developing Asian trade. Darwin, Australia's most northern city, is closer to Singapore than Sydney.

In January, Perron met President Suharto in Jakarta and signed a memorandum on trade and development between Indonesia and the territory.

In August, his government announced it would build a \$68 million (\$46 million) new port next to Darwin's trade development zone aimed at boosting Asian trade.

Since 1986 consecutive territory governments have spent \$25 million (\$17 million) in developing the zone.

It offers rent holidays on factory leases, capital equipment subsidies, establishment grants, assistance for equipment relocation, short-term export assistance and interest-free advances to cover refundable customs duties.

The zone is also exempt from territory taxes, stamp duties and municipal fees, but personal and corporate taxes still apply.

In 1990/91 territory exports jumped 38 per cent to \$1.9 billion (\$1.2 billion), mainly to Indonesia, Japan, China, Korea, India and the Netherlands.

Oil industry analysts say the Timor Gap, a region of sea between northwest Australia and southeast Indonesia, could reach production of 200,000 barrels a day by 1995 - double Australia's current offshore oil output.

First drilling in the area, jointly controlled by Indonesia and Australia, will begin in December.

## TIMORESE BURN INDONESIAN FLAG!

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

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

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

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

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

## LIGHT OF MOURNING, LIGHT OF HOPE

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

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

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

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

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

In the crowd were people concealing their identity with masks, including one Indonesian student who said he represented Indonesian young people who disapproved of their national army's presence in East

Timor. It was clear that human rights violations were occurring, he said.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## NEGOTIATIONS RESUME DECEMBER 17

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### RESISTANCE DEMANDS INCLUSION IN NEGOTIATIONS

Lisbon, Oct. 15 (ips) – the Timorese resistance movement Thursday urged the united nations to include its representatives in negotiations on east Timor between Portugal and Indonesia, scheduled for December in new York.

"the UN Secretary-General (Boutros Boutros-ghali) has a mandate to invite us," the spokesperson of the Timorese national resistance council (CNR) told ips here.

"the Secretary-General's mandate indicates that he should consult all parties directly involved and the people of Timor are those most affected by this drama," said Ramos Horta, whose organization is made up of all groups in favour of independence for the territory, occupied by Indonesia since 1975.

Portugal's foreign minister, Joao de Deus Pinheiro and his Indonesian vis-a-vis, Ali Alatas, are scheduled to meet on dec. 17 in the second of a series of encounters promoted by Boutros-ghali on east Timor.

the first encounter between the two foreign ministers, dubbed an "exploratory meeting," was held on sep. 27 in the cabinet of the UN Secretary-General in new York.

Lisbon wants to exercise jurisdiction over east Timor until a referendum on self-determination is held, based on a dec. 22, 1975 UN security council resolution which called on Indonesia to withdraw from the territory and stipulated that Portugal should administer it until the plebiscite.

on the other hand, Jakarta, which annexed east Timor in 1976, considers it an Indonesian province and maintains that its annexation put an end to five centuries of Portuguese colonialism.

figures compiled by two independent human rights organizations, "amnesty international" and "Americas watch," indicate that 17 years of Indonesian occupation have resulted in 210,000 deaths out of a population which, in 1975, totaled 650,000.

Ramos Horta said the "upcoming meeting between Portugal and Indonesia (was) important since both parties will have to arrive at a format and calendar for the negotiations."

he said the CNR "feels that Boutros-ghali is thinking of inviting Timorese representatives to meet with him, but we do

not know if this will be before, during or after the meeting between the two ministers."

"in any event, it is positive thing for Deus Pinheiro and Alatas to meet, because according to what we have been able to find out, there now exists greater flexibility in Indonesia's positions," the CNR spokesperson stressed.

in Ramos Horta's view this shift in Jakarta's stance "is due to the fact that Indonesia knows that it lost the battle inside Timor, despite its total military occupation (22,000 soldiers), and to pressure from the united states and the European community."

"the U.S. congress cut military aid to Indonesia in September of this year, as a result of the massacre of over 200 Timorese in November last and because of the continuous denunciations of human rights violations," he added.

another factor which "had a big impact is that, for the first time, the so-called 'major media' in the united states, both the written press and television, began to speak about Timor, after a news blackout lasting more than 15 years," he explained.

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## MOCHTAR: NO REFERENDUM

According to a Nov. 11 Reuter story datelined Singapore, Indonesia will not agree to a referendum on independence for East Timor during United Nations-sponsored talks next month.

"There will be no plebiscite. The Portuguese abandoned Timor. We have said, 'We must proceed on the condition you accept integration as a fact,'" Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, a member of the Supreme Advisory Council to President Suharto, told a Foreign Correspondents' Association lunch.

"It is basically a Portuguese problem, not an Indonesian problem."

Talks between Lisbon and Jakarta are to start on December 17 under the auspices of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"At the announcement of the talks it was a good thing that there will be no conditions, because the Portuguese position had been that there must be a referendum," Mochtar said.

"When they incorporated East Timor into Portugal, did they ask the people?" he asked.

"It is apparently very difficult for them to explain to the people that they lost it because they abandoned it."

## XANANA: CEASEFIRE ACCEPTABLE

According to a November 13 IPS story datelined Lisbon, the prospect of an end to the conflict in East Timor has thrown the spotlight on Xanana Gusmao.

Portugal and Indonesia, two of the protagonists of the dispute over the Asian territory, will hold negotiations in the U.N. headquarters in New York on December 17.

The third party to the controversy, the native Maubere people of East Timor, recognize in Gusmao the leader of their struggle for independence.

Gusmao, 46, once a poet and journalist, and a graduate of the Catholic Seminary of Timor, awaits the negotiations in New York with an open mind.

In an exclusive interview with IPS "from the mountains of my homeland," Gusmao confided that he was prepared to respect a ceasefire if one is agreed on during next month's U.N.-brokered negotiations.

It took two months to receive the tape of Gusmao's replies to a series of questions sent from Lisbon to Sydney (Australia) and, from there, through secret channels of the clandestine Maubere network, to the forests of Timor.

Gusmao leads the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), an umbrella organization of all the pro-independence groups operating inside and outside Timor.

The struggle being waged by the guerrilla leader "is not bent on proselytizing anyone. It is national, though social democracy is the ideology which is closest to my way of thinking. But I have no intention of getting involved in party activities."

The 1975 invasion was part of the political designs of the regime of Indonesian President General Suharto, "because East Timor never formed part of Indonesia and was never claimed by Jakarta," observed Gusmao.

The CNRM leader recalled that Indonesia emerged as the successor state to the Dutch East Indies "and for this reason its governments never claimed this part of Timor, colonized by the Portuguese since 1511."

"It was never influenced by Buddhism, Hinduism or Islam, the religions prevailing in the other islands. Some 95 percent of the Timorese are Catholics, while the majority of the Indonesians profess the religion of Islam," noted Gusmao.

In ethnic terms, "The Mauberes are of Malayan, Polynesian and Melanesian origin, therefore closer to these peoples of the Pacific islands than to the Indonesians of Java and Bali," he pointed out.

Gusmao recalled that more than 200,000 Timorese, out of a population of 650,000 registered in 1975, died under the repression of the Indonesian invaders.

He rejected any attitude of resignation, however, since "a people cannot be asked to renounce their right to be free," nor can "the aspiration for peace" of the Timorese be confounded.

The CNRM leader highlighted to the almost two decades of resistance in the territory and the pacifist campaign being conducted in all areas, like that which José Ramos-Horta, the CNRM spokesman, has been carrying out at the international level.

The Mauberes have in their favor 10 resolutions approved by the United Nations General Assembly, and one passed by the U.N. Security Council urging the withdrawal of the Indonesians.

On the other hand, they are running into adverse international conditions which "are attributable to the economic interests held in Indonesia by nations like the United States, Japan, Australia, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Germany and Canada," said Gusmao.

As far as the United Nations is concerned, "Rather than a pulpit for the defense of universal principles, it seems to have been transformed into a center for stock market quotations."

And "Timor is an uncomfortable affair" for the Vatican. In the Holy See, "Everything possible has been done to convince our bishop, Msgr. Ximenes Belo, to stop giving his support to the people's demands," Gusmao said.

Gusmao vowed that despite the repression "we will continue our struggle to find a solution to the problem of Timor." But he agreed that "peace will only be possible with reconciliation, because a nation is great only if it is capable of granting pardon."

"We are not fighting the Indonesian people. They are not our enemies, but rather the victims, like ourselves, of a repressive regime. It must not be forgotten that to seize power in 1965 Suharto perpetrated the slaughter of more than one million Indonesians."

## EVENTS IN MALAYSIA AND JAPAN

### MALAYSIA TV JOURNALIST PUNISHED

*New Straits Times (Malaysia), 4 October 1992 Dateline: Kuala Lumpur By Zainal Epi. Abridged*

#### RTM MAN PUNISHED FOR SLIP-UP

The Information Ministry has taken immediate action against the person responsible for the slip-up in the RTM airing of the tragedy in Dili, East Timor on September 20.

Information Minister Datuk Mohamed Rahmat said today investigations into the matter had been completed and further action against others involved in the slip-up would be taken very soon. He declined to mention the kind of action already taken but added "immediate action such as movement has been taken."

It is learnt that the acting news controller for television had been transferred to radio while the acting news controller for radio has taken the former's place since 1 October.

Mohamed said the ministry's disciplinary committee had been directed to handle the matter from now on.

"Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad viewed the matter seriously as it can affect the good relations between the two countries. As such disciplinary action cannot be avoided. The ministry is discussing with the Information Department on actions to be taken."

He said guidelines, set by a panel in the ministry, on the kind of news that could or could not be aired had been made available.

RTM aired the news over Dunia Jam 10 on the demonstration which sparked off protests from the ruling Golkar New Order Youth Movement, whose leader Ais Anantama demand an apology.

#### LETTER FROM COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS

*The following letter was faxed to the addressees and to human rights and journalists' groups in several countries. Original document, full text:*

Committee to Protect Journalists  
16 E. 42 Street, Third Floor  
New York, NY 10017 USA  
October 20, 1992

His Excellency Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir  
Mohamed  
Prime Minister of Malaysia

His Excellency Datuk Mohamed Rahmat  
Minister of Information, Malaysia

Your Excellency:

The Committee was concerned to learn that the Malaysia government took action against Radio Televisyen Malaysia (RTM) journalists following a complaint from the Indonesian government.

According to our information, on September 23, RTM broadcast film footage of Indonesian soldiers firing on East Timorese demonstrators in Dili last November 12. The Indonesian Minister of Information requested an explanation for the broadcast, and the Malaysian government then apologized and took disciplinary action.

As a nonpartisan organization that defends journalists worldwide, the Committee believes that such actions will have a chilling effect on freedom of the press in Malaysia. We respectfully request any punitive measures taken against RTM staff be lifted.

Thank you for your attention. We welcome your comments.

Yours Sincerely,  
Joe Solomon, Associate Director

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## JAPAN'S ET SPEAKING TOUR

*Free East Timor Japan Coalition Release. 8 Nov. 92.*

The 7th ET Speaking Tour in Japan organized by Free East Timor Japan Coalition will start today, November 9. Three East Timorese women are invited to the Tour and they visit 50 cities and attend at more than 60 public meetings and lectures all over Japan. This is the biggest tour our Coalition has ever experienced.

Three East Timorese speakers are: Ana Inacio, member of the Fretilin Youth group from Darwin, Ligia Ximenes who testified at the UN HR Sub-commission last year from Portugal, and Wewerian dos Reis, former clandestine activist in Indonesia now living in Australia.

On November 12, Santa Cruz anniversary day, a press meeting will be held in the morning, and in the afternoon, a demonstration in front of the Indonesian embassy in Tokyo, and in the evening, the first public meeting in the Tour at Sophia University.

Since the Santa Cruz massacre, interest in East Timor has grown in Japan. Yorkshire's Cold Blood was translated into Japanese and broadcast on NHK's satellite channel. NHK made a special program on ET focused on the human rights and the world public opinion. The Bob Muntz tour in March and Lusitania campaign also contributed to the growth of public attention.

The Tour will end on December 1.

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## TOKYO MASSACRE COMMEMORATIONS

### PRESS CONFERENCE, November 12 (Thursday), 11:00

East Timorese participants: Ana Inacio (living in Darwin, Australia); Veverian dos Reis (living in Sydney, Australia); Ligia Ximenes (living in Portugal);

Note: A declaration on "Japanese citizens for democracy in Indonesia" will be distributed in four languages (Japanese, Bahasa Indonesia, English and Portuguese)

### DEMONSTRATION

"We haven't forgotten Santa Cruz"  
Mourning for the Santa Cruz massacre.  
Meeting Time: November 12 (Thursday), 14:30 (to be held even in case of rain)  
Meeting Place: Gotanda Koen (park), or Gotanda Sta-East exit until 14:30

Route: Gotanda Koen, Embassy of Indonesia, Meguro Station

Organization: Tokyo-East Timor Association, Amnesty International-Japan

### JOINT ACTION

EAST TIMOR ASSOCIATION -  
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

"One year since the Santa Cruz massacre"

November 12 (Thursday), 18:30-20:30  
Place: University of Sophia, 3th Building, room 521

3 minutes walking from the JR Chuo line, Yotsuya Station

Fee: 500 yen

Panelists: Kiyoko Furusawa (Tokyo-East Timor Association), Yoko Iwamura (Amnesty International-Japan)

East Timorese Guests: Ana Inacio (living in Darwin, Australia), Veverian dos Reis (living in Sydney, Australia), Ligia Ximenes (living in Portugal)

Organization: University of Sophia  
Amnesty Group

Cooperation: Tokyo-East Timor Association, Amnesty International-Japan

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## JAPANESE PEOPLE MOBILIZE

According to a November 10 Kyodo story datelined Tokyo, the Japan branch of Amnesty International and the Free East Timor Coalition will begin a national campaign Thursday to mark the first anniversary of an Indonesian army massacre of demonstrators in East Timor.

Amnesty, an international organization which monitors human rights violations, and the coalition, an association of 11 groups in Japan, are sponsoring a nationwide tour by three East Timorese women who will speak

on their experiences in the Indonesian-occupied former Portuguese territory.

The two organizations will present a 60,000-signature petition to the government asking it to make economic aid to Indonesia conditional on its withdrawal from East Timor. They will also sponsor a rally outside the Indonesian Embassy on Thursday.

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## S.E. ASIAN TREATY OF AMITY AND COOPERATION ADOPTED BY UN

New York, November 12 - Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia was adopted with consensus as a draft resolution of the United Nations, by Committee for Disarmament and International Security, Thursday evening. The treaty was co-sponsored by 137 countries including the European Community.

Two representatives criticized Indonesia and linked the draft with the issues on East Timor in Indonesia. The representative of Portugal in the committee meeting, said he welcome the draft on treaty. But he drew attention to the flagrant contradiction between the terms of the treaty and the behaviour of one of its signatories, Indonesia. He said, barely two months before the signing of that treaty in 1976, Indonesia had invaded and militarily occupied East Timor.

The representative of Cape Verde said he had been unable to join as a co-sponsor. Nevertheless, he joined the consensus on the draft. He said he likes the people of East Timor to enjoy their right to self determination.

The representative of Indonesia, replying to the interventions (by Portugal and Cape Verde), said that he is dismayed and disappointed by their one-sided and self-serving interpretation of the treaty and had maligned Indonesia. He said those countries had attempted to associate extraneous issues which had nothing to do with the draft resolution under the committee's consideration.

The Indonesian said there were other forums for the discussion of those issues. He accused such an attitude was part of an aggressive but futile campaign against Indonesia. He charged Portugal and Cape Verde as a former colony of Portugal were engaging in negative campaign and manoeuvres while claiming that they supported to talks on East Timor next month.

Five other members of ASEAN also criticized Portugal and Cape Verde and said East Timor issue was an extraneous matter. The representatives of Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Singapore said they were very disappointed



by the views expressed by Portugal and Cape Verde.

The treaty provides a strong foundation for regional confidence-building and for regional cooperation. It also provides provisions for the Pacific settlement of regional disputes and for regional cooperation amongst the people of South-East Asia.

The treaty was signed in Bali, Indonesia, on February 1976 and came into force on July 15, 1976 in the five members of ASEAN (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand). Brunei Darussalam, which later joined ASEAN, recognized the treaty in January 1984. It was registered with the UN October 1976. Papua New Guinea acceded to it in 1989, while Viet Nam and Lao in July 1992.

## 12 NOV. COMMEMORATED IN MALAYSIA

*PRESS RELEASE (Nov. 13, 1992) from East Timor Information Network, Penang*

A meeting held last night in Sungai Dua, Penang, to commemorate the first anniversary of the universally condemned Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor called upon the Malaysian government to speak out for victims of human rights violations in ASEAN, by adopting a consistent and more regional approach towards international human rights. The call was made in a signed statement by almost 100 Malaysians - many of whom were friends of Kamal Bamadhaj, a Malaysian student who was killed among the newly estimated 273 victims of the Nov. 12 massacre and its aftermath. The meeting, organised by the East Timor Information Network, was attended by students and academics from Universiti Sains Malaysia, representatives from the Bar Council, Human Rights Malaysia, the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice and many others.

"To its credit the Malaysian government has responded strongly against the gross human rights abuses in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Why are we not moved to do something similar for the long suffering East Timorese who are fellow members of our ASEAN region?" an organiser of the memorial questioned. The Indonesian military and government have continued to carry out a systematic pattern of genocide which has decimated a third of the East Timorese population since the 1975 invasion.

The memorial meeting was part of an international act of solidarity to help focus more attention on the on-going human rights violations in East Timor.

"Many East Timorese arrested in connection with the Santa Cruz massacre were issued sentences ranging from 5 years to life

imprisonment while Indonesian soldiers who were blamed for firing out of order were given incomparable jail terms of 8 to 18 months. This reflects a small part of the injustices faced by East Timorese today. Many more have also been rounded up prior to today to prevent any commemorative activities," a speaker announced.

"We were disgusted by the immediate and lavish apologies offered by the Malaysian government to Indonesia over a recent RTM [Malaysian TV network] airing of a commendable newsfeature which exposed the military's cold-blooded murder of East Timorese," said a network spokesperson. "Censorship of news in Malaysia is now comparable to that in Indonesia, under the Suharto regime!"

"We will organise more of such activities to counteract the media blackout which has so far prevented more Malaysians from learning about the unspeakable military atrocities which are occurring right on our doorstep. These cover-ups are far from the ASEAN aim to develop our region into an ideal Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN)" said the ETIN spokesperson.

The meeting closed with a candle-light vigil and song to commemorate Kamal and all the Santa Cruz victims.

On Nov. 15 all Catholic churches in Penang dedicated a mass to the people of East Timor.

## RESOURCES

### EAST TIMOR RADIO DOCUMENTARY

#### ASK YOUR LOCAL PUBLIC RADIO STATION TO BROADCAST IT!

TO: Anyone concerned about East Timor

FM: Amy Goodman, producer,  
(wbai@igc.apc.org)

DT: November 9 and 11, 1992

Re: MASSACRE: THE STORY OF EAST  
TIMOR

Amy Goodman has produced a documentary on East Timor. Please contact your local community or public radio station (program director) and ask them to air it. The following description has been sent to all public radio stations. Tell the station to refer to the DACS for more information. If it's not too much trouble E-mail me at WBAI with their responses. The more requests a station gets the more likely they will be to air it. Thanks!!!

MASSACRE: THE STORY OF EAST TIMOR is a half hour radio documentary on the first anniversary of the massacre carried out by US-armed Indonesian troops in the occupied territory of East Timor. On that day, November 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers gunned down more than 140 civilian Timorese. The documentary features the two American journalists who witnessed and survived the massacre, Amy Goodman, News Editor at WBAI/Pacifica Radio (the producer of this program) and Allan Nairn, a correspondent with the New Yorker Magazine. Both were beaten during the massacre by the Indonesian troops. Nairn's skull was fractured with the butts of US M-16s.

Goodman and Nairn won the 1992 NFCB Golden Reel Award for their coverage of the massacre. In addition Goodman has won the Front Page Award from the Newswomen's Club of New York for her coverage.

The documentary includes their eyewitness accounts as well as the dramatic tape of the massacre, which was smuggled out of the country several days after the killings. Using archival recordings, the piece documents the US role in the 1975 invasion of East Timor (personally approved by President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger) and the subsequent mass killings - on the scale of Pol Pot's Cambodia - which have claimed the lives of one-third of the Timorese. Woven throughout the piece will be interviews from inside the small half-island, now once again closed to foreign journalists.

Earlier this month, in response to the massacre and its aftermath, the US Congress voted – for the first time in the 17-year occupation – to cut off US military training aid to Indonesia.

This documentary is made possible in part by grants from the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the Pacifica Foundation.

The 29-minute piece will run twice on the satellite, and be aired on Pacifica stations in several cities. Copies of the tape are available for \$10 from the East Timor Action Network/US.

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### TATA MAI LAU: NEW TIMORESE CENTER IN MACAO

Tata Mai Lau is a socio-cultural centre based in Macau; it was founded on Sept. 5, 1990. It promotes scientific research aiming to the valorisation and continuity of relations in the Portugal-Macau-Timor triangle. Its president is Dr Paulo dos Remedios, a lawyer, and its Secretary General is Father Francisco Fernandes. Other members include José Guterres, Alfredo Pires and Simon Barreto, a composer and conductor.

About 100 Chinese from East Timor established in Macau 30 years ago, some of whom help in fundraising. There have been a dozen recent arrivals from East Timor. Some of them left for Portugal and Japan, but other Timorese should arrive from Portugal next year.

Tata Mai Lau publishes an English/Portuguese information letter on East Timor: already 3 issues have appeared since last August. This letter is aimed to inform both the international community about East Timor developments and the East Timorese in East Timor and Indonesia about international developments related to East Timor.

Address:  
TATA-MAI-LAU  
13 Floor Apart. B lote 38B,  
Edif. Lei Man,  
Est. Alm. Marques Esparteiro  
Taipa, Macau.  
Tel. and Fax: (853) 830 414

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### PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL ON TIMOR AND BURMA, BANGKOK

A People's Tribunal on East Timor and Burma will be held in Bangkok on 9 and 10 December 1992. The Panel of Judges will include: Justice P.N. Bhagabati, Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, India; Dr Kamal Hussain, former Foreign Minister

of Bangladesh; Dr Chandra Muzaffar from Malaysia, plus persons from Thailand and Japan.

The Panel of Judges will hear testimony from East Timor and Burma. The two governments involved have been notified of the event, but neither has yet indicated a willingness to attend.

The People's Tribunal will take place concurrently with the Global Forum on Peoples' Plan for the 21st Century.

For further information, contact the Coordinator, M. Abdus Sabur of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development, Fax: (66-2) 374-0464

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### COMPUTER BOOK DEDICATED TO TIMORESE PEOPLE

The fourth edition of The Macintosh Bible by Arthur Naiman et al contains the following on page 4:

"This edition of the Macintosh Bible is dedicated to the people of East Timor whose seventeen-year struggle for independence has been virtually ignored by the media despite the murder of perhaps a quarter of the population. (for more information, call 914-428-7299 or 604-264-9973)"

Earlier editions of this 1250-page computer book have sold over 700,000 copies! The book, which carries the Goldstein & Blair imprint, is available for \$32 (+ \$4 shipping) from Peachpit Press, 2414 Sixth Street, Berkeley CA 94701 USA. (800-283-9444 or 510-548-4393) or from your local bookstore. The dedication is Arthur Naiman's initiative.

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### BOOK REVIEW: *TELLING*, BY MITCHELL TURNER

*From Rob Garnsey, Sydney.*

On the eve of the first anniversary of "The Santa Cruz Massacre" of November 12, 1991, a book was launched in Sydney. "TELLING" is the name of this new book by Mitchell Turner, a successful Australian writer, longtime supporter of the rights of East Timorese People.

"TELLING" is not just another book about East Timor. It is a living testimony of a war imposed upon a peaceful people that refuses to be wiped out from the earth. "TELLING" mirrors the courage and determination of a people to fight for their survival; it is a fight which mixes political determination with a deep sense of respect for peoples, individuals and nations.

"TELLING" does not only talk about today's suffering of the Timorese. It revives the history back to the chapters of the

W.W.II when the Australian and Japanese "commandos" took over East Timor and set the country of the Timorese as a central but conveniently ignored stage of the W.W.II. The only thing in common between this chapter and the current Indonesian occupation is the atrocities - committed by different peoples against the same people: the Timorese.

I guess "TELLING" tries to highlight precisely this fact; and, by doing so, it tries to awake the readers to the fact that the people of East Timor have been through a lot of suffering and it is time for the world to wake up and recognise that the Timorese, too, as a people and a nation, must be respected. And, after all the suffering that, due to the excesses of this world, the Timorese have been forced to endure, it is time for them to be given a chance to live in peace. By the variety of stories and the "natural" language used to express them, "TELLING" allows the reader to structure his/her own conclusions; what it can't do however, is allowing you - the reader - to stand aside and do nothing.

The cover is a collection of cultural testimonies combining the features of Timorese traditional and sacred houses - Uma Lulik - with a couple and their son. This element portrays the survival of the very basic fabric of the Timorese Resistance: the Family. The cover is further enriched with a clear picture of the last year's November 12 protest which led to the "massacre of Sta. Cruz." Hence, the cover alone is already synthesizing what "TELLING" is telling the world.

"TELLING" was promoted in Sydney through a "book reading" on the night of the 27 of October. It prolonged to about midnight, the time that in East Timor, last year, the courageous student leader, Sebastiao Gomes was killed by the Indonesian troops and the Church of Motael was raided. The assassination of Sebastiao highlighted precisely the content and, I think, the spirit of this book.

"TELLING" was published by the University of New South Wales Press," PO Box 1, KENSINGTON, NSW 2033, AUSTRALIA. Fax (02) 398 3408 and Tel. (02) 398 8900. Retail price: \$A19.95; also available throughout Australia at bookshops. Also available in North America through: International Specialized Book Services, Portland Oregon 97213-3640; Tel. (503) 287 3093; Fax: (503) 284 8859. Agio Pereira

## NEW FRENCH BOOK ON EAST TIMOR BY GABRIEL DEFERT

*Described by Bruno Kahn, Agir Pour Timor.*

“Timor-Est, le genocide oublié; droit d’un peuple et raisons d’état” by Gabriel Defert is a new book on East Timor which just came out this week in Paris.

It is published by L’Harmattan in its collection Recherches asiatiques. L’Harmattan is also the publisher of the 1977 book “Timor Oriental: hier la colonisation Portugaise, aujourd’hui la resistance a l’invasion Indonesienne” by Marcel Roger. Only two books have ever been published on East Timor in France, where the knowledge of the question is tenuous.

The author studied human sciences in Paris VI University. He is specialised in South-East Asian politics and has spent several years in Indonesia, where he has been particularly interested in the question of East Timor.

Resolutely academic in style, this 323 pages book is intended as a reference rather than ‘militant’ book. In the foreword, the author says that he wants to give a presentation of the situation in its whole, in order to show its whereabouts clearly and give the reader keys that allow him or her to make an opinion. He refrained from the temptation to give lots of detailed live testimonies, while not renouncing to include some as illustrative examples.

As a result, the book contains a large amount of data, including 14 maps, 14 tableaux and an extensive bibliography of books and periodicals. A number of documents (like some EC resolutions, the Indonesian guidelines for the UN visit in 1976 etc.) are reproduced. The six parts are as follows: Part 1 A most mediocre colonial balance; Part 2 An aborted independence; Part 3 Sixteen years of a merciless war; Part 4 The Indonesian colonization; Part 5 The renouncements of the International Community; Part 6 When the island was a big crocodile. At the end is a list of solidarity groups worldwide.

A photo on the cover (the only one of the book) shows a young Timorese boy smiling hesitantly on a background of marching Indonesian soldiers.

Note: this is not intended as a review; I only had time to brush through the book yet. - Bruno

## EAST TIMOR CLIPPING SERVICE

*From John A. MacDougall, Task Force Indonesia, 7538 Newberry Lane, Lanham-Seabrook, MD 20706 USA*

A source in Indonesia who must remain unnamed and cannot be contacted online has asked me to post and screen queries about any needs by progressive, activist NGOs and individuals for clippings from the Indonesian-language and/or English-language press on subjects ranging from East Timor to environmental issues to labor problems – the list is quite long, and it is likely your topic is available.

This is an exceptionally reliable, prompt, thorough, intelligent and respected source. Costs of the customized service are not nominal – assume a minimum outlay of US\$100 for a 3 month period – but are far, far below those of commercial clipping services. Advance payment is necessary.

If you need such a clipping service, please briefly email me privately the following information and I will get back in touch shortly:

Your name  
Your organization (if applicable)  
Postal address to which the clippings would be sent  
Why you need the clippings  
The topics on which you need clippings (as specific as possible)  
Clippings in Indonesian and/or English language  
Preference for 3 month trial or full year commitment

And please put the word CLIPS in the subject line of your message – I get a lot of email and don’t want to miss yours.

Thanks.

John (apakabar, igc:apakabar, web:apakabar) reg.indonesia facilitator

## COMMENT ON LONELY PLANET SOUTHEAST ASIA TRAVEL GUIDE

*From Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor.*

*The following letter is sent to a major Australian guidebook publishing house.*

Paris, 22 Nov. 1992.

Mr Tony Wheeler, Editor  
Lonely Planet Publications  
Box 617, Hawthorn, Vic. 3122 Australia

Dear Mr Wheeler,

As a long time reader and user of South East Asia on a Shoestring, I was hurt by your treatment of East Timor in the latest edition of this book.

I have been using South East Asia on a Shoestring and other Lonely Planet guide-books since 1979; I have sent a number of infos on my travels, in esteem for the quality of your work. You may like to know that it is in South East Asia on a Shoestring that I first read about East Timor and its invasion by Indonesia.

At the time of former editions, the territory was closed and the book dealt with it minimally. Not so for this one.

There are fundamental problems in presenting East Timor as a touristic destination in Indonesia. Not the least is that East Timor is not part of Indonesia. There is no mention anywhere in your book that it is an occupied territory. The only country in the world that has recognised the Indonesian annexation is... Australia, where your book is published.

The next problem, linked to the first, is that one may debate whether East Timor is a “touristic destination.” Are you luring your readers to visit the country of the East Timorese, or a country that has been robbed to them? The caveat at the beginning of the Burma section could just as well, and probably better, apply to East Timor. Virtually everything there belongs to the Indonesians, hotels, warungs, transportation. The money travellers will spend in East Timor will for most of it go to the occupants, not the local population.

Although you acknowledge that “The cost to the Timorese [of the invasion] was horrific,” there is no mention of the extent of this cost. Horrific can mean anything; 30 to 40% deaths on a population (200 000 to 300 000 over 700 000 in 1975) is much more specific and would not rob much place from other sections to be printed.

I was shocked to see how you brush this aside by writing in the next sentence “Today Indonesia seems to have things firmly under control.” It is hardly believable that, being in Australia, you are not aware that repeated arrests, tortures, rapes and disappearances (of which the 12 November 1991 massacre was just a temporary climax) still continue today. You write that you visited East Timor yourself. I thought you cared about the people in the places you visited. If you didn’t notice that there are slightly more Military than in Indonesia and that the people are not quite as smiling and eager to talk to foreigners, there is something very wrong with you indeed. Inserting a stop press on the Santa Cruz massacre is no excuse.

It is amazing that you talk about the Hotel Flamboyant of Baucau without mentioning that it was used for years as military headquarters and as a centre of detention and torture, and sections of it still are today. Perhaps you should know that those

foreigners who choose to stay there are viewed by the Timorese as having chosen their side. There are other places to stay in Baucau, best not printed in a guidebook; travellers genuinely interested in the East Timorese will find them anyway. In any case, not so many have got in for about 10 months. For your information here are copies of 3 reports by recent travellers.

Regarding Falintil (not Fretilin) activity in the Viqueque area, your remark is rather pointless as the zones of military activity move around the territory. In any case Falintil have been militarily dominated by ABRI for years and the armed struggle is now largely symbolic and minor compared to the clandestine networks, as acknowledged by Xanana Gusmao in his September 1990 interview by Robert Domm, that you should have read.

How can you be so close to a territory where large-scale atrocities have happened consistently for 17 years and be so light and uninterested by it? There is no way you can claim difficulty to get information. Australia is not the worst place in the world to learn about East Timor. Consult your closest solidarity group or go to Darwin talk to the Timorese.

Your book is the most influential guidebook on South East Asia in Australia and possibly in the world. What you write or do not write in such a case significantly contributes to influence public opinion. It is possible for people to have a great time in East Timor, staying by the friendly military. If you choose to condone the other genocide in South East Asia by happily inviting your readers to do their sightseeing over corpses, it is up to you. I'll draw the consequences for myself. Your country's governments have been doing this for 17 years - for oil. But I thought you were not a government.

This letter is being finished in the aftermath of the arrest of Xanana Gusmao, the leader of CNRM (the National Council of Maubere Resistance), when dozens of other East Timorese are being arrested, interrogated and tortured in East Timor, and hunted in Jakarta. Xanana has been held incommunicado and tortured in Udayana, a few hundred metres from Kuta beach.

Best regards,  
Bruno Kahn

PS: Suggestions for reading:

Timothy Mo *The Redundancy of Courage*, Vintage, London, 1991. Michele Turner Telling, New South Wales University Press, 1992. Andrew McMillan *Death in Dili*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1992.

*Remark: the three reports by recent travellers mentioned in the letter are Matthew Jardine's of August (ETAN/US Document collection #16, p. 16) Hubert Gieschen's of*

*July (this issue, p. 18), and anonymous of October, the last posted by Tata Mai Lau News (this issue, p. 26).*

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## MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

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### DAVID WEBSTER ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS

I should stress off the bat that I am not speaking for the East Timor Alert Network/Canada here. And Li-lien Gibbons, when she stood up and disrupted Suharto's speech at the UN, was not acting as a member of ETAN/Canada. However, I think it would be hard to find anyone in the network who would have anything but praise for her non-violent action of standing up and shouting "Free East Timor" while Suharto was speaking.

The Western news media is essentially lazy. What was perhaps once the cornerstone of reporting – digging up a story, exposing the powerful when they do evil, etc – is now so rare it is dignified with the term "investigative journalism." That means that most reporters don't write about anything that isn't set before them on a plate. So when someone like Suharto speaks to the UN, the world press will tend to report only on what he says. Those of us picketing outside in the rain will be ignored by everyone except the security guards.

Confronting Suharto while he was speaking, on the other hand, gave reporters the story that, really, should be obvious: Suharto's hypocrisy. He may have the "right" to speak up against ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, etc., but he shouldn't be surprised when the obvious parallels with East Timor dominate the news reporting on his speech. The shame is that it takes a disruption from the public galleries to make reporters see the connection.

Personally, I was amazed that there was disagreement with the idea of disrupting Suharto's speech. As the Boston Globe says, "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." It isn't just journalistic hyperbole – it's the truth.

Sitting idly by while someone like Suharto takes the stage to pronounce on the crimes of other nations isn't just a tactical mistake, in my view. It is allowing a war criminal to pull the wool over the eyes of the world press and ordinary people everywhere. The man should not be accorded "respect" or honour – he should be denounced for the butcher that he is. How can

confronting Suharto be an insult to the Indonesian people? Surely the Indonesian people have more reason than anyone to hate him.

One argument that is being made seems to boil down to that old Canadian favourite, "quiet diplomacy." Don't rock the boat, apply consistent, gentle, non-confrontational pressure, and changes will start to happen behind the scenes. It's what we're taught from an early age – the equivalent of the individualistic American "live free or die." It's what our government always says when we ask for action on human rights: "quiet diplomacy" will turn despots into democrats.

Canada tried to stop acid rain from US factories by using "quiet diplomacy" on the Reagan and Bush administrations. Meanwhile, hundreds of lakes died. (And I could give dozens of other examples regarding the Canada-US "special relationship.") We didn't condemn the short-lived military coup in Moscow, preferring "quiet diplomacy." We waited a week after the Santa Cruz massacre to speak out, only condemning it after every other Western government had done so. Our External Affairs Minister justified the delay by announcing she had been practising "quiet diplomacy" with Indonesia's Ali Alatas at a summit in Seoul. Maybe it was useful. Personally, I think she was wasting her breath.

Perhaps Suharto is enunciating some themes that resonate among nation-states marginalized at the UN. So did Saddam Hussein. It doesn't mean he can't be isolated, it just makes the job harder. No change, for East Timor supporters. We'll just have to say a prayer to St Jude and carry on. It seems to me that activists who are showing up Suharto for the fraud he is will do far more to isolate him than activists according him respect. If even East Timor supporters give Suharto respect, observers will say, then he must be worthy of respect.

But that's just my view. I go along with the AIDS Action Now slogan: "Silence equals Death." I don't mean to take away from those who are working at it from the angle of quiet diplomacy – we need them too.

What we need in the international solidarity movements is people working at all levels – lobbying governments behind the scenes and waging an all-out grassroots campaign. And it's only by allowing both approaches, and all the shades of grey in between, that we will ever achieve anything.

David Webster  
East Timor Alert Network/Toronto

## WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL 1992 PRISONERS FOR PEACE HONOUR ROLL

### FOCUS ON EAST TIMOR

The Prisoners for Peace list is normally confined to those imprisoned for refusing military service or other forms of conscription or for people imprisoned for nonviolent action against war preparations. For WRI to widen the concept of "prisoner for peace" to embrace all those imprisoned for their work for peace and justice would mean to produce a directory. At the same time, however, we recognise the need for solidarity with nonviolent activists in social movements working for peace and justice. This year, we have therefore decided to focus on the nonviolent social activists imprisoned from just one country: East Timor.

Howard Clark

### PRISONERS FOR PEACE IN EAST TIMOR

*by Maggie Helwig, Peace Media Service*

In 1975 Indonesia invaded the tiny neighboring country of East Timor and since that time has waged a brutal campaign of genocide against the indigenous Timorese people. At least 200,000 people – a third of the population – have died as a result of the occupation.

In the first years after the invasion, the primary resistance was waged by the guerrilla soldiers of Falintil (associated with the political party Fretilin). Recently, however, a new generation of Timorese activists have come forward. They are the children of the occupation, young men and women who grew up in the midst of a campaign to destroy them as a people, forbidden to speak any language but Bahasa Indonesian, liable to arrest for reading foreign newspapers or belonging to a church group. Many of these young people have chosen to resist the Indonesian occupation with nonviolence.

Their means are simple – they hold up protest banners at public events; they call Indonesian officials from public phones and ask, "When are you going home?" Also, at great personal risk, they make phone calls and smuggle documents to Amnesty International and other human rights organizations. For such acts, they risk imprisonment, torture and death.

Last year, when the visit of a delegation of Portuguese MPs was canceled, the Indonesian government announced the end of Operation Smile, the hearts-and-minds campaign they had been pursuing to win over young people, and entered into

Operation Combat. From October 28 until November 11, 1991, raids were made on churches where student activists had taken refuge, arresting some, killing others. At the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili on November 12, hundreds of Indonesian troops surrounded a peaceful rally that had come to commemorate one of the men murdered two weeks before. For ten minutes soldiers armed with machine guns fired into the crowd. Estimates of the number killed range from 100 to 273; many were injured and an unknown number have "disappeared." According to witnesses in East Timor, soldiers continued to round up and execute witnesses of the massacre for the next month.

After the massacre, a number of Timorese activists were arrested and charged with subversion or expressing hostility to the Indonesian government. Eight days after the massacre, a group of Timorese living in Indonesia held a rally asking for information on the Santa Cruz massacre. The organizers of this rally were also arrested and charged.

Fifteen young activists are now in prison. All have proclaimed their commitment to nonviolence and their desire to find "a peaceful solution" to the situation in East Timor.

One of them is Francisco Miranda Branco, accused of helping to prepare banners for a protest demonstration and sentenced to 15 years. At his trial, he declared, said, "I uphold the principles of nonviolence and peace ... I take sides with no party, including Fretilin."

Carlos dos Santos Lemos was sentenced to eight years for taking photographs of the Santa Cruz demonstration. Filomeno da Silva Ferreira was sentenced to five years for translating Portuguese newspaper stories about East Timor.

Others have been jailed for sending "secret" military papers abroad, including a report of an interview of the governor of East Timor for Portuguese radio. Four are imprisoned for "expressing hostility"; their sentences average eight years.

Fernando de Araujo is in prison in Jakarta for trying to contact Amnesty International. He asked the court, "Why is it that people like me, who are trying to find a solution by peaceful means...are subjected to all kinds of intimidation?" [A list of the names and addresses of the prisoners is available from War Resisters International, 55 Dawes Street, London SE17 1EL, England.]

#### Update:

Meanwhile, November 6, Amnesty International expressed regret that Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, had refused to help an Amnesty

International observation team to visit East Timor on the grounds that "it would create problems...for the Timorese people."

Following the ambassador's response, Amnesty expressed its view that "heightened tensions around the anniversary of the Dili Massacre on November 12 have increased the need for an independent humanitarian presence in the former Portuguese colony. The refusal to allow the recent Australian Parliamentary delegation access to East Timor on 'security' grounds is an indication of this tension and the consequent need for the presence of an independent observation team."

Earlier this year the Indonesian government endorsed a statement by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, of which Indonesia is a member, which requested it to "facilitate access to East Timor for additional humanitarian and human rights organizations."

According to a November 9 report from Reuter, Indonesia has arrested hundreds of suspected supporters of independence for East Timor ahead of the first anniversary of the November 12 massacre by Indonesian troops.

Xanana Gusmao, 46, the leader of Fretilin, East Timor's resistance movement, was arrested November 20 in Dili. Amnesty International was among groups asking the Indonesian authorities to guarantee that Xanana Gusmao would be treated humanely while in detention, that representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross would be granted immediate access to his place of detention, and that he will be accompanied by a lawyer of his own choice while being interrogated as required by Indonesian law.

### THE FOLLOWING ARE IMPRISONED IN DILI, EAST TIMOR AT THIS ADDRESS:

**Rutan Polwil Dili, Dili, East Timor**  
Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha (life)  
Francisco Miranda Branco (sentenced to 15 years. At his trial, he said, "I uphold the principles of nonviolence and peace ... I take sides with no party, including Fretilin." Branco did not attend the 12 Nov. demonstration, but was accused of helping to prepare banners for it.)  
Carlos dos Santos Lemos (sentenced to 8 years for taking photographs of the Santa Cruz demonstration)  
Filomeno da Silva Ferreira (sentenced to 5 years, 8 months for translating Portuguese newspaper stories about East Timor)  
For allegedly sending "secret" military papers abroad (the document in question was a report of an interview of the gov-

ernor of East Timor for Portuguese radio):

Afonso Rangel (5 years)

Amarao de Araujo (3 years)

Felismina dos Santos Conceicao (5 years)

For "expressing hostility":

Bonifacio Magno (6 years)

Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves (10 years)

Juvencio de Jesus Martins (6 years, 10 months) Saturnino da Costa Belo (9 years)

**The following are imprisoned in Jakarta, Indonesia:**

Fernando de Araujo

Lembaga Pemasyarakatan Cipinang, Jakarta, Indonesia

(sentenced to 9 years, the main charge was trying to contact Amnesty. He asked the court, "Why is it that people like me, who are trying to find a solution by peaceful

means ... are subjected to all kinds of intimidation?")

Joao Freitas da Camara

Lembaga Pemasyarakatan Cipinang Jakarta, Indonesia

(sentenced to 10 years for peaceful protest in Jakarta against the Dili killings)

Virgilio da Silva Guterres

Rumah Tahanan Negeri Salemba Jakarta, Indonesia (2 years, 6 months for "expressing hostility towards the government")

**Some suggestions for action in support of prisoners**

Set up a stall beside a shopping centre and ask people to sign pre-addressed cards and protest letters.

Stage a vigil with prisoners names on placards, wear handcuffs, prison clothing,

etc. Why not build a symbolic prison to attract attention?

Organise a meeting on December 1 with a speaker and/or a film, or hold an event such as a concert.

Have a card sending party.

Contact the local media and let them know what you're doing and why.

Sending cards

Write names and addresses clearly and in capital letters on envelopes.

Remember to include the name of the country.

Include your own name and address.

Send your card in an envelope.

If a card is returned, please do not send it to the WRI, but to the relevant Ambassador with a polite request that he/she forward it.

If you get an interesting reply from a prisoner, let us know at WRI, 55 Dawes Street, London SE17 1EL.

Please try to send a donation to the WRI.

## SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE CASUALTY LIST

**This is a study made by the Portuguese solidarity group "A Paz é Possível em Timor-Leste" (Peace is Possible in East Timor) about the victims of the November 12 1991 massacre, and is the most accurate until now.**

**It was published in the three leading Portuguese newspapers: *Jornal de Notícias* (Oporto), *Publico* and *Diario de Notícias* (Lisbon), during the week of November 12, 1992.**

José Ramos-Horta, addressing the Sydney Correspondents Association on November 5, described how this data was obtained:

... has been compiled by 12 teams of East Timorese students, school teachers, priests, nuns, nurses, paramedics, hospital staff, workers at the morgues, totaling 72 researchers, working round the clock for three months, interviewing household members in each "bairro," immediately after the 12 November 1991.

The preliminary report reached Lisbon in February and was handed over to two specialist groups in Portugal that have been investigating human rights abuses in East Timor for more than 10 years. A copy was channeled to Amnesty International for independent verification.

It took six months for mass of the detailed information sent from East Timor to be processed and analysed. The researchers took extreme care in double-checking each piece of information.

### KILLED

Name	Age	Sex	Profession	Residence
Abel Araujo	20	M	Stud./Smak	Dili Mota Hulun
Abilio Ximenes	23	M	Student	Dili Becora
Adelaide M Faria	26	F		Dili
Aderito	25	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Adolfo Matos	28	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Afonso S N	25	M	Student	Dili Becora
Agostinho Tilma.Fernandes	18	M	Student	Dili
Aju	26	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Alberto (Soares)	47	M	Merchant	Dili Mercado
Albino Ximenes	23	M		Dili Becora
Alcino Carvalho	23	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Alcino Freitas	35	M	Farmer	Dili
Alegria Jesus Reis	17	F	Student	Dili Lahane
Aleixo Santos	33	M	Farmer	? /Wai Olo
Alfredo Carmo	15	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Alfredo Conceicao	21	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Alfredo Costa	17	M	Student	Dili Becora
Almeida Santos	28	M		Dili
Almerio Reis Fernandes	15	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum
Alvaro Gomes	32	M		Dili Becora
Amadeu Oliveira	23	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Amaro Silva	34	M		Dili Bemori
Amelia	17	M	Student	Dili
Americo Cortinhal	20	M		Dili Vila Verde
Americo Espirito Santo	25	M	Student	Dili B.Pite
Amo 'bank Summa'		M		Dili Bank Summa
Amorim Rego	22	M	Student	Dili Balide
Ana Lobato	16	F	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Anabela Ferreira Baptista	22	F		Dili Lahane
Andre 'manatuto'	15	M	Student	Dili Comoro
Angelo M	19	M	Student	Dili Massau
Angelo Monteiro	31	M	Merchant	Dili Mercado
Anico Silva	18	M		Dili
Ano Besi Tuk		M		Dili Vila Verde
Antonio Braz	28	M		Dili
Antonio Carmo	13	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Antonio Gusmao	23	M	Student	Dili Becussi
Antonio Ho		M		Dili Audian
Antonio Labi Rai	18	M	Farmer	Dili
Antonio Santos	26	M	Student	Dili Comoro
Antonio Soares Pinto	19	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Antonio Tilman	19	M		Dili
Aquino Oliveira	22	M	Student	Dili Toko Baru
Aristides Santos	19	M	Student	Dili
Asu Txai	44	M	Merchant	Dili Mercado
Atay	22	M		Dili Hudi Laran
Augusto Sanches	29	M	Student	Dili Mercado
Basilio Araujo	21	M		Dili Taibesse
Bentes		M		Dili Bemori
Bento Jesus	17	M	Farmer	Dili Ailoklaran
Bento P Garcia		M		Dili Santa Cruz
Bento Santos	18	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Bernardino Canhoto	24	M		Dili B.Pite
Caetano (Paulino)	18	M		Dili
Cailarano	35	M	Farmer	Dili
Camilo	21	M		Dili
Cancio Freitas	22	M		Dili
Carlos Soares	18	M	Student	Dili Fatu Hada
Castelo	21	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Celina 'ailleu'	19	F	Student	Dili Tuanalaran
Celio Pascoal Cost.Amaral	22	M		Dili
Chico Batavia	30	M	Farmer	Dili Ailoklaran
Clementino Silva	20	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Constancio Soares	29	M		Dili Becora
Constantino Silva	29	M	Student	Dili Becora
Cornelio Costa Soares	20	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Ctho Ctho	18	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Cussu Mali	30	M	Farmer	Dili Becora
Damiao	21	M	Student	Dili Becora
Daniel Silva	35	M	Farmer	Dili
Delfim	16	M		Dili Lahane
Diana Sousa	19	F		Dili
Dionisio Araujo	24	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Dionisio Mendes Goncalves	19	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Dionisio Santos		M		Dili
Domingas Duarte Pacheco	13	F		Dili Akadiruhum
Domingas Soares Pacheco	14	F		Dili Kuluhun
Domingos	10	M		Dili
Domingos Costa	30	M		Dili
Domingos Frederico	18	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Domingos Moreira Costa	17	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Domingos Oliveira	21	M	Student	Dili Kolmera

Domingos Pacheco Silva	18	M	Student	Dili		Jojo	M	Student	Dili Bidau	
Domingos Pacheco Sousa	13	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum		Jorge Cunha	25	M	Student	Dili Matadouro
Domingos Reis Santos	23	M	Student	Dili Kolmera		Jorge Rego	18	M	Student	Dili Maloa
Domingos Santos (3)	28	M		Dili		Jose 'audian'	10	M		Dili Audian
Domingos Segurado Marques	29	M	Teacher	Dili Santa Cruz		Jose Andrade	22	M	Student	Dili Bekussi
Domingos Ximenes Rosario	17	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde		Jose Antonio Ximenes	23	M	Student	Dili B.Pite
Duarte Acolito		M		Dili		Jose Bento		M		Dili Audian
Duarte Pacheco	19	M	Student	Dili Hulu Hum		Jose Bibik		M		Dili Bemori
Duarte Silva	22	M	S/Univ/Foot	Dili Bidau Sant		Jose Cortinhal	19	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Duarte Silva 'adu'	23	M	S/Sman1	Dili Lecidere		Jose Kodok (Aleijado)	16	M		Dili Mascarenha
Dudu Oliveira	20	M		Dili Santa Cruz		Jose Nuno Galhos	18	M	Student	Dili Lahane
Eca Soares	21	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Jose Oliveira	15	M	Student	Dili Audian
Elidio Costa	21	M	Student	Dili Bemori		Josefina Antonieta Silva	18	F		Dili Bekussi
Eligio Goncalves	17	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Juliao Adelaide	20	M	Student	Dili Comoro
Estanislau Martins	24	M	Student	Dili B.Pite		Julio Corte Real	20	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Eugenio Martins	20	M	Student	Dili Becussi		Julio Flavio 'azio'	26	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Evangelino Pinto Pedroso	20	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Julio Guterres	50	M	Farmer	Wai Olo
Evrís Madeira	22	M		Dili		Julio Matos	16	M		Dili Becora
Fae Lelo	37	M	Merchant	Dili Mercado		Julio Sarmiento Borges	18	M		Dili Vila Verde
Fernando (Nogueira)	22	M	Student	Dili Hera		Justino	22	M		Dili Farol
Fernando Lato	25	M		Dili Bidau		Justino Cruz	27	M		Dili
Fernando Lay	30	M		Dili		Justino Rosario		M		Dili Comoro
Francelino Pires	23	M	Student	Dili Bidau		Justino Santos Pereira	17	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Francisca	23	F	Student	Dili Balide		Kai Laranu	35	M		Dili Hera
Francisco Borromeu Silva	19	M	S/Sman	Dili Becora		Kamal Bamadhaj		M		New Zealand
Francisco Carlos (Abonno)	22	M	Student	Dili		Kusu Malay		M		Dili
Francisco Fatima	33	M		Dili		Leandro Isaac		M		Dili
Francisco Oliveira Cam.	21	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde		Lelia		F	Merchant	Dili
Francisco Santos Soares	20	M	Student	Fili Comoro		Leopoldino Amaral	23	M	Student	Dili Comoro
Francisco Seixas	20	M		Dili Akadiruhum		Linda	31	F		Dili
Francisco Silva 'binaraga	22	M	Athlete	Dili Becora		Linda Sousa	31	F		Dili
Francisco Silva (M Silva)	18	M		Dili Bekussi		Lito Calsona		M		Dili
Francisco Tilman	17	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz		Lourenco Soares	23	M		Dili Mascarenha
Francisco Urbano	23	M	Student	Dili Bekussi		Lucio Sequeira Soares	15	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Frederico 'lospalos'	22	M	Student	Dili Becora		Luis Alves	21	M	Student	Dili
Gabriel 'comoro'	22	M	Student	Dili Comoro		Luis Moreira	32	M		Dili
Gil Vieira Amaral	13	M	Student	Baucau	11/23	Luis Paulo	19	M		Dili Kolmera
Graziela Bonaparte		F		Dili Vila Verde		Luis Paulo Reis Belo	19	M	Student	Dili Kolmera
Gregorio Santos	20	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz		Luis Silva Matos	19	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Gustavo	20	M		Dili Kolmera		Luis Silveira	22	M		Dili Taibesse
Hacobio (Recobio)	17	M	Student	Dili		M Moniz	16	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Helder C G Barreto	25	M	S/Smak2	Dili Kuluhum		Manecas Magno		M		Dili Toko Baru
Huru Fatu	26	M	Farmer	Dili Hera		Manecas Pereira	17	M	Student	Dili Matadouro
Ilidio Costa (1)	21	M		Dili Bemori		Manuel 'televisao'	18	M	Student	Dili B.Central
Ismael Araujo	17	M	S/Sjose	Dili Farol		Manuel Cabral	23	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Ismenia Jose Reis	20	F		Dili Bidau		Manuel Cesario Amaral	18	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Jacinta	22	F		Dili B.Central		Manuel Jesus	20	M	Student	Dili Becora
Jacob Silva	17	M	Student	Dili Bidau Polwil		Manuel Jupiter	21	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Jaime Vaz Coutinho	19	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Manuel Marques	25	M	Student	Dili Becussi
Joanico Araujo	22	M	Student	Dili B.Massaur		Manuel Mesquita	23	M	Student	Dili Becussi
Joanico Gomes	28	M		Dili		Manuel Rosario Amaral	18	M		Dili Vila Verde
Joanico Lobato Piedade	18	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Manuel Sarmiento	14	M	Student	Dili Aiturilara
Joao 'ossu'	35	M	Farmer	Dili Tuanalaran		Manuel Tilman	15	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Joao Baptista (2)	15	M	S/Sman5	Dili Lahane		Manuela		F		Dili Taibesse
Joao Costa Sequeira	24	M		Dili Akadirahum		Marcelino Ferreira Santos	18	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Joao Garcia	25	M	Student	Dili Comoro		Marcelino Silva	23	M		Dili Bemori
Joao Guterres		M		Dili Kolmera		Marciano Mendonca	24	M	Student	Dili B.Pite
Joao Leao	22	M		Dili Bekussi		Maria		F	Merchant	Dili
Joao Mau Lu	25	M	Student	Dili B.Grilos		Maria Rego		F		Dili Taibesse
Joao Silva	18	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde		Maria Tavares	28	F		Dili



Mariano Mendonca	24	M	Dili B.Pite	
Mariano Silva	22	M	Dili	
Mario Marobo	19	M	Student	Dili Kolmera
Mario Miguel	20	M	Student	Dili
Mario Silva	20	M		Dili Hudi Laran
Mario Victor	26	M		Dili
Marito Fatubai Mota	21	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum
Marito Vieira	22	M		Dili Becora
Martinho Costa Amaral	28	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Mateus (Santa Cruz)	27	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Mateus Freitas	16	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Mateus Pereira	19	M		Dili Becussi
Mateus Ximenes	26	M		Dili Hudi Laran
Mau Chico	18	M	Farmer	Dili Manleuana
Mau Dua	13	M	Student	Dili Comoro
Mica Soares Tilman	17	M	Student	Dili Becussi
Miguel	32	M		Dili
Miguel Monteiro	17	M		Dili Bidau
Miguel Neves Reis (Miki)		M		Dili
Miguel Roberto	20	M		Dili B.Central
Nelio Ximenes	15	M	S/Sjose	Dili
Nelson Armandino	19	M		Dili Lahane
Nelson Azevedo Pinto	19	M	Student	Dili Lahane
Norberto Amaral	18	M		Dili B.Grilos
Odilia Araujo	18	F	S/Sjose	Dili Kolmera
Olan Dua	13	M		Dili Comoro
Olandino Soares	19	M		Dili Comoro
Orlando Menezes	16	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Oscar Santos	25	M		Dili Becora
Pancracio Marques	20	M	Student	Dili Comoro
Paula	17	F	Student	Dili
Paulo Freitas	18	M	Student	Dili
Pedrito	22	M		Dili Becora
Pedro Nogueira	24	M	Student	Dili Hera
Pedro Sanches	28	M		Dili Mercado
Pedro Soares (Apeu)	19	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz 11/14 Home
Predi Martins	18	M	Student	Dili Smak
Rafael Tilman Fernandes Reis	20	M	Student	Dili
Ribeiro Martins	25	M		Dili Ailoklaran
Rita Ramos	30	F		Dili
Romualdo Baptista	31	M		Dili
Rosario Araujo	18	M		Dili Santa Cruz
Rosario Freitas	28	M		Dili
Rui Alves	25	M		Dili
Rusu Malay	30	M		Dili Becora
Sabino	25	M		Dili Ailoklaran
Sabino Pereira Serrano	21	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Sara Zumalay	42	F	Merchant	Dili Becora
Sebastiao Gomes	20	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde 10/28
Sergio Filomeno	21	M		Dili Bidau
Sina Raku	42	M	Farmer	Dili Becora
Taibere	35	M	Merchant	Dili Becora
Tito	44	M	Merchant	Dili Becora
Tito Antonio Costa	16	M	Student	Dili B.Massau
Tobias Rego	18	M	Student	Dili Bemori
Tomas Mendes Pereira	16	M		Dili A.Expres
Tomas Pereira Costa	18	M	Student	Dili Bidau
Tome Costa	22	M	Student	Dili B.Pite
Tonilio Amaral	17	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz

Txai Pere	46	M		Dili Becora
Varudo		M		Dili
Vasco Gomes	17	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Venancio Correia	35	M	Farmer	Dili B.Pite
Venancio Fonseca	21	M		Dili B.Pite
Vicente Binaraga		M		Dili
Victor Nunes	27	M		Dili Becora
Zelio	19	M	Student	Dili B.Grilos
Zito M Alvaro	30	M		Dili

**WOUNDED**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Residence</u>
<u>Date/Place Of</u>				<u>Arrest or Detention</u>
Abel Soares	26	M		Dili
Abilio Goncalves Cruz	21	M		Dili
Abraao Costa	22	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhun
Abraao Guterres	28	M		Dili
Acacio (Zito Andr )	17	M	Civil Serv	Dili Taibesse
Acacio C X	21	M	Student	Dili Becora
Acacio Madeira	22	M	Employed	Dili Qu. Boot
Adao	18	M	Student	Dili B.Econo.
Adelino Silva	19	M		Dili
Adolfo Lurdes	24	M		Dili Polwil
Adolfo Ximenes	31	M	Student	Dili Caicoli
Agostinha M (Cabral)	15	F	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Agostinho Soares	17	M	Student	Dili Mota Ulun
Agrifina Belo	20	F	Civil Serv	Dili Taibesse
Agrifina Maria	17	F	Student	Dili Becora
Albano Pinto	35	M		Dili
Albino Alves	17	M	Student	Dili Lahane
Alegria David Pinto R	20	F		Dili
Aleixo Ximenes	31	M	Farmer	? /Wai-Bua
Alexandre Reis	18	M	Student	Dili Manleuana
Alipio Santos	25	M	Student	Dili Taibesse
Amaro Belo	16	M	Student	Dili Becora
Amau Fernandes	14	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Ana Cardoso	22	F		Dili
Ana Maria	15	F	Student	Dili Becora
Ana Senhorina	20	F	Student	Dili Manleuana
Andre Escurial Soares	21	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz Polwil
Aneta	15	F	Student	Dili
Angelico Pedro J. Santos	23	M		Dili
Angelino Jesus S	23	M	Student	Dili
Angelo Lemos Martins	21	M	Student	Dili Taibesse
Anito Soares	18	M	Student	Dili Taibesse Polwil
Antonio Alves	35	M	Employed	Dili Bemori
Antonio C Pereira	29	M	Farmer	Dili Mascarenha
Antonio Costa Ribeiro	40	M		Dili
Antonio Guterres	24	M	Farmer	Dili Kakaulidun
Antonio Jeronimo	30	M	Employed	Dili Santa Cruz
Antonio Luis Pereira	27	M	Civil Serv	Dili Lecidere
Antonio M S	24	M	Farmer	Dili Mota Ulun
Antonio Ornai	41	M	Civil Serv	Dili Manleuana
Antonio Placido		M	Married	Dili Vila Verde
Antonio Sarmento	16	M		Dili
Antonio Soares (2)	22	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhun 11/12 Home
Antonio Viegas	26	M		Dili Taibesse
Apolinario Mendonca	20	M		Dili Lahane

Aquino Pinto	20	M	Student	Dili Qu. Boot		Emilio Soares	18	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz	
Armando Fatima	24	M		Dili		Ernesto Ferreira	32	M	Employed	Dili Qu.Boot	
Armando Fatima Baptista	45	M		Dili		Esmeria Simoes	20	F	Student	Dili Mascarenha	
Atino Belo (Alexandre)	15	M		Dili		Estela Brites	16	F	Student	Dili B.Lecidere	
Augusto Sousa	29	M		Dili		Evangelino Agus Ximenes	20	M	Student	Dili Nusarbakti	
Baptista Castro Cruz	19	M		Dili		Felicio Sousa	27	M		Dili	
Baptista Pacheco	14	M		Dili		Felisberto Soares S	22	M		Dili	
Basilio Antonio	21	M	Student	Dili Taibesse		Felismina F	18	F	Student	Dili Comoro	
Basilio Castro Silva	17	M		Dili		Fernando Guterres	20	M	Student	Dili Kamea	
Benjamina Nunes	26	F	Farmer	Dili Mascarenha		Filipe Lurdes	18	M	Student	Dili Mascarenha	
Bernardino Carvalho	26	M		Dili		Filipe Silva	30	M	Employed	Dili B.Pite	
Bernardino Mendes	22	M		Dili		Filomena Conceicao	20	F		Dili	
Bernardino Ximenes	17	M		Dili Hudi Laran		Filomena Costa	17	F	Student	Dili Becora	11/13 Home
Boby Xavier	20	M		Dili Kuluhun	Polwil	Filomeno Garcia	19	M	Student	Dili Becora	
Candido Silva	23	M	Student	Dili Qu. Boot		Filomeno Neves	24	M		Dili	
Carla Afonso Baptista	18	F		Dili		Flaviano Santos Oliveira	18	M		Dili	
Carlos Abel	16	M		Dili		Francisco (Lua Doi)	20	M	Student	Dili Balide	
Carlos Mesquita	20	M	Student	Dili B. Massaur		Francisco Amaral	22	M	Student	Dili Becora	
Carlos Santos	15	M	Student	Dili Manleuana		Francisco Bernardino	20	M		Dili Vila Verde	
Celestino Quintao	30	M		Dili		Francisco Fonciano	25	M	Student	Dili Becora	
Celestino Saldanha B	19	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum		Francisco Goncalves X	22	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz	
Chiquita Caldas	19	F	Student	Dili Santa Cruz		Francisco Lay	19	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde	
Clementino A Cruz	40	M		Dili		Francisco Vamdo	23	M		Dili Bidau	
Cornelio Soares Bento	25	M		Dili		Fulkero	20	M		Dili	
Cristiano Caetano	25	M	Student	Dili Comoro		Gil Vicente Maria Simoes	20	M	Student	Dili Lahane Polwil	
Custodia Benevi. Florindo	15	F	Student	Dili Vila Verde		Goncalo (Costa?)	24	M	Electric.	Dili Lahane	
Custodio Costa		M		Dili Balide		Hermenegildo Pacheco	19	M	Student	Dili Lahane	
Dalia Ximenes Costa	20	F		Dili		Hilaria Olandina A	18	F		Dili	
Daniel Martins	20	M		Dili		Hugo Lourenco Costa	17	M	S/Sjose	Dili B.Pite Polwil	
Demetrio Martins	23	M		Dili Hudi Laran		Inacio Antonio Jesus	20	M		Dili	
Denis A Rosa	16	M		Dili		Ismael Reis Lopes	16	M		Dili	
Domingas Costa	20	F	S/Smak	Dili Ailoklaran		Jaco Costa	30	M	F	Dili Manleuana	
Domingos Araujo	23	M		Dili		Jaime Faustino Silva	20	M		Dili	
Domingos Baptista	23	M		Dili		Jaimito Costa	18	M		Dili	
Domingos Conceicao	20	M		Dili		Janio Ferdinando Lobato	19	M	Student	Dili B.Econo.	Polwil
Domingos Fatima Pereira	20	M		Dili B. Massaur		Januario Gomes	15	M		Dili	Polwil
Domingos L. Belo	19	M		Dili Hudi Laran		Januario Jesus	22	M		Dili	
Domingos M Encarnacao	32	M	Farmer	Dili Akadiruhun		Joana Amorim Dias	18	F	S/S.Jose	Dili Becussi	
Domingos M G	21	M	Student	Dili Audian		Joana Araujo	23	F		Dili	
Domingos Maia	24	M		Dili Becora		Joanico Santos Soares	23	M	S/Univ	Dili B.Pite Polwil	
Domingos Pereira (2)	32	M	Farmer	Dili Lahane		Joao Augusto Ramal.Soares	22	M	Student	Dili Taibesse	
Domingos Pereira (3)	21	M		Dili Bidau		Joao Barreto	20	M		Dili	
Domingos Silva	20	M		Dili Vila Verde		Joao Bosco Carceres	22	M		Dili	
Domingos Soares (1)	18	M		Dili Bemori		Joao Caetano	25	M	Student	Dili Becora	
Domingos Soares (2)	20	M	Student	Dili Becora		Joao Costa	23	M		Dili Akadiruhun	
Domingos Soares Pacheco	14	M	Student	Dili Becora		Joao Fatima	27	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz	
Domingos Viegas Piedade	20	M	Employed	Dili Kulu Hun		Joao Jose Lemos		M		Dili Taibesse	
Duarte Ximenes (1)	23	M		Dili Becora		Joao Lopes M	19	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz	
Duarte Ximenes (2)	29	M	Teacher	Dili Manleuana		Joao Pinto (2)	18	M		Dili	
Dulce Castro	17	F	Student	Dili Bidau		Joao Rego	21	M		Dili	
Eduardo Guterres	28	M	Farmer	Dili Becora		Joaquim B	28	M	Farmer	Dili Santa Cruz	
Eduardo S Belo	25	M		Dili		Joaquim Jacob Fernandes	15	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz	
Eduardo Silva	20	M	Student	Dili Becora		Jonio Maria	22	F	Student	Dili Mascarenha	
Egídio Gusmao	24	M	Teacher	Dili Becora		Jonny Lobato	20	M	Student	Dili B.Econo. Polwil	
Eligio Manuel	16	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Jorge Afonso Baptista	16	M		Dili	
Elsa Simoes	29	F	Farmer	Dili Mascarenha		Jorge Barreto	20	M	Teacher	Dili Bidau	
Elsa Viegas	18	F	S/Sma	Dili Vila Verde	Polwil	Jorge Nogueira	21	M		Dili	
Emilia Francisca	30	F	Farmer	Dili Kakaulidun		Jose Aquino Soares	25	M		Dili	
Emilio Araujo	21	M		Dili		Jose Goncalves Silva	25	M		Dili	Polwil
Emilio Pereira	20	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhun		Jose Jesus	24	M		Dili	

Jose Lay	19	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hun	Polwil	Orlando Barbosa	22	M	Student	Dili Lahane	
Jose Nunes Maia	25	M	S/Univ	Dili Fatumeta		Orlando P Soares	21	M	Student	Dili Balide	
Jose Rego Cruz	16	M		Dili		Osorio Madeira	21	M	Student	Dili Lahane	Nusarbakti
Jose Zeferino	24	M	Student	Dili Lahane Nusarbakti		Paulino Belo	17	M	Student	Dili Manleuana	
Juliao Moniz	19	M	Student	Dili Kolmera	Polwil	Paulo Amaral	22	M		Dili	
Julio Carlos	24	M	Student	Dili Becussi		Pedro Oliveira	24	M		Dili Becora	
Julio Costa	21	M		Dili		Pedro Pinto	24	M		Dili	
Julio Lemos Ximenes	21	M	Student	Dili Aiturilara		Pedro R G		M		Dili	
Juvita Maria Lourdes		F		Dili		Pedro Rodrigues	17	M		Dili	
Laurindo Albino Lourdes	30	M		Dili B.Pite Nusarbakti		Porfirio Costa Oliveira	22	M	S/Smak	Dili Taibessi	
Leandro Alberto (Saldanha)	18	M		Dili		Predoano Rui	21	M	Civil Serv	Dili Taibesse	
Leandro Quintao	26	M		Dili		Ramero Jeronimo	10	M	Student	Dili Mascarenha	
Leopoldino Araujo	21	M	Student	Dili Bemori		Raul Quintao	23	M		Dili	
Levi Araujo	22	M	Student	Dili		Ricardo Alves	16	M	Student	Dili	
Ligia Fernandes	18	F		Dili		Rita Ximenes	20	F	Teacher	Dili Manleuana	
Linatile	28	M	Driver	Dili Qu. Boot		Rogério Castro C.	21	M		Dili	
Lino Silva	24	M		Dili		Rogério Sequeira	21	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhum	
Lourenco Baptista Silva	21	M		Dili		Rumilia Silva		M		Dili Becora	
Luis Joao Guterres Jesus	20	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz		Sabino Guterres	23	F	Student	Dili Caicoli	
Luis Silva	22	M		Dili Becussi	Polwil	Salvador Freitas	21	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum	
Manuel Almeida Costa	22	M	Student	Dili Kakaulidum		Sebastiao Costa S	27	M	Civil Serv	Dili Comoro	
Manuel Alves	22	M		Dili		Sebastiao Pereira	18	M		Dili	
Manuel Belo	13	M	Student	Dili Taibesse		Sebastiao Pereira	14	M	Student	Dili Manleuana	
Manuel Cruz	20	M		Dili		Silvano Araujo	18	M		Dili	
Manuel Gama	30	M	Teacher	Dili Comoro		Silvestre Madeira	20	M		Dili Bidau	
Manuel Soares P Matos	27	M		Dili		Simplicio 'sma'	25	M	S/Sma	Dili Santa Cruz	
Marcelina Maia	18	F	Student	Dili Kamp Alor		Simplicio Maia	18	M		Dili Lahane	
Marcelino Ximenes	20	M		Dili		Simplicio Zagelo		M	Student	Dili Polwil	
Marcolino G E Costa	22	M	Student	Dili Taibesse		Tito Costa	35	M		Dili	
Marcos Jesus	20	M		Dili		Tito Saldanha	27	M		Dili	
Maria Lay	19	F	Student	Dili Manleuana		Tomas	15	M		Dili	
Maria Rangel	45	F	Civil Serv	Dili B.Pite		Tomas (Ato)	18	M		Dili Kulu Hum	Polwil
Maria Teresa Rosario	22	F		Dili		Tomas Carvalho	24	M		Dili	
Mario Barreto		M		Dili Kuluhun		Tomas Costa	18	M	Student	Dili B.Santana	
Mario G Soares	29	M	Civil Serv	Manatuto		Tomas Costa Guterres		M		Dili	
Martinho Ximenes Lobo	28	M		Dili		Tomas Saldanha	57	M		Dili	
Martinhp Goncalves	21	M		Dili B.Pite		Tome Carvalho	21	M		Dili Tome	
Martins Goncalves	20	M	Student	Dili		Ramalho		M		Dili Taibesse	
Martins Pinto	25	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Tome Soares	38	M	Employed	Dili Comoro	
Marcal Silva	18	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz		Valdemar Conceicao S	20	M		Dili Ailoklaran	
Mateus Brito	24	M		Dili		Valente Carl.Alb.Mendonca	20	M	Civil Serv	Dili Akadiruhum	
Mateus Jesus	19	M		Dili		Valente Goncalves		M	Employed	Dili Cacaulidun	
Mateus Madeira	30	M	Employed	Dili Aitaralara		Valentim	28	M		Dili	
Mateus Oliveira	28	M	Employed	Dili Qu. Boot		Verissimo Madeira	23	M	Student	Dili Balide	
Matias Pinto	36	M	Employed	Dili Becora		Veronica Moniz	19	F	Student	Dili Taibesse	
Mau Lino Lemos	25	M		Dili		Vicente Goncalves	30	M	Employed	Dili Kakaulidun	
Mau Meta F	27	M	Student	Dili Becussi		Vicente Guterres	19	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz	
Miguel Amaral	36	M	Student	Dili Comoro		Vicente Soares	21	M		Dili	
Milton Longuinhos Ramanal	17	M	S/Smak	Dili B.Grilos		Vostu		M		Dili Becora	
Moises Lourenco A	24	M		Dili		Zeca Metam	19	F	S/Smea	Dili Vila Verde	
Monica Lucas	25	F		Dili		Zeferina Sacramento Santo	23	F		Dili	
Natalino Sequeira	18	M		Dili Polwil		Zelia Cabral	19	F	Student	Dili Comoro	
Natercia Simoes	20	F	Student	Dili Mascarenha		Zermentino Q	28	M	Employed	Dili Mascarenha	
Nelia Ximenes	16	F	S/Smp3	Dili Taibesse							
Nelson Francisco		M		Dili Santa Cruz							
Nexio Sarmento	21	M		Dili							
Nico A	20	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhum							
Norberto Maia	20	M		Dili							
Nunu M Sarmento	19	M		Dili Olinda							
Marques	24	F	Student	Dili Balide							

**HOSPITALISED**

Name	Age	Sex	Profession	Residence
				Date/Place of
				Arrest or Detention
Adino	22	M	Student	Dili Ailoklaran

Agio Santos	22	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde		Juvita Francisca Varela	16	F	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Agostinho Manuel Barreto	30	M	Farmer	Dili Bemori	11/16	Juvita Guterres	20	F	Student	Dili Vila Verde
Agostinho Silva	32	M	Farmer	Dili Santa Cruz		Juvita Pereira	15	F	S/S.Jose	Dili
Alarico Fernandes Caeiro	21	M	Student	Dili Massau		Leonardo Araujo	22	M	Student	Dili Lahane
Alex andre Araujo	23	M		Dili Santa Cruz		Leovigilgo Araujo Carmo		M		Dili Bemori
Alexandrino Oliveira		M		Hosp Jakarta		Lito Ximenes	18	M	Student	Dili Mascarenha
Alves	20	M	Student	Dili Matadouro		Lourenco Rodrigu. Pereira	23	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde Polwil
Amaro Afonso	28	M		Dili Santa Cruz	11/16	Manuel Araujo	22	M	Student	Dili
Anacleto Bento Ferreira	20	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum		Manuel Costa	20	M	Civil Serv	Dili Kulu Hum
Anacleto M Bar. Goncalves	16	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum		Manuel Silva		M		Hosp.Jakarta
Antonio Claret Fil. Alves	21	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz		Maria Auxiliadora		F	S/Sma2	Dili Vila Verde
Antonio Silva	30	M	Driver	Dili Santa Cruz		Maria Marques	15	F	S/Sma Viq.	Viqueque Hosp.Jakarta
Aviano Antonio Faria	21	M	S/S.Jose	Dili Kulu Hum		Mario Araujo Carvalho	23	M		Dili
Benilde Klaret Alves		M		Dili Santa Cruz		Marito Cardoso	20	M	Student	Dili Becora
Candida Ximenes	17	F	Student	Dili Mascarenha		Marito Cardoso Pereira	20	M		Dili Becora
Carlito Carvalho		M		Dili Kolmera		Marcal Ximenes Afonso	16	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Carlos Araujo L	22	M	Student	Dili		Mateus Jesus	20	M	S/S.Jose	Dili Kuluhun Hosp.Jakarta
Carlos Tilman	19	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde		Mateus Soares	19	M	Student	Dili
Cornelio Lemos	20	M	Student	Dili Hospital		Maxensio Goncalves	18	M	Student	Dili Caicoli
Crescencio Henrique Cabr.	29	M	Civil Serv	Dili Akadiruhun		Mena	18	F		Dili Lahane 11/16
Dionisio Aires Silva	18	M		Dili Lecidere	2/18 Home	Miguel Silva Alves	36	M	Farmer	Dili Santa Cruz 12/18
Dionisio Marques	20	M	Student	Dili Bemori		Nela Viegas Carrascalao	18	F	Student	Dili Lecidere
Domingos Vicente		M		Dili Kulu Hun		Nelinha Santos		F	Nurse	Dili B.Pite
Donato Pires Araujo	20	M	Employed	Dili Kulu Hum		Nelio Hermenegil. Ximenes		M	S/Smpk	Dili Mascarenha
Edmingardo Costa	19	M	S/Stm	Dili Balide		Pascoal Costa		M		Hosp Jakarta
Elvis Oliveira	20	M	Student	Home/Lospalos		Pedro Fatima	23	M	S/Sma1	Dili Kuluhun
Emidio Amaral	25	M	Ex S/Spq	Dili Ailele Hum		Pedro Lela	23	M	Student	Dili Lahane
Estevao Costa Matos	22	M	Student	Dili B.Grilos	Hosp.Jakarta	Pedro Madeira		M		Dili Lahane
Estevao Pereira	22	M	Employed	Dili Kuluhun		Pedro Tilman	22	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum
Eugenio Costa (Silva)	21	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz		Pelagio Custodio B Santos	21	M		Dili
Felizarda R Quintao	18	F	Student	Dili Taibesse		Placido Azio		M		Dili Vila Verde
Fernando Tilman	20	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hun		Remigio Silva	22	M	Student	Dili
Filomena Cufeta	20	F	Student	Dili Vila Verde		Rogério Araujo	24	M	Student	Dili
Fortunato Pina	21	M	Student	Dili Taibesse		Rogério Lay	18	M	S/Sman2	Dili AkadiruhunHosp.Jakarta
Francisco Costa	21	M	Employed	Dili Akadiruhun		Rogério Borges Amaral	19	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhun
Francisco X Gut.Sarmento	23	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Saviniano Fernandes	18	M	S/Smak	Dili Massau Hosp.Jakarta
Gil Pires	22	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hun	Polwil	Simplicio Celestino Deus	26	M	S/Smak	Dili
Helder Barreto Goncalves	18	M	S/Smak2	Dili Kuluhun		Teresa Silva	15	F	Student	Dili Mota Ulun
Hermenegildo Verdial	17	M	Student	Dili Balide		Tomas Ximenes	38	M	S/lpi	Baucau
Hipolito Ximenes	20	M	Student	Dili Lahane		Valente Araujo	22	M	S/Smak	Dili Kuluhun Hosp.Jakarta
Hornai 'fatumaca'		M		Dili Pm Kotuk		Valente Costa	21	M	Student	Lospalos /Foema
Inacio Amaral	26	M	Student	Dili Taibesse		Valente Santos	20	M	Student	Dili Comoro
Isabel Marcal Costa	15	F	S/S.Jose	Dili B.Pite		Zelia Ximenes	28	F		Dili Santa Cruz
Ismael Jose Reis	17	M	Student	Dili Comoro						
Jaime Xavier F	38	M	F	Dili						
Januario Deus Soares	20	M	Student	Dili						
Joanico Carvalho	19	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhun						
Joao Baptista (3)	25	M	Student	Dili Lahane						
Jose Antonio L. Costa	21	M	S/Univ	Dili B.Pite						
Jose Assuns Li	24	M	Driver	Dili Kulu Hun						
Jose Costa Pinto	23	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhun						
Jose Guterres (1)	35	M	Farmer	Dili Santa Cruz						
Jose Jorge	21	M	Student	Dili Ailoklaran						
Jose Soares (2)	23	M		Dili B.Pite						
Josefina	22	M	S/Univ	Dili Hera						
Josefina Babo		F	S/lpi	Dili B.Pite						
Josefina Maia	22	F		Dili B.Pite						
Juliano Nunes	23	M	Student	Dili						
Justino Alves	25	M		Dili Comoro						
Justino Rodrigues Jesus	22	M	Student	Dili Bemori						

**DISAPPEARED**

Name	Age	Sex	Profession	Residence
				Date/Place of
				Disappearance
Abraao Santos		M	Dili	
Acofeio Rego	23	M	Dili	11/12 S.Cruz
Adelia Perpetua S Araujo	18	F	S/Sjose	Dili Ailoklaran/11/12 S.Cruz
Afau	16	M	Student	Dili B.Central 11/12
Afonso Carlos	25	M	Student	Dili Becora 11/12
Afonso Maria	33	M	Farmer	Dili Fatu Hada 11/12
Agapito (Deus)	20	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz
Agapito Soares	6	M	Dili Fatu Hada	11/12 S. Cruz
Agostinho Freitas (2)	30	M	Civil Serv	Dili Comoro 11/12
Agostinho Louis	20	M	Dili	11/12 S.Cruz
Agostinho Martins	28	M	Student	Dili B.Grilos 12/14 School

Agueda Julieta Soares	19	F	Student	Dili Becora	11/15	Home	Emilio Jorge	22	M		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz
Alberto Guterres	28	M	Emp.Denok	Dili Comoro	11/12		Emelindo P Soares	18	M		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz
Alberto Maria Rota	30	M	Farmer	Dili Maloa	11/12		Ernesto Castro	15	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde	11/12	
Alberto Nascimento	23	M	Student	Dili Lecidere	11/14	Home	Eugenia A Pinto	17	F	Student	Dili Audian	12/13	
Alipio Pereira		M		Dili Kulu Hum	11/12	S.Cruz	Eugenio Costa Soares	20	M		Dili Santa Cruz		
Almeida Dias Marcal		M		Dili			Eulalia Araujo Corte Real	16	F	S/S.Jose	Dili Lahane		
Aluto	17	M	Student	Dili B.Central	11/12		Eustaquio		M		Dili Becora		
Alvaro Rebelo Pereira	22	M	Student	Dili Matadouro	11/12	S.Cruz	Ezequiel Costa Ribeiro		M		Dili Bemori		
Alvaro Soares Silva	29	M	Farmer	Dili Comoro	11/12		Fabiao Silva		M		Dili		
Amancio Freitas Belo	25	M	Student	Dili Becora			Fernando Fortunato		M		Dili Comoro		
Amaro 'bulak'		M		Dili Santa Cruz			Fernando Greg. M Pinheiro	20	M		Dili B.Pite	11/12	S.Cruz
Amau Conceicao		M		Dili Taibesse			Fernando Moniz		M		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz
Americo 'atelari'	20	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/17	Home	Fernando Neves		M		Dili Comoro		
Ameu	35	M	Farmer	Dili Audian	11/12		Fernando Ramos	20	M	Student	Dili Maloa	11/12	
Amulas	17	M	S/Sma2	Dili Comoro			Fernao Hornai	31	M	Farmer	Dili Maloa	11/12	Polwil
Ana Romana Fatima(Freitas)		F		Dili Becora			Filomena Soares	21	F	Student	Dili Comoro	11/15	
Ananias Piedade	17	M	S/Sman2	Dili Farol			Flavito Ribeiro		M		Dili Bemori		
Andre Gama	27	M	S/S.Jose	Dili Externato	11/12		Francisco (A Cruz)	19	M		Dili 11/12	S.Cruz	
Andre Soares Larak	20	M	Student	Dili Smak H K			Francisco Amaral	35	M	Farmer	Dili Santa Cruz	11/30	Bat.61
Anita Joana Santos	17	F	Student	Dili Becora	11/13	School	Francisco Araujo		M		Dili Kulu Hum		
Antonio Caetano Jeronimo	18	M	Student	Dili Fatu Hada	11/13	Home	Francisco Belo	22	M	Student	Dili Audian		
Antonio Costa Fageli		M		Dili Bemori			Francisco Cabral		M		Dili Tokobaru		
Antonio Mau Rica	19	M	Farmer	Dili Lahane	11/12		Francisco Correia	22	M	Farmer	Dili Becora	11/12	
Antonio Nunes	25	M		Dili Fatu Ahi			Francisco Fernandes	22	M		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz
Antonio Sequeira	45	M	Ex -Hansip	Dili Bemori	12/17		Francisco Laga	19	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum		
Armando Assis		M		Dili			Francisco M Jesus	25	M	Farmer	Dili Becora	11/12	
Balbina X	20	F	Civil Serv	Dili Becora	11/12		Francisco Magali		M		Dili Bemori		
Balquito Gama	23	M	Pegawai	Dili Q.Ki'ic	11/14	Work	Francisco Silva	67	M	Employed	Dili Becora		
Basilio Moniz	50	M		Dili			Francisco Silva (J Rosar.	14	M		Dili Becora		
Bernardin.Costa R.Martins	23	M	Student	Dili Ailoklaran	11/12	S.Cruz	Francisco Silva Carvalho	22	M	Farmer	Dili Becora	11/12	Polwil
Bernardo Rego		M		Dili Bemori			Francisco X Lopes Pereira		M		Dili Matadouro		
Caetano Santos		M		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz	Frederico Costa	18	M	Student	Dili Lecidere	11/18	Home
Caetano Ximenes	18	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz	Gaspar Ximenes (1)	30	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz
Carlos Costa	25	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde	11/12		Gaspar Ximenes (2)	19	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz
Carlos Silva		M		Dili Becora			Germano Silva	35	M		Dili		
Carmelita		F		Dili Taibesse			Henrique Santos	23	M	Student	Dili Akadiruhum	11/12	Home
Carolina Dias	21	F		Dili			Henrique Ximenes	15	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz
Casimiro	23	M		Dili Becora			Hermenegildo Belo		M		Dili Becora		
Celestino Maia	20	M	Student	Dili Comoro	11/12		Hugo Dias	19	M	Student	Dili Manleuana	11/12	Home
Celestino Silva		M		Dili B.Formosa			Ijelia Pires		F		Dili Bemori		
Celestino Ximenes	30	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/13	Home	Inocencio Gama	35	M	Cs Baucau	Dili Q.Ki'ic	1991020	Kod.Ba
Celio Pascoal Aleixo	18	M	Student	Dili B.Grilos	11/14	Home	Isabel Santos	20	F		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz
Claramundo Coimbra	18	M	Student	Dili	11/12		Isabel Serrano Fernandes	17	F	Student	Dili Becora	11/14	Home
Corcopi Rego		M		Dili Bemori			Isidoro Gomes	20	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/14	Home
Cornelio Ximenes	26	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/18	Home	Ismenia Goncalves	19	F	Student	Dili Audian	11/14	Home
Daniel Jesus	25	M	Student	Dili Ailoklaran	11/12		Jeka Melan		M		Dili Taibesse		
Daniel Paixao Correia	32	M	Pegawai	Viqueque	12/05	Home	Jeremias Pereira	19	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum	11/16	Home
Dionisio Alves (Nini)		M		Dili			Jeronimo Hanjan		M		Dili B.Grilos		
Dionisio Lemos G		M		Dili Bidau	11/12		Jeronimo Resurreicao	20	M		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz
Dionisio Moniz (Ani)	19	M		Dili Lecidere	11/12	S.Cruz	Jeronimo Ximenes	20	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz
Domingas Goretti Pacheco		F		Dili	2/23/92		Joanico Alves	20	M	Farmer	Dili Balide	11/14	
Domingos Correia	25	M	Student	Dili B.Grilos	11/12		Joanico Santos Sarmiento	46	M		Dili		
Domingos Fernando	19	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum	11/14	Home	Joanico Silva	22	M	Student	Dili B.Formosa	12/14	Home
Domingos Magali	16	M	Student	Dili Bemori			Joao Araujo (1)	8	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz
Domingos Santos (2)	21	M	S/Sma1	Dili Farol	11/12	S.Cruz	Joao Bento		M		Dili Santa Cruz		
Duarte Magno Ximenes	33	M	Joiner	Dili Santa Cruz	11/12		Joao Bosco Cabral		M		Dili Toko Baru		
Duarte Silva	38	M		Dili Bemori			Joao Goncalves Soares		M		Dili		
Eca Costa	20	M	Student	Dili Lahane	11/12		Joao Jesus		M		Dili Balide		
Emidio Magno		M		Dili Toko Baru			Joao Lemos Rego	20	M		Dili		
Emidio Roberto Neves Reis	20	M	Driver	Dili B.Central	11/12	Home	Joao Mendes	17	M	Student	Dili Lahane	11/12	

Joao Neves	M		Dili Comoro				
Joao Rego Lemos	20	M	Dili Lahane	11/12	S.Cruz		
Joaquim Reis	23	M	Student	Dili Motael	11/12	Home	
Joel Maria		M		Dili Lahane			
Jorge Pinto	22	M	Student	Dili Comoro	11/12		
Jose	25	M		Dili Be Dois	11/14		
Jose Amaral	17	M	Student	Dili B.Pite	11/12	S.Cruz	
Jose Ex posto	20	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde	11/12		
Jose Galucho	36	M	Civil Serv	Dili Tuanalaran	11/02	Polwil	
Jose Julio Sarmiento	18	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde			
Jose Lemos Ximenes	22	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/19	Home	
Jose Maria Jeronimo	27	M		Dili Taibessi	11/12	S.Cruz	
Jose Monteiro	19	M	Student	Dili Vila Verde	11/12		
Jose Mota	25	M		Dili B.Pite			
Jose Quintao Sarmiento	40	M		Dili			
Jose Silva (1)	22	M	Student	Dili Tibar	11/12		
Jose Silva (2)	48	M		Dili Santa Cruz			
Jose Silva Martires	38	M	Farmer	Dili Santa Cruz	11/15		
Jose Soares (1)	35	M		Dili			
Jose Valente		M		Dili Bidau			
Josefa Lobato Soriano		F		Dili Bemori			
Juliana Costa Matos	21	F	Student	Dili B.Grilos	11/12		
Juliana Sousa		F		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz	
Juliao Lemos	20	M	Student	Dili Audian	11/13	Home	
Juliao Martins Costa	19	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum	11/13	Home	
Juliao Sarmiento	28	M	Student	Dili Motael	11/28	School	
Julio Boavida	19	M	Student	Baucau	12/16	School	
Justino Silva		M		Dili Santa Cruz			
Lamberto Santos	24	M		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz	
Lamberto Silva	17	M		Dili Bemori			
Levi Corte Real	15	M	S/Sjose	Dili Paiol			
Lino Gama	24	M	Student	Dili Q.K'ic	12/07		
Lourenco Alves	20	M	Student	Dili B.Formosa	12/13	Home	
Lourenco Silva	26	M	Student	Dili Ailoklaran	11/12		
Lucio Amaral	24	M	Student	Viqueque	12/17	School	
Luis Antero Ximenes	35	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/14		
Luis Joao (Alois)		M		Dili			
Luis Soares Lobo	19	M	Student	Dili Audian	12/14	Home	
Madalena Filipe		F		Dili Bemori			
Manuel Costa	45	M	Farmer	Dili Tuanalaran	11/12		
Manuel Fatima Guterres	49	M		Dili			
Manuel Freitas Silva	16	M	Student	Dili Becora			
Manuel Goncalves	18	M	Student	Dili B.Grilos	11/12		
Manuel Kelapa	25	M	Farmer	Dili Maloa	11/12		
Manuel Marcal Fraga		M		Dili			
Manuel Nicolau Silva	20	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/13	Home	
Manuel Roberto	20	M	Student	Dili Comoro	11/15	Home	
Manuel Soares (3)	25	M		Dili B.Pite	19920106	Home	
Manuel Soares Carvalho	20	M		Dili Kulu Hum	11/30		
Marcel Maia	26	M	Farmer	Dili Comoro	11/12		
Marcelino Guterres Costa	22	M	Student	Dili Bemori			
Marcelino Pereira	24	M	Student	Dili Lahane	11/12	Home	
Maria Costa Oliveira	17	F	Student	Dili Kuluhun	11/13	Home	
Maria Cutela	20	F	Student	Dili B.Grilos	11/12		
Maria Vicente	19	F	Student	Dili B.Formosa	12/16	Home	
Mariano Gomes	18	M	Farmer	Dili Becora	11/12		
Mario Bento	22	M	Student	Ossu	11/14	School	
Mario Estanislaou	20	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/13	Home	
Mario Santos	20	M	Farmer	Dili Bidau	11/12		
Marita Alau	20	F	Student	Dili Vila Verde	11/12		
Martinho Mendes Costa	19	M	Student	Dili Bemori	11/15	Home	
Martinho Soares	25	M	Student	Dili B.Pite	11/12	School	
Mateus Albertino	20	M	S/Sma1	Dili Kulu Hum			
Mateus Pereira 'paz'	35	M	Taxi Driv.	Dili Becora			
Mateus Pinto	23	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/13	Home	
Matias C Araujo	21	M	Student	Dili Lahane	11/12		
Matias Costa Cerejeira	23	M	Student	Ossu	12/05	School	
Matias Freitas		M		Dili			
Matias Ximenes	17	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/17	Home	
Mau Sela		M		Dili Santa Cruz			
Melquiades Marques Alves	17	M		Dili Santa Cruz			
Miguel Guterres	30	M	Pegawai	Viqueque	12/07	Home	
Miguel Ximenes (1)	30	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/15	Home	
Miguel Ximenes (2)	19	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/18	Home	
Modesta	22	F		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz	
Moises Araujo	23	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/12		
Moises Carvalho Rangel		M		Dili Vila Verde			
Nixon Joao Alves		M		Dili Kamp Alor			
Odete M S Belo		F		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz	
Orlando Ximenes	23	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz	
Oscar Goncalves	20	M		Dili	11/12	S.Cruz	
Oswaldo Coelho		M		Dili Bemori			
Paulo Araujo	23	M	Student	Dili Lahane	11/12	Home	
Paulo S Guterres (1)	37	M	Emp. Denok	Dili Comoro	11/12		
Paulo Soares	20	M	Student	Dili Kulu Hum	11/15	Home	
Pedro Costa Soares(Freita		M		Dili Bemori			
Pedro Espirito Santo	16	M	Student	Dili Lahane	11/12		
Pedro Freitas	16	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/12		
Pedro Ribeiro	22	M		Dili Becora	11/12		
Pedro Ribeiro	25	M		Dili Becora			
Pedro Sarmiento		M		Dili Matadouro			
Procopio Rego	22	M	Driver	Dili Audian			
Quanco U C Lang	19	M	Student	Dili Santa Cruz	11/12	Home	
R Pereira		M		Dili			
Rosalina Ximenes	25	F		Dili Fatu Hada	11/17	Home	
Rosmaninho J Oliveira	19	M	Student	Dili Lahane	11/12	S.Cruz	
Rubi Lasi	18	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz	
Sabino Maya Reis	23	M	Student	Dili			
Salvador Ximenes	36	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/19	Home	
Sancho Cruz	21	M		Dili			
Saturnino Freitas		M		Dili			
Sebastiao Amaral	17	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/13	Home	
Sebastiao Ximenes	36	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12		
Silvino Costa	20	M	Student	Dili Ailoklaran	11/12	S.Cruz	
Simao Soares	20	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/16	Home	
Simao Ximenes	26	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/15	Home	
Teresa Costa Guterres	18	F	Student	Dili Becora	11/14	Home	
Tomas C X Belo	33	M	Teacher	Dili Vila Verde	11/12		
Tomas Costa Tilman	28	M	S/Unetim	Dili K.Alor	11/18	Home	
Tomas Mendes	21	M	Student	Dili Lahane	11/14	Home	
Ulisses Conc. Goncalves	18	M	Student	Dili	11/12	Home	
Vasco Guterres	28	M	Civil Serv	Dili Manleuana	11/12		
Vicente Paulo Madeira		M		Dili			
Vidal Filipe		M		Dili Bemori			
Virgilio	7	M		Dili Fatu Hada	11/12	S.Cruz	
Vitoriano Nicolau Silva	19	M	Student	Dili Becora	11/13	Home	
Zelia Menezes C Ximenes	19	F		Dili Balide	11/16	Home	
Zelia Pires		F		Dili Bemori			
Zito Manuel	18	M		Dili Manleuana	11/12	Home	

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## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

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### **EAST TIMOR'S HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

*From Brian Brunton, Oct. 22, 1992*

John has said he has not seen a substantial rebuttal of the formal statement by Foreign Minister Alatas.

This is an extract from a paper presented by Dr. Sam Blay, Senior Lecturer in Law, University of Tasmania, presented at a seminar on the Legal Aspects of the East Timor Conflict, held at the Faculty of Law, University of New South Wales, earlier this year. Dr. Blay, a Ghanaian by birth, presented a view of the right of East Timor to self determination, that was in sharp contrast to the Australian opinion, which forms the argument of substance before the International Court of Justice, Portugal v Australia. I have extracted Dr. Blay's historical analysis, to show that there is another view of history, quite different from that represented by the Indonesian Government.

#### **The East Timor Question: A Background**

Most of the history of East Timor has been dealt with extensively elsewhere. However for a proper understanding of the issues to be canvassed in this paper it is necessary to discuss briefly some aspects of the history of the territory that may be relevant for the discussion.

East Timor was one of the last Portuguese colonial territories. Portuguese rule over the territory started in 1520. As was typical of Portuguese colonial policy, East Timor was regarded by Portugal as part and parcel of metropolitan Portugal. But in spite of this, the political, economic and social infrastructure provided by Portugal for the benefit of the colony and its people was minimal. Political activity that bordered on nationalism was generally discouraged. Even though there was some nationalist activity in 1912 and in the late 1950's during the inception of the period of decolonization, Portugal did not permit the formation of political parties as such in the colony. The only political party that was permitted to operate was the *Accao Nacional Popular* (ANP), the official party sanctioned by Lisbon Portugal under the Caetano regime did its best to ensure its continue political control over its colonies

despite persistent calls from the UN to decolonize.

In 1974, events changed considerably both for the Portuguese colonies and for Portugal.

After the so called Carnation Revolution, the Caetano administration was overthrown in a military coup. The new administration in Lisbon under General Spínola embarked on a program of decolonization. The prohibition on the formation of political parties and nationalist political activity in East Timor was removed. Several political parties were subsequently formed and the scene set for democratic political activity in optimistic preparation for eventual exercise of self-determination. As is usually the case in most colonies in transition from colonial rule to self-government, there were divisions among East Timorese on the preferred political future of the territory. While sections of the community favoured complete independence from Portugal, some favoured some form of continued association with it. Some East Timorese on the other hand favoured integration with neighbouring Indonesia. These divisions were reflected in the political parties that came to be formed in the territory. The *Uniao Democratica Timorese* (UDT) that was formed in the period was pro Portugal, and favoured some form of closer links with it. In many respects the UDT came to replace the official ANP. *Apodeti* which was also formed in the period on the other hand advocated integration with neighbouring Indonesia. The *Associao Social Democratica Timorese* (ASDT) later to become the *Frente Revolucionaria Timor Leste Independente* (FRETILIN) which was officially formed in May 1974 however favoured and advocated for complete independence.

Towards the end of 1974, the pro-Lisbon UDT changed its nationalist policy in favour of complete independence for the territory. The change made the UDT and FRETILIN obvious allies and isolated *Apodeti*. Not surprisingly, in January 1975, the UDT and FRETILIN came together to form a pro-independence coalition in their quest for self-determination. The coalition between the two parties was however short-lived. In May 1975, UDT quit the coalition. Worried about the events in the territory and in an effort to prepare the East Timorese parties for a self-determination exercise, Portugal organised decolonization talks aimed at bringing the parties together to discuss the time table for the elections or the referendum on the future of East Timor. In what must have been a miscalculation at the time, FRETILIN boycotted that talks which

were held in Macao in the last week of June 1975.

#### **The Macao Agreement**

Despite the absence of the FRETILIN, the Macao talks proved useful and indeed promising, and won the consensus of all the parties including the FRETILIN. It was agreed at the talks that in preparation for self-determination, Portugal would appoint a High Commissioner for the territory assisted by five deputies three of whom would be East Timorese. There was also to an elected Advisory Council that was to be representative of the people. More significantly, the talks agreed that there would be general elections in the colony in 1976 to elect a constituent assembly to draft the constitution for East Timor and to decide on the future of the territory.

#### **The Civil War**

The Macao agreement was an important milestone in the politics of East Timor and could have marked the beginning of the decolonization process for the territory if it had been given the chance. Before the agreement could become operative, the UDT staged a military coup aimed at dislocating FRETILIN and ensuring its own control of the territory. The coup brought the UDT into direct military confrontation with FRETILIN and plunged the colony into a civil war which in many respects was to contribute towards East Timor's present predicament. When attempts at peaceful negotiations failed, the Timorese colonial army joined ranks with the FRETILIN and with their assistance, the UDT forces were defeated after three weeks of fighting. FRETILIN gained control of territory by mid-September 1975 and immediately set out to form an 'provisional administration.' The exact significance of the provisional administration was rather minimal for legal purposes. Portugal still remained in control of the colony with the governor having moved his seat of administration to the island of Atauro, off the East Timor coast as a result of the civil war. The Portuguese flag flew over government buildings with FRETILIN doing its best to maintain law and order. FRETILIN's efforts to get Portugal to resume the decolonization process as envisaged under the Macao agreement failed.

#### **Indonesian Assault on East Timor**

From September 1975, FRETILIN appeared to be the de facto government of East Timor as a result the defeat of the UDT and the unwillingness of the Portuguese government to take effective control of the colony following the civil war. Given the prospects of FRETILIN controlling the

whole of East Timor, the UDT, KOTA and the Partido Trabalhista joined forces and declared their desire for integration with Indonesia. They subsequently concluded a declaration requesting the Indonesian state to accept the integration of East Timor. Between October 6 and 16, 1975, Indonesian troops assisting the troops of the new coalition launched a series of assaults on East Timor capturing a number of towns including Batugade, Balibo and Maliana. The incursions into East Timorese territory and the responses they provoked from FRETILIN defence forces gave the appearance of continued civil strife in East Timor. The appearance of continued civil strife was made to look real by the failure of Portugal as the legitimate colonial administrator to react to the incursions into the territory and by its implicit acceptance that a state of civil war existed at the time. The 'civil strife' and the corresponding instability in the colony were to provide an excuse for Indonesian intervention and eventual annexation in 1975.

The Rome Meeting Given the 'unstable state of affairs in the colony, Portugal initiated a meeting in Rome in November 1 1975 to discuss the situation in the colony. The Rome talks however were held only between Portugal and Indonesia to the exclusion of the parties in East Timor. Indonesia had insisted that it would only participate in talks with Portugal as the administering power. The involvement of Indonesia was based on its interest as a state sharing borders with a colony in strife and the influx of refugees forced to go into Indonesia as a result of the 'civil war.'

At the talks, the two states expressed their 'adherence to the principles of decolonization ... and to the scrupulous safeguarding of the principle of respect of the will of the people of Portuguese Timor' and agreed 'on the necessity to convene at the earliest possible time, a meeting between Portugal and all political parties in Portuguese Timor simultaneously and aimed at ending armed strife and bringing about a peaceful and orderly process of decolonization in Portuguese Timor'.

Today Portugal would have to admit that with hindsight, even though the Rome meeting may have been well intentioned and aimed at the resolution of the East Timor conflict, the exclusion of any of the East Timorese political parties was a disservice to the East Timorese people. If Indonesia was invited to the meeting because its interest were affected by the civil strife and instability in the colony, then basic logic dictated that the East Timorese political parties which were supposedly engaged in the civil strife should have been invited to the meeting as of necessity. The

involvement of Indonesia and the exclusion of the East Timorese parties amounted to a recognition of Indonesia as a principal actor in the decolonization process of East Timor and paved the way for Indonesia intervention.

#### **The Declaration of an Independent State of East Timor**

In the face of Indonesian assaults on East Timor, the obvious failure of the Portugal to act to safeguard the colony's territorial integrity, and the prospects that the colony may eventually be overrun by the invading forces, FRETILIN made plans for a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI). It set December 1 1975 as the date of independence. The logic of the UDI was that as an independent state, East Timor had a better chance of dealing with Indonesia aggression with the assistance of the United Nations and indeed the international community.

Continued Indonesian incursions into the colony, and in particular the capture of the strategic town of Atabai made the independence more pertinent and forced a change of date for the UDI. on November 28 1975, FRETILIN issued the following declaration:

Expressing the highest aspiration of the people of East Timor and to safeguard the most legitimate interest of national sovereignty, the Central Committee of Fretilin decree by proclamation, unilaterally, the independence of East Timor, from 00:00 hours today, declaring the state of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist. Long live the Democratic Republic of East Timor! Long live the people of East Timor, free and independent! Long live Fretilin!

Two days after the UDI on November 30 1975, the remaining political parties in East Timor, UDT, APODETI, KOTA and the Partido Trabalhista, in a joint statement in the town of Balibo also proclaiming the independence of the colony and its simultaneous integration with Indonesia. The part also announced the formation of a 'Provisional Government of East Timor' in Dili and further called on the government of Indonesia to supply them with economic and military assistance. For all practical purposes there were two governments for the now independent state of East Timor: one under the FRETILIN and the other under the four party coalition. A fundamental difference between the two governments however was that whereas FRETILIN sought to exercise self-determination through total independence, the Four parties opted for integration with Indonesia.

#### **The Reaction of Portugal and Indonesia to the Declarations**

Faced with the competing claims for independence and integration, Portugal issued a statement on November 29 rejecting both claims and noting that it still considered itself the legitimate administrator of the colony. It however admitted that it was unable to deal with the situation effectively. Indonesia on the other hand was not so constrained. In a number of statements issued in the first week of December 1975, Indonesia deplored the FRETILIN UDI and the general state of confusion in the territory, but of course welcomed the desire of the four parties for integration. At this stage Indonesia took no steps to integrate or accept the request to integrate the territory. The House of Representatives however called on the Indonesian government to take steps to restore peace and security in the region, 'to enable the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination in a free and orderly manner.' The House also urged the government to further take 'stern and concrete measures in all fields and forums so as to find a solution to the Portuguese Timor problem.' With this statement from the House, the stage was set for a full scale Indonesian intervention in the territory. Indonesian assisted attacks against FRETILIN positions in the territory intensified. The capital, Dili was captured on December 7 and a 'Provisional Government of East Timor' installed ten days later on 17 December 1975. For all practical purposes, the Portuguese administration of the colony ended on this day.

#### **UN Responses to Crises in East Timor**

The 'final' invasion of East Timor in the first week of December 1975 took place while the United Nations General Assembly was in session. In fact during the period of the invasion, the UN Fourth Committee was considering the issue of East Timor. The invasion therefore prompted a quick response from the UN. on December the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly adopted a resolution 'deploring' the Indonesian invasion and calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces. A day later the General Assembly also adopted a similar resolution by 69 to 11 votes with 38 abstentions. The Security Council adopted a resolution by unanimous vote calling for the withdrawal of the Indonesian forces and reaffirming the right of East Timor to self-determination. Beyond these calls for withdrawal of Indonesian troops, the United Nations did little to help resolve the situation. Far from withdrawing its troops, Indonesia consolidated its military position in the territory to pave the way for its incorporation.



Upon its installation, the new Provisional Government of East Timor extended an invitation to the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, the Security Council and the UN Secretary General to attend the first meeting of the Regional Popular Assembly in Dili on the 31 May 1976. All the invitations were declined. The Chairman of the Special Committee based the Committee's refusal to accept the invitation on three principal grounds: the General Assembly's Resolution 3485, the Security Council remaining seized of the matter as per its resolution 389 and more significantly the fact that the Committee 'has in no way been involved in the proceedings leading up to the announced "meeting of the Regional Popular Assembly that will be convened..."'. The absence of UN officials notwithstanding, the Regional Assembly met on the 31 May as scheduled. Among other matters, the Assembly adopted a petition as follows:

By the Grace of God Almighty, We, on behalf of the People of East Timor, after having testified the decision of the plenary session of the East Timor People's Representative Council held on May 31, 1976, which by nature was the manifestation of the wishes of the people as had been expressed in the Proclamation of Integration of East Timor on November 30, 1975, at Balibo, urge the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to accept and legalize in the shortest possible time the integration of the people and the territory of East Timor as a whole with the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia without a referendum.

A day after the meeting the Provisional Government of East Timor cabled the Secretary General of the UN and the Chairman of the Special Committee requesting their 'good offices to persuade the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to accept immediately [the] petition.' The cable also noted that the advice of the UN officials 'concerning the successful implementation of self-determination by the people of East Timor towards integration with the Republic of Indonesia will be highly appreciated.' on the 8 June 1976, the Provisional Government submitted the petition to the Government of Indonesia.

#### **Unilateral Efforts by Indonesia to Implement Self-Determination in East Timor**

Given Indonesia's support for integration and as evidenced by its military presence in East Timor, there was no doubt that the 'plea' by the Provisional Government for integration would be more than accepted by Indonesia. However in an apparent effort to add a cloak of legitimacy to the integration

process, Indonesia decided to send a mission to East Timor for the purpose of 'making an on-the-spot assessment of the wishes of the people of East Timor, as formally expressed in the petition.' Indonesia subsequently extended an invitation to the Secretary General of the UN to visit the territory concurrently with the mission. Similar invitations were extended to the Security Council and the Special Committee on Decolonization. As must have been expected by Indonesia, the United Nations rejected the invitations on the bases of Security Council resolutions directing Indonesia to withdraw from the territory. The visit of the mission to East Timor took place on the 24 June 1976, as scheduled by Indonesia. Indonesia was later to report that the mission 'provided convincing evidence that the people of East Timor truly and independently have a strong desire to integrate East Timor into the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.' on 17 July 1976, the Indonesian parliament consequently passed a law incorporating East Timor into Indonesia. By a cable dated 6 August 1976, the government of Indonesia notified the Secretary General of the UN that effective from this date (i.e. 17 July) the Territory of East Timor has thus become an integral part of Indonesia.'

### **JAKARTA'S LINE ON TIMOR'S HISTORY**

*The following is extracted from a much longer document posted by the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra. The full text is available electronically or on paper.*

*This text may well have been circulated by the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Department at the Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Jakarta in September 1992. It is one of the longest and the most current official Indonesian government statement I have seen on East Timor. - John*

#### **East Timor, Building For The Future Issue and Perspectives.**

*Published by the Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, July 1992.*

#### **PREFACE**

This report details the history, society, cultural, political structure and development of the Indonesian province of East Timor.

Over the past 20 years, considerable debate and misinformation have muddled the issues involving East Timor, overshadowing the aspirations of the East Timorese people whose welfare has been an important priority of the Indonesian Government.

Repeatedly, propaganda and rhetoric have coloured history in a transparent at-

tempt to compensate for a self-serving and irresponsible display of political opportunism on the part of Portugal. The impact has been most severe on a people who have been buffeted by those attempting to disrupt their desire for peace, tranquillity and socioeconomic progress.

This record must be set straight.

The facts about East Timor are presented in the following pages. They stand as a comprehensive reply to the distortions and allegations that have been mounted by those who oppose peace, stability and progress in East Timor. Many of these allegations and distortions demand a direct response :

These sections are omitted here, for brevity:

I. Why did the Portuguese leave East Timor?

II. Why and how did Indonesia become involved ?

III. How has Indonesia helped East Timor ?

IV. What about the 'population discrepancy'?

V. How are the cultural and social traditions of the East Timorese protected?.

VI. What were the action taken in connection with the November 12, 1991, incident Dili ?.

VII. What is Indonesia's position on human rights ?.

VIII. Is Indonesia willing to resolve the dispute with Portugal ?

AN EAST TIMOR CHRONOLOGY.

EAST TIMOR: THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE.

HISTORY OF INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR.

POLITICS, GOVERNMENT AND CULTURE OF EAST TIMOR.

DEVELOPMENT AND EAST TIMOR. AGRICULTURE.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH.

RELIGION.

ESTABLISHMENT OF POLITICAL STABILITY IN EAST TIMOR.

THE FUTURE OF EAST TIMOR.

#### **EPILOGUE.**

There remains, however, another, darker vision that some in the international community retain for the people of East Timor - a vision that is a legacy of its colonial past. This vision would replay the events of two decades ago, turn back the clock on the progress in development and democracy that has improved the lives for all the people of this province, and promises to threaten the very stability of a corner of Asia that has been uniquely isolated from the strife and turmoil that have marked other parts of this region in the past half-century.

This vision preys on the legitimate concerns of those who value and respect the rights of man, while distorting the record of

Indonesia and its people. Moreover, those who hold this vision ignore the good-faith efforts that have been brought to bear on behalf of the people of East Timor to assure that their rights are respected, that their lives are improved. And these advocates ignore the historical record of abandonment and arrogance displayed by East Timor's former colonial master-Portugal, which leads the chorus of those who would deny the history of the last two decades.

Nevertheless, and despite a campaign of vilification combined with historical distortion, Indonesia has repeatedly affirmed its willingness to discuss a resolution of the issue of the future of East Timor with Portugal under the auspices of the U.N Secretary General. The goal would be, as it has from the moment Portugal summarily abandoned its stewardship in August 1975, to find a formula that would at once recognize contemporary reality and allow those who would return to the past to find a means of joining the people of East Timor in building a better and more certain future for their children, as well as for themselves.

#### **Portugal Abdicates Responsibility.**

History shows that no two cases of decolonization are exactly the same. In each case the process must recognize the realities of the specific territory. From the moment in 1975 when Portugal and its authorities in the territory abandoned their post, turning over their store of weapons to one of the factions contesting for power in post-colonial East Timor, the result was civil war. Ever since, whether through collective guilt or 20-20 hindsight, Portugal has sought to put Indonesia in the international dock of world opinion-and failed. At the point of Portuguese abandonment, no subversion was at work-except from within. The people of East Timor awoke one day to the harsh reality that they had been abandoned-that they had no more government, no law, no order. Facing anarchy, they turned to Indonesia through their popularly elected representatives, and it accepted the responsibility that Portugal had rejected.

By what right, then, it might be asked, does Portugal seek to reassert its 17-years-old claim as the 'administering authority' of this province ?. By what right does it demand negotiation on this issue ?. A popularly selected provincial parliament voted on May 31, 1976, to seek integration with the Republic of Indonesia. This plebiscite conforms with every conventional standard of international law.

Yet Indonesia is prepared to meet with Portugal, under the auspices of the U.N Secretary General, to remove the final obstacle to a peaceful and productive future for East Timor.

For the past decade, Indonesia has said that the Secretary General should find a solution that is acceptable to both sides. And acceptable to the international community, as well. But it is equally clear that there can be no turning back the clock. Decolonization has taken place. Any solution must recognize that, yet still be internationally acceptable. This is how talks started 10 years ago-tripartite talks on the question of East Timor between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the Secretary General.

Despite a series of Indonesian proposals over the past decade, it took until 1986 for Portugal, Indonesia and the United Nations to arrive at a formula. An official U.N mission would visit Indonesia and East Timor during the 1987 elections. They would go to East Timor, but they would also split up and visit other parts of Indonesia-observing the general elections in East Timor, talking with the people there, asking questions, observing every aspect of the electoral process. The result would be a report to the U.N General Assembly. Certainly, as in any pluralistic society, the observers would have heard dissenting voices. But Indonesian officials were confident that the observers would see the overwhelming majority of the people peacefully and freely participating in general elections as part of a democratic Indonesia. A full General Assembly debate, it was anticipated, would follow submission of the observer report. Then, Indonesian officials confidently expected a vote to resolve the East Timor debate once and for all. This solution of 1986 remains, with some modifications, workable today. It failed then because Portugal, at the last minute, pulled out, refusing to participate in the observer mission, though Indonesia had agreed-despite all the uncertainties of an independent commission and independent report.

Since 1987, a new proposal has been submitted. Portugal proposed that a parliamentary mission visit East Timor. Again, Indonesia agreed with the plan to dispatch a Portuguese parliamentary delegation, along with a small group representing the Secretary General of the United Nations. But again, Portugal created disagreement at the very moment when hope was so strong, and the visit was cancelled.

Today, one more time, it is being proposed that talks be reopened. A solution must be reached for the benefit of the people of East Timor and their fellow Indonesians. Energy and resources should be committed to the ongoing task of political, social and economic development that is filling the vacuum left by centuries of abuse and neglect. They deserve no less.

## **TIMOR'S EARLY HISTORY AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

From José Basto. This posting expresses my personal views on the situation in E. Timor.

I am an engineer, and not a historian, but from my readings I found the following:

### **1) HISTORY**

The empire of Majapahit came into being in 1293, as a small kingdom in the east of the Java island.

Over time, it became stronger and powerful and reached its pinnacle in 14th century, under Prime-Minister Gajah Mada (1331 to 1364). The Empire then started to decline, to culminate in its disappearance at 1527.

Based on a single citation of the Javanese heroic poem - Nagarakretagama, songs XIII and XIV - that refer to Timor as do to many other territories, from Malaysia and the south of Thailand to West Papua, as under the rule of Majapahit, the Indonesian Government claims its historical "rights" to East Timor. (note: Timor means "east," so anything east of Java could be confounded with the island that Portuguese explorers named after the word the native people called the land, a practice usually followed by Portuguese map makers).

According to SLAMETMULJANA, in his book "A Story of Majapahit" [Singapore University Press Pt Ltd, 1976], it is vague the historical value of this and others historic texts of the period (14th and 15th centuries):

<<... The work presented here is intentionally called "A Story of Majapahit" because it is more a collection of stories about Majapahit as found in some historical sources, other than a genuine discussion on Majapahit. The stories are intended to show the reader the characteristics of the Javanese historical writings, in particular those of the thirteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries. These were intended for the instruction and entertainment of the ancient Javanese society. Consequently, they were adjusted to the taste of a society that then was influenced by Hinduism, and only in the light of Hinduism can these writings be rightly interpreted and understood (...) >>

There are no written records in Timor from those times, and we cannot exclude that some Timorese king had sent presents or even a tribute to the Emperor of Majapahit, but this does not mean a perceptible cultural influence.

By that point of view, the Majapahit was sending tributes to the Chinese Emperor (as documented by "Chinese Chronicles" of the Ming dynasty), and

nobody said that Majapahit was part of the Chinese Empire...

Lee E. WILLIAMS, in his book - "Southeast Asia, a History" [Oxford University Press, Inc., USA(1976)] presents an approximated map about the Majapahit frontiers on the 14th century, at its maximum extent. Again, all the island of Timor are excluded...

D.G.E. HALL, in "A History of South East Asia" [Macmillan Education Ltd, London, 4th edition, 3rd reprint(1986)] refers that other than Java, absolute control was extended to the islands of Madura and Bali. With the other territories, the relations was of "submission" of some coastal kingdoms or just commercial relations.

M.C. RICKLEFS, professor of History at Monash University of Australia, in "A History of Modern Indonesia (1300 to the present)" [The Macmillan Press Ltd, London and Basin(1981)] says also (page. 17):

<< The Nagarakretagama and the inscriptions make it possible to reconstruct something of the style and influence of Majapahit in the fourteenth century. It claimed a form of authority over far-flung vassal states throughout Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Kalimantan and East Indonesia. Although this may have constitute something of an "empire" in Indonesian terms, it is clear from the general physical constraints described earlier in this chapter that was unlikely to have been any regular centralized exercise of authority by Majapahit over such areas. It appears to have been trade connections which mainly linked these regions, and at the Majapahit end this trade was probably a royal monopoly. Thus, Majapahit was both a land-based and a trading empire at once. It exercised significant naval power, and in 1377 sent a punitive expedition against Palembang in Sumatra. Majapahit also claimed relationships with Champa, Cambodia, Siam, southern Burma and Vietnam, and sent missions to China. The memory of Majapahit's greatness has lived on in Indonesia, and sometimes seen as establishing a precedent for the present political boundaries of the Republic.>>

George D. WINIUS, in the book "Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1450-1580" [University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, USA], about the "Indonesian" (a quite recent word, as you can find ...) archipelago before Portugal's advent (page. 361 and 362) says:

<< As one might expect from reading about the political disunity the Portuguese found in India, the indigenous of the Malay Archipelago were as ethnically and religiously diverse as the Indians, and like them had no feeling of nationality and no idea that they comprised a special geographic entity

of any kind. It is significant that the term "Indonesia" was not applied to the area until 1850 - and this by an English scholar. About 170 languages were spoken there - often three or more on the same islet - and in all the greater land masses, highly civilized peoples shared living space with the most backward savages. Also, all the advanced peoples had experienced diverse cultural influences imported from areas thousands of miles distant: Java, Sumatra, Bali, and the ports of Borneo and Celebes had at different times and to various degrees, become Hindu, Buddhist, and, most recently, Muslim. All the civilized areas contained to some degree a mixture of the three elements.

Among these regions, eastern Java was the cradle for the most sophisticated cultures, and from there the arts and political influences spread outward - to nearby Bali at first and then west toward Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. During most of the fifteenth century, for example, the dominant cultural and political power in this region was the Hindu- Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit, whose rulers had extended their sovereignty over Java and Bali, and finally all the way to the Strait of Malacca. Then Majapahit went into a rapid decline during the fifteenth century, a process simultaneous with, but probably not closely related to, a swift growth of Islam throughout Malaya and the archipelago>>.

When the Portuguese arrived in 1515, Timor was kept apart from this religious and cultural influences, with their populations professing animist religions and no written records. If some empire from Java was there, it didn't leave any traces...

In my humble opinion, the Portuguese had been in East Timor for quite a while more than any Javanese Empire (and the Portuguese colonization didn't try to change radically the way East Timorese lived for centuries). Even the founders of the Republic of Indonesia very clearly distinguished East Timor from the previous West Indies. The last freely elected President of Indonesia, Sukarno, never put in question the status of East Timor as not being part of Indonesia.

The annexation of East Timor was an evident maneuver of the "top brass" of the Indonesian Army, that in reality controls the country, (do you really find natural that the Army gets automatically 1/5 of the members of the Indonesian Parliament ? ) to exert their expansionist desires, in combination with powerful oil interests in the Timor Gap(also involving Australia). No historic reasons can be proved to legitimize one of the most horrendous invasions of the modern times...

## 2) EDUCATION IN EAST TIMOR

It is true that, until 1960, Portugal did almost nothing about instruction in East Timor. Majority of the schools existing at that time were run by Catholic Missions. From 1961 to 1975, however, the Portuguese State made a special effort to develop the basic education.

In Portugal, the situation was somewhat similar. The fascist dictatorship did not want the people to have access to an education, because the regime wanted a humble population, better achieved if the people could not read "subversive" literature. Even today, Portuguese rates of illiteracy are the worst in Europe, one of the legacies of 48 years of fascism.

At the same time, more than a million of Portuguese people was living in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau (territories with an area almost as large as all Indonesia, a term of comparison), geographically much closer to Portugal, and much richer in terms of natural resources than East Timor. The Portuguese regime did concentrate on the development of these colonies, allowing East Timor to live with their own traditions.

Following is a table with the basic school statistics. Until 1974, the numbers shown are from the Education Services of the Portuguese Government of East Timor. From 1976 on, the data is from the Indonesian Occupation authorities. The differences of the number of students between 1974 and 1976, is a direct result from the Indonesian invasion and occupation.

It is natural that the Indonesia had build many schools: the most of the existing ones had been destroyed by Indonesian bombardments during the war.

Also, it is very important to note that most of the teachers are not Timorese, but from other islands, and only teach "Bahasa" - the Indonesian lingua franca - to make it easier for the new generation to assimilate into Indonesia.

### BASIC SCHOOL - EAST TIMOR

School Year	Students	Professors
1963-64	14228	411
64-65	18403	386
65-66	18488	450
66-67	20813	467
67-68	23059	490
68-69	27299	513
69-70	29382	559
70-71	33115	662
71-72	36208	637
72-73	60233	1100
73-74	94689	1336

### AFTER OCCUPATION (From the Dep. of Information of Indonesia)

1976-77	13501	499
77-78	23041	614

78-79	41543	959
79-80	59072	1610
80-81	68709	1515
81-82	77658	1821
82-83	90437	2226

As a conclusion, I hope this posting and the following ones can show the Portuguese/Free Timorese side of the question (the Timorese that are inside can not express their ideas, the ABRI is there to make sure they will not demonstrate again ...).

On all conferences on last year Santa Cruz massacre organized on East Timor in the USA, never did the Indonesian government send a representative to defend their position (Why? Is their side of the truth so "strong" that it does not need to be explained?)

A full list of the dead and missing can not be obtained, even though a year has passed since the massacre.

The sentences to the Timorese who demonstrated peacefully go from 10 years to life.

The Indonesian soldiers that killed scores of people didn't get more than a few months, not to speak about the generals who were punished by being sent out to USA for higher education or a position at Jakarta headquarters...

The Indonesian Major that was stabbed at the demonstration (coming from a nearby island and with good relations with many Timorese...) was never interviewed by the press or did any public statement about what happened in that morning ...

The Timorese who gave their lives for their country will be not forgotten.

I will try my best to answer any comments (given my limited time available). Any flames drooped just to state the author's loyalty to Suharto regime will be ignored...

To all Indonesians trying to figure out what really is going on at East Timor, please try to keep reading the postings in the following days, or better, go there if you can, as a tourist, and try to keep yours eyes open - and post back your experiences. Given your condition of Indonesian, you are again the only people allowed to visit East Timor.

Please understand that I don't have nothing against the Indonesian people, and I understand your rage against the Portuguese because we are raising internationally this issue of East Timor.

Only eighteen years ago, Portugal was also accused (with justice) of colonialism, oppression, abuse of human rights, etc, and it was painful for our national pride. But we did get ride of the fascist regime, and now we are a Free country.

I hope that will be the case in Indonesia: sooner or later, the Indonesian peoples will

throw away the net of corruption and oppression that hangs over yours Archipelago for too long, and respect the independence of its small neighbor, East Timor, and the differences of the peoples that make your big country.

José Basto.

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## DEBATE ON THE COMPUTER NETWORKS

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### INDONESIA STUDENT NETS INFILTRATED

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

*The Warung-net posting follows.*

Forwarded from Warung-net: 1 Dec.  
From: Zainal Abibin Subject: Press release konsulat RI Toronto

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

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

#### PRESS RELEASE

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

Xanana is under the custody of the Indonesian Authority for a thorough investigation. Pursuant to the guidance of the Minister of Defence and Security and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs ad in-

terim, General L. Benny Murdani, the procedure of the detention and investigation will be under the rules and the existing law of the country.

Toronto, November 20, 1992

(Catatan: mohon diedarkan kepada rekan-rekan lainnya)

Cap Konsulat RI di Toronto

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## ALT.CULTURE.INDONESIA

A new usenet newsgroup, alt.culture.indonesia (available on PeaceNet and perhaps other APC networks) has become a place for major discussion on East Timor, with extensive participation from Portuguese and Indonesians, and some others. Most of the discussion is in English, with some in Indonesian.

Although there are frequent flames, the discussion is generally on a much higher level than the occasional battles which rage in SEASIA-I. However, many of the participants are uninformed, sometimes admitting that their information comes from the Indonesian educational system or media and may not be accurate.

I encourage reg.easttimor readers to check out this conference, and to join in the discussion – but please stick to the issues.

– Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

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## TIMORESE COMMENT: PORTUGUESE VS. INDONESIAN MEDIA

*Written Nov. 15 in alt.culture.indonesia*

*I got this message from an East Timorese, as a follow up to a message posted on soc.culture.portuguese, who asked me to post it for him on soc.culture.portuguese. Yet, some people suggested that it would be enriching and fair to also post this message on alt.culture.Indonesia.*

Dear Andri,

I read your reply to Nuno, and I'd like to comment upon as an East Timorese living abroad.

You wrote: <we have a lot of newspapers and private radio network there is one private <TV network.

Yes, you're right Andri. That private TV network also only began to operate not long ago. And you know who owns it: one of the sons of Suharto.

<we have 27 provinces, in each of them there about 20 newspapers (more or <less) and in each province there hundreds of radio networks.

Gosh! This is the first time I've heard of such a 'sensational achievement' after living for several years in Java (sometime ago). Can you possibly mention JUST ONE

newspaper from East Timor (TIM TIM)? And how many do you think there are actually in each of other provinces such as NTT, Irian Jaya, NTB, the whole Kalimantan and Sulawesi? I bet you can count them with your fingers (not more than 5 in most of the cases). Unless you include in the same list all the stuff such as periodicals, journals, brochures, leaflets, and others.

And about radio network, again, can you mention ONLY ONE private radio network that you know might exist in East Timor apart from the state-owned RRI? I know there are several in other provinces, but please don't exaggerate the figures!

<If the newspaper always follows the government policy blindly nobody will <buy it while the owner wants to make money...

You are implying that for the sake of profit the newspapers (in Indonesia) do not always have to follow the government policy. In other words, they can criticize the government in the form of social control (not necessarily having to oppose to it). As far as I know, this is not the case in Indonesia. Everybody knows how the government keeps a close eye (censorship) on all newspapers (including all printing materials). I think there is no need to mention one by one the long list of cases of government intervention in the press (you know by yourself). Three cases might illustrate my argument: the case of Sinar Harapan (now Suara Pembaharuan) several years ago, the case of Monitor a couple of years ago, and the case of Indonesian journalists sacked for publishing an article related to the massacre in East Timor last year (I'm not sure about the name of the newspaper/periodical).

Your 'logic' is simple, but false. The reality shows that newspapers can still make a lot of profit without necessarily opposing the government. KOMPAS, the largest national daily newspaper in Indonesia is a good example. The biggest risk in the business is to be ordered to close down by the authorities if you don't comply with them.

Regards,  
An East Timorese

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## POINT OF VIEW OF AN EAST TIMORESE

Nov. 23, 1992

*An East Timorese living abroad and with no direct access to alt.culture.Indonesia asked me to post the text which follows.*

Dear friends,

First of all I would like to express my compliments to everybody in this net, wishing you Hallo, Ola,' Salam Persahabatan and good luck with your academic work.

It gives me a great pleasure to share my ideas in this net since I have no access to this newsgroup. I have read all the current flames (hot arguments) on EAST TIMOR between the two sides (the Indonesian and the Portuguese students) on-line both in SEASIA-I and a.c.i.

As an East Timorese who grew up in East Timor (ET) and had been living for several years in some parts of Indonesia, I'm compelled morally to assess the situation from an East Timorese perspective. This small note doesn't necessarily represent views of thousands of young East Timorese both inside or outside ET. It is my personal views (based on my empirical experience as an indigenous people).

The following assessment based on WHAT HAS GONE WRONG ? WHAT HAS GONE RIGHT? and WHAT IS THE SOLUTION ? for the problem of East Timor.

I would like to put forward that East Timorese do not actually hate Indonesian people, they love and respect them, what they do care about is getting rid of the Indonesian Army's occupation inside East Timor.

I'm fully aware that some fellow in this net are getting bored with this "boring discussion" as one fellow pointed out here a couple of days ago. If so, I apologise you for any inconvenience, I just want to remind all netters that the problem of East Timor is our common concern either from the Indonesian and Portugal point of view, even internationally. The status quo of East Timor is still remain in the UN agenda, and the UN never recognises ET as an integral part of Indonesia. It recognises Portugal as the administering power on ET. Due to this reason, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas had said in his diplomatic statement: " East Timor is like a sharp piece of gravel in our shoes." Therefore, through this opportunity I knock the hearts of my Indonesian counterparts that East Timor is not a boring discussion, it is a vivid discussion that can be argued from different standpoint. The more we discuss the more sharpen our arguments will be.

Just 'food for thought' for you guys from Indonesia, if your hometown, (Java, or Sumatra or elsewhere in Indonesia) being terrorised by the army all the time and your relatives were killed or tortured, HOW DO YOU REACT ???

I got the impression that you guys are highly regarded as future intellectuals in your home country. Your ideas, actions and

the like will be helpful for your own community. Without losing your generosity as an intellectual (not being 'narrow mind nationalistic') I suggest we discuss the subject of East Timor without "flames" and acknowledge the weaknesses and strengths from both sides (Indonesian and Portuguese students) and let's try to analyse the matter substantially and comprehensively. Likewise in this assessment, I don't want to create flames between us, but I do want we discuss the matter intellectually without any hesitations.

Comments are most welcome, and please regard this small note as a whole idea not partially by sentences.

I must acknowledge that you guys (both ET solidarity members and the Indonesian students abroad) know information on ET from different reliable sources. Above all I admire all of you who have put your time and energy to debate the problem based on your own judgments and literature that you got.

Beforehand, I was a bit struck by Budi Rahardjo's reply to Silveira in this net that the Indonesians know the situation much better than the Portuguese. Well, putting no doubt that at the moment ET is under Indonesian control, why don't you guys from Indonesia write the real phenomenon (expressing all circumstances) on East Timor ? I bet you, have you ever visited East Timor? If so, I would be surprised, otherwise you just repeat the same line of thinking of your bosses in Jakarta for 17 years.

By the way if you haven't visited yet, I strongly advise you and other compatriots to read more references from other sources not only rely on the official publications by Deplu or Deppen RI.

I don't mean that we disregard those publications, but I do suggest all of us to observe them skeptically. You might agree with me that we all know the "ins and out" of the press system in Indonesia. As far as the government concerns, if you write something favourable to the government, that's OK, but if you write something contradictory, you'll be ended up with phone calls from ABRI and worst, your paper will be banned. A lot of events and the like happened in Indonesia. If you're interested, please let me know that we can discuss further.

Above all I strongly suggest you to visit East Timor when you get chance. Sorry about this, mate!!!! I just want to clarify that I'm doubtful of your comments that you know the situation much better. The situation that you know better in Indonesia may be Yes, but in East Timor definitely Not. I wonder if " a blind person just feels

that the tail of an elephant is very long." I hope you understand my points.

In light of recent events in East Timor, especially the Nov. 12 massacre of Timorese civilians by the Indonesian military, and the latest news about the capture of José Alexandre Gusmao, known as XANANA, leader of the Falintil resistance in East Timor, in Dili a couple of days ago, it might seem almost trivial to talk about the issue of East Timor like developmental policy applied by the Indonesian in East Timor. However, as I will try to show, the Indonesian presence in East Timor since 1975 is absolutely critical to understanding the contemporary situation in ET, both in terms of the repression felt by the indigenous Timorese, and in terms of the jumpiness, if not outright paranoia, felt by the Indonesian administration.

Obviously for various reasons too complex to go into ET political parties. I assume that you all know about this. The civil war broke out in August 1975, Fretilin declared East Timor's independence on November 28, 1975, and on December 7, 1975, less than two weeks later, Indonesia took matters into her own hands and invaded, formally annexing East Timor and declaring on July 17, 1976, that East Timor "had decided to 'integrate' with Indonesia." Since 1976, therefore, East Timor has de facto become the 27th province of Indonesia, although its status has never been officially resolved.

While the sixteen years since 1976 have been extensive military campaigns and an accelerated push for 'development,' the 'integration' process has never been smooth. The period from 1975- 1980, especially, was marked by massive military campaigns, forced relocations, and starvation. Estimates are that as much as one- third of East Timor's population of roughly 600,000 may have starved or been killed during that time. Even today, there is continuing small-scale but effective guerilla resistance, and considerably more widespread popular resentment and everyday forms of resistance, even in the face of increasing government repression and intimidation.

Since the occupation by the Indonesian army of this tiny island, gross and systematic killings, torture and arrests have occurred frequently. During the three years from 1975 to 1978, at least 120,000 East Timorese died as a direct result of the Indonesian invasion and the policies pursued in the war against the guerrillas and civilians alike. This is probably a conservative estimate, but is in line with statements by Indonesian officials made in 1977 and 1979.

The slaughter of that period was immediately followed by continued military op-

erations against the remaining guerrillas in which thousands more died, and then the major famine with accompanying disease in the period 1979 to 1982.

However, statistics alone do not adequately describe Indonesia's policy of genocide. Other aspects of the generals' rule in East Timor are calculated to annihilate all facets of traditional life. Although it makes any forms, the broad policy is to "Indonesianize" Jakarta's self proclaimed 27th province.

A subsequent approach has been introduced by Indonesian military officials in order to legitimate themselves in the 'hearts and minds of Timorese. However these methods are merely considered camouflage. The recent territorial approach instead of security approach means placing the army's soldiers in the villages and helping villagers build infrastructure there. The ubiquitous military presence everywhere in East Timor have weakened the participation of East Timorese people toward the so-called development imposed by the Indonesians.

Indeed, I must 'acknowledge' that Indonesia so far has put its effort to develop East Timor as well as other provinces in Indonesia. This can be measured statistically; In other words physical development applied by the Indonesian for more than a decade is acknowledged.

However, in terms of mental development, to my point of view Indonesia has failed to do so. The big error made by Indonesian authorities was trying to equate East Timor with other provinces in the Indonesian archipelago, while its historical, cultural and political background differed in the extreme. Worst, the idea of P4 and the like being imposed to East Timorese, while traditionally they never experienced such things before.

So, to my point of view, indoctrination of these ideologies to East Timorese is not the answer, the wise thing to do is HOW TO RESTORE THEIR DIGNITY, which has been damaged by the current regime. The policy makers in East Timor tend to "change" the attitude of East Timorese to be an Indonesian and expecting them to perform as a good Indonesian. What struck me is "How can East Timorese perform correspondingly, if they feel that they are not Indonesians?"

My question in Indonesian language : "Jangkalan di TimTim, di pedalaman Jawa atau Sumatera atau di Irga, yang sudah mengalami masa kemerdekaan dengan RI selama 47 tahun saja masih menunjukkan ketidaksempurnaan dalam banyak hal, apalagi TimTim yang baru saja bergabung dengan RI 16 tahun lalu ??? Rakyat TimTim menurut saya masih mengalami masa transisi, mereka baru saja terlepas dari

pemerintahan Portugis, dan sekarang sedang dalam cengkeraman Indonesia yang tak bebas bergerak bagaikan "Burung dalam Sangkar Emas." Sangatlah bijaksana kalau kita pakai pendekatan religius dan kemanusiaan serta persuasif, bukan pendekatan repressif yang menyebabkan rakyat merasa terganggu secara psychologis" dan tak bebas mengexpressikan diri."

This is the main feature in the face of every East Timorese. The fear of being suppressed and terrorized by ABRI is still dominate East Timorese –both younger and older generation–

Again to my point of view, WHAT HAS GONE WRONG ? Has the Indonesian government successfully gained the hearts of the East Timorese ? Probably the following facts may give us a clue :

a. A group of policy makers dominated by ABRI (Armed forces) used an excessive security approach which created a sense of antipathy among Timorese. We could clearly see the growing number of students who opposed the Indonesian presence there which culminated in the Nov. 12 massacre. It is reasonable to assess the situation based on the subsequent events in Dili (i.e. pro-independence demonstrations during the papal visit in October 1989 and the US ambassador's visit in January 1990, and then Nov.12 1991) have proved that attitude. Ironically that resentment growing substantially among the younger generation (who just grew up after integration).

b. The adoption of the new territorial approach toward East Timorese as a mean of developing infrastructure in the village has gone wrong.

c. The Indonesians consider East Timor as a place for the training of their soldiers. This can be detected by how many officers in Indonesia rose their ranks through their 'heroic' feats in East Timor ?

d. The Indonesian sought to undermine the role of the Catholic Church in East Timor where the population is predominantly Catholics. The activities of priests and clergy are suspected to be pro-independence. Moreover, in East Timor seems that the policy makers consist of three elements :

- the Catholic Church led by Bishop Belo,
- the provincial government led by governor Abilio Osorio Soares
- and ABRI by Pangkolakops, Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei.

The three elements play their respective roles which inevitably bring them into confrontation with each other.

The feeling of trauma is reflected in different types of behaviour. For the government administrators and officials it manifests itself in rigid and authoritarian actions

and policies, while it has made the East Timorese uncooperative, apathetic and constantly suspicious. These types of behaviour colour the social and political life of society in the province.

In order to give you an idea, I can refer to a study done by Prof. Mubyarto and Loekman Sutrisno of Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta. They made an assessment to the deficiencies in the government apparatus and the role of the Armed Forces (ABRI) which had been translated in English. The book entitled "East Timor, The impact of Integration, An Indonesian socio-anthropological study," (December 1991) by Mubyarto et al, published by the Indonesia Resources and Information Program (IRIP), PO BOX 190, Northcote 3070 Australia.

In one part of the book it says : "...they feel that East Timor has had an 'overdose' of the military, not simply because of their numbers but more importantly because of their role in the development process. The special relationship between the military and the 'monopolisation' of the East Timorese economy has caused a dilemma for these young indigenous officials."

Then they say "... this situation reflects badly on both provincial administration and the central government. There is a feeling among the East Timorese elite that the regional government administers the province as an 'apanage' of the central government. The most serious matter is that they feel their region is being treated like a MILKING-COW for the rich of Java "

The book contains a lot of information, as an American observer said probably the most candid assessment that had ever made by Indonesian intellectuals.

As a matter of fact, the result of their studies to be presented in a seminar in Dili (capital city) in 1990 was banned due to the excessive criticism toward ABRI's deficiencies in East Timor.

(Part two follows).

As I mentioned in the first part of my posting about the book written by Mubyarto and Lukman Sutrisno, two economists from Gajah Mada University, and is based on research in several village communities in East Timor in 1980 and 1989-90.

In its book review, it states that the study accepts Indonesia's incorporation, but concludes that integration has been a deeply traumatic and alienating experience and that major changes to Indonesia's East Timor policy are imperative.

Parallel with this, the military presence in East Timor (ET) is considered excessive. it seems necessary to re-examine the relevance of the quantity of military personnel in ET and also the quality of their intervention in

the decision making process. The current overdose of military in fact a cause of UNREST toward East Timorese.

Nowadays, the situation in East Timor (in terms of security is relatively stable), but the fighting between pro-independence guerrillas and the Indonesian army was continuing in the mountains. Indonesian officials flatly denied that there was any military conflict going on, asserting laughingly that the guerrillas were finished. But while the Indonesians outwardly exuded confidence, military convoys laden with troops in full combat and camouflage gear could be seen regularly heading up into the mountains.

As described by Aarons and Domm (1992) in their book : East Timor, A Western Made Tragedy, "Despite their suffering and the savage retribution meted out by the occupying military forces, the East Timorese were fighting back. Guerrillas were maintaining their lonely struggle for independence and freedom in the mountains and the clandestine resistance network had been strengthened by the new generation of educated urban youth who had been mobilizing secretly for years. Opening up of the territory in the late 1989 gave the East Timorese a new opportunity after 13 years of war. The influx of foreigners, albeit in small number, was a ray of light at the end of a long, dark tunnel"(pp.48-49).

The process of opening up East Timor in 1989 has never been smooth. It was the former governor of East Timor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao who strongly promoted the idea of opening up the province. Although he was encountered by a group of ABRI who opposed the idea (those who had access to 'monopolize' one of the most valuable commodity "Coffee" in East Timor) he strongly spoke out against them (please refer to a statement made by Carrascalao sometimes ago, I couldn't remember exactly the date in TEMPO magazine (1989).

As time went by, president Suharto finally issued a decree to open East Timor up to foreigners. Since then, all the special requirements (surat ijin jalan) issued by LAKSUSDA TimTim to everyone were removed.

Today, I have the strong opinion that the army officers are tightening the security due to the Nov. 12 massacre. It means that the policy of opening up ET has no longer exist.

I do believe that the mobility of East Timorese is limited (i.e. surat ijin jalan , atau pemeriksaan KTP berlaku lagi bagi rakyat TimTim, dengan demikian mobilitas penduduk dari satu kota ke kota yang lain di TimTim sangat terhambat, karena ada pos-pos pemeriksaan di setiap perbatasan kota).

Access to foreign journalist and independent observers to visit ET is barred.

What a pity for East Timorese, they live in their own fatherland, but they were treated by security officers as "the bird in the golden cage."

Back to my previous posting, the three influential elements that I pointed out (i.e. the Catholic Church, Provincial government and Armed Force (ABRI) has placed it in a real dilemma. Considering the Church as an essential element in the community of East Timor, it is helpful to have a close look on its dimension.

The Church has an enormous influence and increasingly the people have an enormous trust in the Catholic Church. The people feel that it is not isolated from their suffering but is in solidarity with their suffering, respecting their interests and their will.

During the Portuguese era the church in East Timor played an important role in recording births and marriages, in education and in economic and political life. As a social force the church has always tried to provide and to protect its members from exploitation by the government. To clarify the role of the church the Portuguese government appointed bishop as a consultant to the government. And it should be noted that the Church in East Timor have had a very close association throughout Portuguese colonial history.

Obviously, the Church is expected to remain politically neutral and to avoid becoming involved in any kind of political activity. At the same time, however, the church cannot just turn a blind eye toward all the social and political problems faced by the community as a result of the bloody process of integration.

Here the real dilemma of the Catholic community and the government has taken place. On one side, if the community sees the church acting only in the interests of the government they will regard it as a 'government church' and avoid it. On the other side, the Church speaks out on behalf of the community, the Church will have to face the consequences.

The fact that official political structures -- which are supposed to act as a channel for the expression of popular aspirations -- simply do not work in East Timor.

Basically the priests in East Timor are oriented toward 'liberation theology' ala Latin America, in which the Church makes a political commitment on behalf of the weak. As an example , let's refer to the explosive letter of Mgr. Carlos Filipe Belo to the United Nations in February 1989 calling for a referendum on the political status of East Timor. As the person who is highly honoured and respected by East Timorese

Catholic Community, he had moral force to speak out on behalf of the oppressed people.

To my point of view the Bishop acted in the right way as he wanted to end up all the suffer of East Timorese in this situation. In that time the situation in ET has become tense due to excessive use of security. Likewise the two men (Carrascalao and Xanana) in their respective position and status, their voices were also highly regarded by indigenous East Timorese.

Others, for example the young educated East Timorese avoid to speak out due to some special circumstances. "Sudah menjadi rahasia umum" that if you speak out, you'll be unexpectedly followed by "unknown people" (i.e. intels) which has always been used excessively in ET.

An example, each wing, the air force, the navy, the police, and the army have their own intelligence. In the army KOLAKOPS had its own intelligence unit, the territorial command from KOREM, KODIM down to KORAMIL (the military subdistrict command) all had their own intelligence. Moreover on the national level, the two national intelligence agencies BAKIN and BAIS were also represented in ET. In the last few years, the different intelligence units have competed with each other. As a result of using some recruited Timorese by the army, quality fell because of misinformation and half-truths.

So it is perfectly understandable that East Timorese were/are scare to speak out due to these circumstances. As reported in several media that nobody talks about the opening up of ET anymore, the slander margins of the last three years have disappeared. It is back to the grim reality of absolute military rule in ET.

I don't know exactly the number of Indonesian troops in ET (it is out of my capacity and my knowledge !!!), but at least 10,000 Indonesian troops were deployed there which consists of combat battalion and territorial battalion. The atmosphere of fear remains dominant on every East Timorese who meet any foreigners. Once they meet a foreigner, they will be unexpectedly 'visited' by the intels (tamu tak diundang) to interrogate what was going on.

To my opinion, the Indonesian authorities should decide to withdraw all the military forces in this tiny island and let the peace talks between the competent parties be realised.

Indeed it is a trauma for indigenous East Timorese to see the presence of Indonesian troops in ET to fight against the guerilla.

Fretlin actually is NOT trouble maker as claimed by Indonesia as GPK -(literally means 'security disruptor group.' Indeed they are not, what they're struggling for is

to be free of any occupiers,(i.e. Indonesia) and their objective is to be a free and sovereign country which live peacefully, in co-existence with their neighbour Indonesia.

The pattern of their struggle is defending the fatherland which belongs to them. Therefore we often hear the name GPK (Golongan Pembela Kemerdekaan) bukan Golongan Pangacau Keamanan.

Friends, we should deeply understand and respect the struggle of other people, particularly in this context the indigenous East Timorese who are fighting in the bush. They are not fighting against the Indonesian people and its culture, but they're demanding their right as indigenous who love their motherland (East Timor). Just because the chance for them to involve in the peace talks is not coming yet, that's why they continue to remain in the mountains.

In this context we looking forward to the next negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia under the UN auspices. I can't jump over to the likely outcome of the negotiation which is due December 17, 1992 in the UN headquarters. As an indigenous people we are expecting a comprehensive solution for East Timor as soon as possible, otherwise it will remain 'too late' and we will witness the suffering of innocent people through horrendous reprisal.

All the above assessment are related to the so-called "security matters" in East Timor. Other problematic issues emerging in East Timor from the process of transition from the Portuguese government to the Indonesian government (such as socio-economic, perception toward integration manifested by their resentment) are briefly summarized as follows:

1. The presence of 'outsiders' (i.e. pendatang ) from other provinces into ET and the appointment of qualified newcomers to fill the positions in the 'new administration.'

2. The increasing unemployment amongst the educated young and the lack of progress in building up a people's economy has led to an increasing obvious "indigenous-newcomer" dichotomy in ET.

To some extent ( I have to acknowledge what has gone right to the Indonesian government was their effort to 'membangun TimTim'). By pointing out this fact, IT DOESN'T NECESSARILY MEAN THAT I'M JUSTIFYING the Indonesian policy in East Timor !!!!!!!...

The effect and the result of the so-called DEVELOPMENT in East Timor, I let you read by yourself from the Indonesian sources available in the Indonesian embassies (may be ??).

To me, develop ET means putting its people as free as possible, respect their DIGNITY . As pointed out by Prof.

Dudley Seers (cited in Todaro (1989), "i.e. if people feel less self esteem, respect or dignity and/or if their freedom to choose has been constrained, then even if the provision of life-sustaining goods and improvements in levels of living are occurring, it would be misleading to call the result development"

I deliberately cited this statement here to stress the fact that the problems of development promoted by the Indonesians are persist as serious as ever.

Having described these facts, it is particularly interesting to observe one of the cultural aspects inside ET (i.e. language). Prior to 1975, Portuguese was the official government language in East Timor, and as such as, was primarily the language of Church and State. In fact, there are twelve mutually unintelligible indigenous languages. "The Indonesian government, incidentally, while formally acknowledging the existence -and to some extent, as part of its official national language policy, the right to exist of these twelve languages, also likes to talk about them as 'dialects,' which denigrates their status as autonomous languages and also suggests that they are somehow 'backward,' 'aberrant' dialects of Indonesian (Lutz, 1991).

Through 1975, Portuguese was the official language. Most schools in ET were run by the Catholic Church, among them is the prestigious seminary " Seminario da Nossa Senhora de Fatima" Dare, Dili. Its graduates later emerged as young intellectuals (one of them was Xanana Gusmao , the leader of FALINTIL who just captured in Dili recently.

After 1975, Indonesia moved rapidly to abolish the use of Portuguese and to establish the use of Portuguese and to establish Indonesian in its place as the new 'national language of East Timor.

What struck me in a report published by Deplu recently (East Timor Building for the Future, July 1992) that all traditional facets in East Timor are well preserved.

My question to the point, "What happened with the Portuguese language which has been taught in the "Externato de Sao José" a Catholic high school in Dili ? Is it well preserved by the Indonesian as one of the local culture?

It was the only institution that still considers Portuguese as the official language. Unfortunately this school has been closed by the Indonesian authorities claiming that it was the basis of pro- independence activist movement. What a pity ???

What's the reason behind that ? The answer is because the Indonesian government in ET does not understand Portuguese, continued use of Portuguese is to them much more of a threat. Not only does it represents a 'secret' language, opaque to the



Indonesian administration. Portuguese, therefore, is much more highly suspected, more analogous, perhaps to the use of Dutch in Indonesia during the Japanese occupation.

Like a Linguistic observer said " Despite ostensibly 'nationalistic' rhetoric, 'development' in East Timor is not a 'nationalistic' or a 'citizenship' type program of development. Rather, it is a program of 'development' through and for 'governmentality' and language policy is an integral part of that program."

Given such dynamics, therefore, perhaps it is not so hard to understand, after all, why the indigenous East Timorese feel that it is time for them to decide their own future. It is everyone's inalienable right to determine their own future. Therefore my perception toward the best solution of East Timor issue is involving all negotiating parties (including East Timorese representative under the UN auspices. Without losing faces from both sides (Portugal and Indonesia) a comprehensive solution must be seek as soon as possible.

It is inevitably that in talking about ET politics, whether or not one must refer to the Indonesian macro-politic dimension. For the time being, ET is still under Indonesian control, so the thing left to be done is to prove the validity of "integration" 16 years ago(Not by the Balibo Declaration which was forced to do so) .

Whether the majority East Timorese agreed or not in that time still questionable. So , in my opinion, the idea of referendum is the answer for detecting whether East Timorese are genuinely like Indonesia or they prefer to build their own household as an autonomy. I'm in favour to the latter, and it would be nice if we live coexistently as neighbours without interfere each other and respecting our people and culture respectively.

My friends, That's my personal point of view, I'm fully realized this small note contains an incomplete information on the whole issue of ET in the international arena. You might have noticed that I haven't mentioned the topic in the international viewpoint due to the limited time. Above all I do realize that talking about ET is a sensitive matter which requires a lot of patient, encouragement and dedication to reconcile this 'unfinished business.' And we all are looking forward to the outcome of the next negotiation in the United Nations (December 17,1992).

Thank you very much for your time to read this posting.

Sincerely yours,  
Abracos and salam persaudaraan  
An East Timorese

## ANOTHER EAST TIMORESE COMMENT

December 1, 1992

*This a reply from an East Timorese who does not have access to alt.culture.Indonesia.*

Dear friend,

Thanks for your comments and questions addressed to me based on my first posting in this net.

First, I'm sorry for taking a while in replying them.

Since you asked me six questions and comments, I will try to do my best in a brief summary.

I'm glad that you raised the question of What kind of government should it be if East Timor should be independent. The other is How do you govern the people whose majority is illiterate ? etc.....etc..

Before I give you a reply, I let you ask these questions to your self and then ask to your "heroes" or people of "Angkatan '45" who were fighting for Independence under the Dutch and Japanese occupation.

What were their aspirations? Did they ever think what kind of government should it be, if Indonesia gets Independence? What about the Indonesian people who lived in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku and Irian, IN THAT TIME the majority were literate or illiterate???

Mate, ....I don't feel offended of your comments, your comments and questions to me , regarded as 'food for thought.'

It's everybody's inalienable right to decide his/her own future, likewise East Timorese. They do have the right to decide what kind of government suits them.

An example, before Indonesia invaded ET on December 7th, 1975, East Timor was declared as a Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET) on 28 November, 1975. Even 2 days before the Declaration of Balibo (30 November 1975) by the 4 parties (Apodeti, UDT, Kota and Tralabalista). Indonesia claimed that the 'majority of East Timorese' had decide to 'integrate' to Indonesia, as expressed by the representatives of the four parties.

However, the validity of that petition is still questionable. As you may have noticed under what circumstances they issued that petition?. (homework for you.....if you're interested).

To my opinion, the East Timorese at least know what system of government suits them whether it is a democratic republic or federal or fully autonomous. I'm not in the right position to elaborate further because I'm not a politician. My main concern as "indigenous" pribumi "meminjam

istilah yang dipakai para pejuang angkatan'45), I don't want my people to continue suffer under this horrendous reprisal. Whatever government might be, the main feature here is to develop the territory freely and respecting its people based on their dignity and self esteem. To do this job, a region must be free from any occupiers, that's what East Timorese are struggling for.

I think the comprehensive solution still being discussed in the UN headquarters between Portugal and Indonesia. We're looking forward to the next negotiation which is due 17 December, 1992.

A number of concrete solutions has been proposed by José Ramos Horta (special representative of CNRM) to the UN. If you are interested, I recommend you to read his proposal which was widely published in the Indonesian press among them in the EDITOR (earlier this year, sorry .... I couldn't remember exactly the date).

Regarding your questions (no. 4, 5 and 6 ), I acknowledge your points, and my answer to them you can find out explicitly or implicitly in my posting (part 2) a couple of days ago in this net.

Finally, I knock your heart to " merenung kembali bagaimana aspirasi para pahlawan angkatan 45 atau veteran-veteran '45 sewaktu pendudukan Belanda dan Jepang ? Bagaimana pula sikap dan pandangan kaum pribumi di tanah air waktu itu ? Apa aspirasi para kaum muda intelektual (seperti Bung Karno, Bung Hatta, dan sejumlah pemuda yang berjiwa besar) dalam melanjutkan studi di negeri Belanda kala itu ?

Mate..... I think the pattern of struggle of those in 1945 and that of East Timorese at the moment is different in terms of time, but the scenario for both of them is more or less the same.

That's enough for the moment, and I wish you good luck with your academic work.

Let's wait and see for the next negotiation.

Abracos and Salam,  
An East Timorese

## PORTUGAL CLAIMS ON EAST TIMOR

From José Basto, Lehigh University. I hope this next points will make my position clear about the E. Timor issue, being debated with Mr. Gaston Dewanto:

### 1) Portugal claim to E. Timor:

Portugal does NOT claim E. Timor. Our only objective is to make sure that the process of decolonization that was interrupted by the Indonesian invasion will be completed.

When I stated that under UN law, Portugal is still the administering power, it means just that - is not a colonizer, it is just a responsibility to supervise an independence process (that internationality, was never granted to Indonesia).

## 2) Netherlands & Portugal

I think the Dutch did try to invade E. Timor (as they did on Flores, Sunda and W. Timor). They simply faced some very independent people, that choose to keep long time allies (the Portuguese).

Timorese desire to keep its freedom was (is) so strong that only in 1912 the last E. Timorese kingdom, based on the mountains, recognized the Portuguese King sovereignty.

## 3) W.W.II

The E. Timorese fought the Japanese invasion, on the side of Australian Commandos, with a cost of more than 100 000 deaths.

Same Portuguese, against the Portuguese fascist regime will (with ideological ties to Italy and Germany, against the ideas of the majority of the Portuguese people) also joined the resistance forces, with more than 100 deaths (as I stated before, E. Timor was the most remote Portuguese colony, with extremely low Portuguese presence. The last figure I have is 1475 Portuguese population, in 1974, and this after 30 years after the end of W.W.II).

As far as I know, the Japanese also did terrible things on Indonesia, but I am unaware of resistance on West side of the island.

## 4) Claims on E. Timor by the Republic of Indonesia (before 1975)

Rather than repeat the Portuguese sources, I believe that you will not put in doubt other sources:

### i) Reference: "EAST TIMOR: THE IMPACT OF INTEGRATION"

An Indonesian Socio-Anthropological Study" by Prof. Dr Mubyarto; Dr Loekman Sutrisno et al. The Gadjah Mada University Research Centre for Village and Development in cooperation with the Bank of Indonesia and The Local Development Planning Board for the Province of East Timor, Yogyakarta 1990. By the way, this is an excellent reference to anybody seriously interested in E. Timor.

I obviously can not agree with many things written there, because the authors worked on the basis that E. Timor was legally annexed by Indonesia - what is false, because Indonesia invaded the country - but at least, they did visited E. Timor and lived there for months, giving a glimpse of today's life in E. Timor.

The study refers the work done by ABRI more as disintegration then integration, the

"puppet" role of the Governor (everything must be directed from Jakarta), and gives thirteen measures to improve the situation (never implemented by the Indonesian government that continues to treat the Timorese at gunpoint...).

If you can not obtain this study in your original language, I can try to get permission from the Australian publisher to do a transcription to the USENET.

You can be sure that after reading this study, made by your fellow countrymen, you will not repeat your government positions about E. Timor integration...]

### <<... 2.2 Theoretical framework

The island of East Timor and its society have several characteristics which are different from the rest of Indonesia. East Timor was never physically involved in Indonesia's independence struggle against Dutch colonialism. Even after independence the Indonesian government never submitted a claim to the Portuguese government that East Timor was a legal part of the Republic of Indonesia. ...>>

### ii) Reference: "FACTS ON EAST TIMOR"

Information Division, Embassy of Indonesia, Washington, D.C. February, 1991

<<Background ... Indonesia as one of the initiators and co-sponsor of the Declaration [granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples] has since then supported the people of East Timor to exercise their sacred right to self-determination and repeatedly stated that it had no territorial claim to East-Timor. The Indonesian Government confirmed that it would respect any decision taken by the people of East Timor with regard to their political future. It is proven by the fact that since its independence until 1976, Indonesia maintained it's position that Indonesia's territory is the former Netherlands East Indies. ...>>

Just to show the hypocrisy of your government, allow me to tell you about some young Timorese, that trying to get an ally to get independence from the Portuguese, contacted the Indonesian Embassy in Dili, in 1973, asking for help to learn Bahasa-Indonesian and get support for their student movement.

The very same night, the PIDE (the Portuguese Secret Police) arrested all the students, by denunciation of the Indonesian Embassy about the "subversives." Good way to support the aspirations of the people of East Timor...

### iii) Reference: "THE INDONESIAN OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR, 1974-1989"

John G. Taylor, The Catholic Institute for International Relations, London 1990.

<<... April 3, 1975

Gough Whitlam [Australian Prime Minister at the time] meets President Suharto in Townsville. Suharto states that Indonesia 'does not have territorial ambitions, let alone plans to include the territory of Portuguese Timor with the territory of the Republic of Indonesia' {Angkatan Bersenjata, Jakarta}....>>

[No comments]

## 5) Fretilin in Portugal

Not only Fretilin members lives in Portugal. We did welcome any Timorese in Portugal, and issued them Portuguese passports.

As a matter of fact UDT (one of the parties of E. Timor, that "asked" for integration with Indonesia) signed a cooperation pact with Fretilin, forming the "National Council of Maubere Resistance," a united front against the invaders.

Also, the Timorese Resistance forces are now named FALINTIL, and they are not linked to any political party, they fight for the E. Timor country.

## 6) Situation on USSR and Yugoslavia

Why don't you go and ask them if they don't want to live again in communist dictatorship again, instead of a democracy?

You can not change the History, and peoples want more to be free than you can imagine... they did get enough of oppression and persecutions...

The links between former USSR countries were purely fear of KGB and communist propaganda. It is obvious that they will face big problems, with an economy that does not work, exhausted from decades of corruption, cold war race to weapons and just negligence in a colossal government institution. But I trust them to solve their problems, and I don't think that help by the West is so negative. Indonesia is being financial and technological being helped for decades, and it does not seems that your country is not happy with that. Portugal also is being helped by EEC, and the results are very positive.

Yugoslavia is a complex issue: the region is an interface between two continents, two civilizations, two religions.

Trough the centuries, they did always fight each other, and this last decades was a product of postponing problems, not solving them... I feel very sorry about it, but again, new democracies are being born, and I hope they will find a peaceful solution for the disputes on the former Yugoslavia.

What I can't agree is your reasoning: people just want bread and peace. It sounds a lot as South-African government arguments in the last years... "The Negroes in this country are the best feed in all Africa, the best educated, etc..." But they still fight

for their independence, because being free is more important than being well nourished.

I hope you don't support the South African regime B-)...even if your arguments resound a lot like theirs...

### 7) Situation on Indonesia

I must apologize to be "inconvenient" when I speak about Indonesia, but it is the fault of your regime and your hawkish generals.

Military regimes are always expansionists, so generals can be covered by glory, and justify their salaries. What they did suppose to be an walk-over in East Timor, remain fighting back, even without support from the exterior after 17 years of war against the biggest army of the region.

You can be sure that I have better things to do than written about what Indonesia did to E. Timor, but I am sure that this way is the only one that Indonesians can hear about other opinions. Just remember what happened to those 3 journalists from the weekly "Jakarta Jakarta" that have been sacked after publishing the first full eye-witness accounts of the Dili massacre last January, obviously taking out any remaining of credibility of the Government Commission of Inquiry...

I will quote your Minister of Information, Harmoko, talking about the Indonesian media: "We don't practice censorship. We don't need it, as the press has learned to censor itself."

As conclusion, please keep an open attitude towards the problem. From my point of view, this is more to free Indonesia from E. Timor problem then freeing the Timorese from Indonesia.

As a result of this debate, two points stand clear:

a) There is no evidence of historic claims from Java Empires on E. Timor.

b) The Republic of Indonesia never claimed E. Timor, before 1976.

I do not intend to continue debating other points, because this becoming more and more personal, without any result.

I believe I am talking mainly to students and "intellectual" people. I hope you can make a difference in the future of your nation, to install a true democracy in your country. Please read other opinions, and think about them without prejudices.

Many times I feel that you think Portuguese are your enemies. That is not true, we do not have anything against your country, only against your military regime. Sometimes, the emotions run high, maybe fruit of the impact of the images of the brutality of your troops, maybe because we have so many refugees from East Timor,

with stories that would make you to loose your sleep.

Please, don't fall in the easy trap that dictators have used numerous times through history: if in trouble at home, find a external enemy...

E. Timor is an international problem, not just between Portugal and Indonesia, Don't forget that in US, Japan, GB, France, Canada, just to name a few, there are "grass-roots" movements supporting the independence of E. Timor.

Just give the Timorese a chance, allow them to express their will in a supervised referendum.

The image of Indonesia in the future History lies in the hands of all Indonesians... if the "status quo" is maintained, it will not be very bright...

I would like to visit one day your wonderful country, and to know better your people, as I actively try to know better Indonesians. We are all Human Beings, and I hope that we can all work together for a better world. Please, try to know better also other cultures, because I feel that you do have a very "narrow" view of the Western culture. Even between "Western" peoples, I can assure you that we are very different.

I hope that this last posting made my ideas clear. I did try (in my little free time B-( to find references about the issues, and discuss with all innocence my point of view. I only hope that some day in the future the E. Timorese can freely present their view of the problem, because its their lives and future that is at stake.

All my best

*José Basto*