

Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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

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

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

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XANANA REMAINS IN PRISON

INDONESIA TRANSFERS XANANA TO JAKARTA

JAKARTA, Oct. 2 (Reuter) - Indonesia has moved jailed East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão from a prison in central Java to Jakarta, a prison official said on Saturday.

The official, who declined to be named, said the 47-year old Fretilin leader arrived at Jakarta's Cipinang prison late on Thursday. He had been held in Semarang since his life sentence was reduced to 20 years in August.

The official gave no further details and could not confirm whether Xanana had requested the move.

Xanana was sentenced to jail in May in the East Timorese capital Dili on charges of illegal possession of firearms and rebellion. After 17 years as a guerrilla leader he was captured last November.

Diplomats said that despite rumours that he had been on hunger strike in late August he seemed to now be in good health.

Representatives of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said this week they had resumed visits to East Timorese prisoners in Indonesia, including Xanana, and planned to see them at regular intervals.

EAST TIMOR'S RESISTANCE LEADER MOVED TO JAKARTA

UPI and Reuter, 2 October 1993. Abridged

Comment: This transfer represents a small victory for Xanana Gusmão. TAPOL knows from a totally reliable source that Xanana did go on hunger strike after being transferred to Kedungpane prison in Semarang partly because he strongly objected to being held with criminal prisoners. It is likely that he conveyed his objections to the International Red Cross team that visited him recently and possible to conclude that the transfer to Jakarta more than likely happened on the recommendation of the Red Cross. The transfer does not detract one iota from the illegality and injustice of his sentence and imprisonment.

(Jakarta) Government authorities have moved East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão from his cell in Central Java to Jakarta's Cipinang Prison, an official said Saturday.

Baharuddin Lopa, chief of the Prison Service, said the transfer of a prisoner is possible once it is decided that he would be better off in the new place. He also said that

Cipinang provides better guidance to the prisoners, and such transfers were routine.

The official, (who according to Reuter, refused to be named) said the 47-year old resistance leader arrived at Cipinang Prison late on Thursday. The official gave no further details and could not confirm whether Xanana had requested the move.

Diplomats said he seemed to be in good health despite rumours that he had been on hunger strike in late August.

Representatives of the International Red Cross said this week they had resumed visits to East Timorese prisoners including Xanana Gusmão and planned to see them at regular intervals.

POSTCARDS TO XANANA CAMPAIGN

For a copy of this leaflet, contact ETAN/US

Xanana Gusmão, steadfast leader of the East Timorese resistance and commander of its military arm, was captured by the Indonesian army on November 20, 1992. He was charged with rebellion and conspiracy, denied his own attorney, tried by the Indonesian occupier's courts, not allowed to address the judge, and sentenced to twenty years in prison. We reaffirm the intelligence and generosity of a man who, in such difficult circumstances, has kept alive his own dignity and the struggle of his people.

To commemorate the

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ARREST

And show the Indonesian leadership the gathering strength of international opinion, the Lisbon-based "Freedom for Xanana, Freedom for East Timor" Commission is organizing this campaign of solidarity with Xanana and with all Timorese political prisoners.

Send a postcard to Xanana. He may not be allowed to receive it, but his captors will know the people of the world are paying attention.

You can express the solidarity and friendship of the American people with the Timorese people, or any other message of support. Write to:

José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmão
Lembaga Permasalahan Kelas I Cipinang
Jalan Raya Bekasi Timur no. 170
Jatinegara-Jakarta, Indonesia

"The question of East Timor is the responsibility of the international community and a question of international law." - Xanana Gusmão

XANANA SPEAKS OF HIS HUNGER STRIKE

Diario de Noticias, 8 Nov. 1993. By Paula Ferreira. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Xanana Gusmão spent 3 weeks on "mogok makan." The hunger strike, always denied by the Indonesian authorities, was confirmed by Xanana himself during a brief "clandestine" meeting, in Kedungpane prison, in Semarang.

It was during a brief conversation, with prison guards standing closely by, that the former leader of the Maubere Resistance confirmed, in a mixture of Portuguese and Bahasa, that he had been on hunger strike. His interlocutor, an Indonesian human rights activist, reported the meeting with Xanana in a 10-page letter, which was then sent to solidarity organisations and to the *Diario de Noticias* (DN). The Indonesian activist managed to enter the prison with a group of other visitors and speak briefly with the prisoner, before the latter was transferred to Cipinang, after his hunger strike.

After a long wait, and even under the alert eyes and ears of two guards, the DN's source made the most of "that difficult opportunity" to get confirmation of the rumours about the hunger strike.

Xanana was resolute in his convictions, refusing "criminal" prisoner status. "This is a prison for rehabilitating criminals. I cannot, nor will not, recuperate, because I am not a criminal. So why should I have to stay here?," he asked. He seemed determined to do all he could in order to be transferred to the Cipinang political prison, and not to continue in Semarang, a prison meant to house common criminals.

The guerrilla's other concern was his family. "Xanana told me that the request for permission to say goodbye to his parents and sisters in Dili had been denied." What is more, most of his personal belongings had been taken away from him, when he transferred from Dili prison to Semarang. It was to protest about this situation that Xanana decided to embark on the hunger strike (mogok makan). A nun, who had been visiting Xanana since his arrival, as well as his cell mates, confirmed that the hunger strike had lasted for 3 weeks (and not two, as the Indonesian activist thought he had understood from Xanana).

"At first, he was so weak that he had to be helped to walk from his cell (which he shares with two other prisoners) to the place where religious activities take place."

His two cell mates are drivers, accused of murder. Our source regretted that he had been unable to meet them, and had not managed to see the conditions in the cell where Xanana was being held. Our source was

certain that, since Xanana was transferred to Semarang prison on 12 August, he had not been able to write as he had no pen. His pen had been confiscated so as to stop him from communicating with the outside. "Later, however, someone gave him a pen, right in front of the guards. I also learned that a nun offered to send out letters to his family, if he so wished." The historic Maubere leader "never lost his deep sense of fellowship towards his companions. He suggested to the prison guards that they allow a pastoral team to organise monthly discussion groups, at which the prisoners could talk about their problems, namely, the need for help in reintegration following certain prison terms." What the Indonesian activist found most moving was Xanana's concern about the family of the policeman, where he was at the time of his arrest. "He wanted to ask for help to send 250,000 Rupees (about 17.500 Escudos) to that family in Dili."

"Xanana's relatives also heard the news of this meeting. His sister "was very happy when I told her about his conditions in prison because, since the Easter 1993 visit, his family in Dili had not been allowed to see or speak to him." On 11th August, the day he was moved from Dili, the family, with the help of his defence lawyer, requested permission to see him for the last time. But even "this simple request to say goodbye was denied them."

The brief conversation lasted for just as long as the prison guards were not suspicious. Someone even managed to pass him some paper and envelopes.

XANANA GUSMÃO - ONE YEAR IN THE HANDS OF THE ENEMY

From Mate-Bian News, Nov. 20

On the 20th of November, Xanana Gusmão, the Symbol of the Timorese National Resistance against the illegal occupation of East Timor, will complete one year in the hands of the enemy, the Indonesian military criminals, or, as Xanana himself put it, in the hands of BAIS - Indonesian Secret Intelligence Service.

Immediately after Xanana was captured, Pres. gen. Suharto issued a statement demanding that "the GPK must be put on trial." Xanana Gusmão faced his enemies with pride and dignity. He applied his strategy of "one bullet, one soldier" and devised all the steps accordingly. He knew that he could only count with himself, and nobody else; he knew that the international community, in principle, was (and is on his side) but he was also aware that the enemy had the ultimate edge as far as his life is concerned.

When he was put on that illegal trial, Xanana Gusmão watched closely the proceedings in an attempt to try to understand how the process is developing and to what extent he can protect himself and launch his offensive. Xanana knew how to use the BAIS appointed Indonesian lawyer, Sudjono, and through him, acquired as much knowledge as the circumstances allowed about the pros and cons of his situation. As a result, he let the IN take the upper hand until the last day. In the early stage of the trial, Xanana appealed to the journalists (in English) to wait until the end! Many journalists understood what he meant but none really expected what Xanana was going to do...in the end!

In the end, Xanana Gusmão, challenged the right of the Indonesian lawyer to represent him and issued to the world his historical statement that killed the Indonesian generals "trial" which was, at best, a mockery of justice.

This first year marked a tremendous test for all the Timorese and the political forces that operate within this framework which one can call "Free East Timor." From unexpected quarters, we heard the accusation of "he was not a leader since August 1992" or "Xanana is a traitor..." etc. From the solidarity movement in general, there was a moment of uncertainty, specially during the earlier period of Xanana's trial.

Timorese Communities around the world, in general, in spite of an obvious lack of political direction which led to a prolonged state of confusion, managed to sustain the impact of the Indonesian campaign since day one! In Sydney, the Timorese community elected democratically what became known as the "Free Xanana Committee." A Committee made up of many committed volunteers which succeeded in upholding the pride and dignity of the Timorese people, defending unequivocally, the Symbol of the Timorese National Resistance - Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão. Free Xanana Committee was always active in defending Xanana. It sent a lawyer to be present in the farce trial, aiming at adding international pressure against the enemy and expressing to Xanana that his friends are alert. The lawyer presented his report to the community in Sydney; Free Xanana Committee defended tirelessly the Symbol of the Timorese National Resistance against all forms of campaigns mounted by the Indonesian generals to discredit the Resistance of the Timorese People. Free Xanana Committee also actively encouraged the completion of a video highlighting Xanana's role in the struggle and, specially, Xanana as a human being. In spite of all the difficult circumstances surrounding the trial itself, the video was released in an almost perfect time -the end of the "trial."

Free Xanana Committee reported regularly to the community through the Portuguese language newspapers, information pamphlets, and also community meetings. All the proceeds from the fundraisings pertaining to the various activities carried out by the Committee to fulfill its duties were reported to the Community; in the last meeting (17 July 1993) which FXC organised for the Community in NSW, the Committee presented its comprehensive report - activities and finance - to the Timorese Community in NSW.

The Timorese communities in other states also were very active in supporting Xanana. Continuous and well organised actions took place as the circumstances developed, to attack the crimes the government of Indonesia has been perpetrating against the people of East Timor in this last 18 years.

The campaign against the occupation is now also synonymous of freedom for Xanana; hence, the motto "Free Xanana, Free East Timor" - adopted by the international solidarity movement for East Timor. Therefore, the campaign to free Xanana is the campaign to free East Timor; that is, whenever we campaign to free East Timor, it is a campaign to free Xanana! That is what the Timorese who campaign to free East Timor have been doing since the motto was adopted. And...it does serve the global strategy to free East Timor.

The Lisbon-based "Free Xanana, Free East Timor" Commission launched the campaign "send a message to Xanana" to mark the first anniversary of Xanana's imprisonment. Matebian News/ETI&DC gave all the support to this campaign and launched an appeal for the general public to support it. Matebian News/ETI&DC distributed 800 copies of Matebian News (November issue) where the appeal is written in page 03.

The Timorese activists in Darwin and Melbourne are preparing support for this campaign too. We appeal to you all to support this campaign not just as a single action to mark this first anniversary but, above all, to continuously reach Xanana Gusmão inside the Indonesian murderous walls which they call "Cipinang." Reaching Xanana is breaking the walls of silence and crimes against the people of East Timor. We, therefore, appeal to you all to support and act on this campaign. Please see Matebian News, November issue, page 03.

Your message to Xanana can be sent to the International Committee of Red Cross, Head Office in Melbourne; this office of the ICRC will pass the messages to Xanana when possible. If you do have a better way to reach Xanana with these messages, if advisable, please let us know too. Let's make this a whole year campaign.

CNRM CALLS FOR XANANA RELEASE TO APEC

Media release from CNRM, Darwin, Nov. 20, 1993

On the first anniversary of the capture of East Timorese Leader Xanana Gusmão, South East Asian Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, José Gusmão has said that he hopes that the US, Japanese and Australian leaders will take the opportunity to remind President Suharto that the presence of Xanana Gusmão is essential at talks on the future of East Timor if any meaningful long term solution is to be arrived at.

Xanana Gusmão is the Commander in Chief of the East Timorese Military Forces, FALINTIL, and undisputed leader of the Maubere people of East Timor. He was captured in Dili, the capital of East Timor, on 20 November 1992 by members of the Indonesian military. Mr. Gusmão said that rather, than being held as a prisoner of war as required by international law, Xanana was tried before an Indonesian Court with no legitimate jurisdiction to entertain the charges against him. At the completion of the show trial staged by the Indonesian occupying forces Xanana was sentenced to life imprisonment. Since that time, in an attempt to appease the concern of the United States and others, the Indonesian President Suharto reduced the sentence from life to 20 years. Mr. Gusmão said that in an Indonesian gaol 20 years was for all intents and purposes a life sentence.

The Resolution passed with the support of the European Community, the United States and Australia in the UN Human Rights Commission earlier this year, acknowledges the illegality of Indonesia's actions in trying Xanana.

Since the end of the trial members of his family and the International Red Cross have all been denied access to visit Xanana. Xanana has been removed from the occupied territory of East Timor in breach of the Geneva Convention. He was first held in a gaol for common criminals in Semarang, Central Java, and after his second hunger strike, his captors have moved him to Cipinang, a gaol for political prisoners in Jakarta. Here he is even denied writing materials said Mr. Gusmão.

Mr. Gusmão said that he hoped that US, Japanese and Australian leaders would take the opportunity of using the inaugural APEC meeting in Seattle this week to press home to Indonesian President Suharto the need for the immediate and unconditional release of Xanana so that he could participate in UN sponsored peace talks. These talks, chaired by the UN Secretary General

Boutros Boutros Ghali, are aimed at achieving a just and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor. A need for such a solution was even acknowledged by Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, as recently as September this year said Mr. Gusmão.

In his statement read to the court in Dili Xanana appealed to the international community to understand that it is time to show that the New World Order is about to begin. This requires acts that will bring to an end the situation inherited from the past....The question of East Timor is the responsibility of the international community, a question of international law. It is a case in which universal principles are at stake and the universal pattern of law, peace and justice....

Mr. Gusmão said that he hoped that APEC would mark the beginning of the real implementation of the policies of the New World Order. He reiterated that the release of Xanana allowing him to participate in the peace talks would be a meaningful step in this process.

For more information contact José Gusmão on (089) 275478 or (016) 373 167.

INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS CONDEMN XANANA'S TRIAL

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The Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists (ASICJ) today release a report which is highly critical of the trial of East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão.

In releasing the report, ASICJ Chairman John Dowd QC claimed the trial breached natural justice and international law.

"The trial was conducted in breach of international standards of fairness and correct procedure. It breached international law as well as Indonesian law," Mr. Dowd said.

The report was released to mark the first anniversary, last weekend, of the arrest of Xanana Gusmão by Indonesian authorities. Mr. Gusmão was arrested one year after the Dili massacre of November 1991.

Two members of the Australian Section of the ICJ visited Dili, the capital of East Timor, to observe the trial and to discuss legal issues and the evidence against Gusmão with those involved in the trial.

The report concluded that Gusmão's trial lacked procedural fairness, and was inconsistent with international principals of natural justice. It found that Indonesia breached international covenants on human rights, and called on the Indonesian authorities to set aside the trial.

Mr. Dowd concluded, "The international community should condemn the trial and bring pressure to bear on the Indonesian Government to grant a new trial in accordance with international law."

John Dowd 233 2475 for copies of the report; Rodney Lewis 633 1777 for comment; Tony Simpson 313 6563 for comment

REPORT OF THE TRIAL OF JOSÉ ALEXANDRE GUSMÃO IN DILI, EAST TIMOR, IN 1993

The following is the full text.

The trial of Xanana Gusmão in Dili was observed at different times by two members of the Australian section of the International Commission of Jurists (ASICJ), and draws on the reports each of them. The reports include the members' observations and the result of discussions with witnesses and those involved in the trial, as well as other documentary material.

The members were Mr. David Lucas (a Melbourne solicitor from the Victorian Chapter of the ASICJ), and Mr. Tony Simpson (a Sydney solicitor and member of the ASICJ Executive). Mr. Rodney Lewis (a Sydney solicitor and member of the ASICJ Executive) was denied a visa to attend the trial, but prepared and submitted a report, The Mis-trial of Xanana Gusmão, on which this report is based

INTRODUCTION

On 20th November, 1992 the leader of the East Timorese resistance movement, Xanana Gusmão, was capture by Indonesian troops in Dili, East Timor. Gusmão, was captured by Indonesian troops in Dili, East Timor. Gusmão had led the military wing of FRETILIN, the party claiming to have broadest support among the people, in 1980 following the death of its former leader Nicolau Lobato. The capture took place just a little over a year after the Dili massacre at which member of the Indonesian Military Forces opened fire with automatic weapons on a crowd of several thousand people outside the Santa Cruz cemetery. The arrest of Gusmão once again focused international attention upon an issue which has troubled international relations between Indonesia and Portugal, Australia, the United Kingdom, Japan, the United States and many other countries since 1975. Indonesian authorities announced that they planned to charge Gusmão with rebellion and firearms possession offences, the latter carrying a maximum penalty of death.

East Timor had been a colony of Portugal for some 450 years until, in 1974, Portugal itself underwent its own change of political mindset. There was a military coup and as a result of the turmoil which was taking place

in Portugal, political groups in East Timor came into conflict and there was a clash of arms. On 28th November 1975, FRETILIN declared independence of East Timor and on 30th November, a coalition of parties called for the integration of the colony with Indonesia.

On 7th December, the Indonesia military landed in force around Dili launching a determined effort to subdue all opposition. In July, 1976 East Timor was proclaimed as the 27th Province of the Republic of Indonesia. From that time, Indonesia has steadfastly refused to accommodate, much less accede to, the protests of the many peoples groups and nations which have objected to the integration of the Province.

The United Nations General Assembly has adopted resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Indonesia military forces and the U.N. has never recognised the integration of East Timor into Indonesia. It still regards Portugal as the administering authority.

It is put by those that defend Indonesia's action since the invasion the "integration" has brought with it increasing development under programs established and implemented by the Indonesian government. By the Indonesian account the number of schools grew from 47 elementary, 2 middle and 1 high school in 1974 to 579 elementary, 90 middle and 39 high schools and 3 colleges in 1992. There has also been an increase in hospital and health clinic establishment and 20 kms of paved roads in 1974 and has been increased to a claimed total of 536kms of asphalt roads throughout Timor in 1992. In 1991, the province received US\$170m in Indonesia government grants which was 100 times the average yearly development expenditure in the final period of Portuguese rule. It is clear enough that the province was appallingly neglected during the Portuguese colonial era.

Since the Indonesian invasion in December, 1975 both sides in the political and military conflict have shed a great deal of blood. The armed resistance movement is clearly supported by people in the towns and villages for, if it were otherwise, the resistance would have failed soon after "integration." The latest manifestation of the resistance and a remarkable event the size of which did not have any parallel in modern (post 1975) Timorese history was the demonstration which took place on 12th November, 1991 by several thousand people who marched from the Motael Church near the Dili harbour, up the hill to the Santa Cruz cemetery. Formerly, the military authorities would have immediately taken steps to prevent such a large gathering taking place, especially one which had the potential for protest against integration and for self determination. As is now notorious,

that demonstration was terminated by the unconstrained firing into the crowd by some of the military forces present with automatic weapons resulting in heavy loss of life and serious injury.

There have been a number of reports and accounts of the brutality towards the East Timorese people, and the suffering which has become a hallmark of the struggle in the armed resistance to the Indonesian occupation. Perhaps one of the best official insights into the level and strength of the havoc which was wreaked by the FRETILIN resistance forces is to be discovered in the list of the prosecution's charges which was brogue against Gusmão by the authorities at the outset of his trial. The charges went into some detail in describing particular armed attacks and raids which the FRETILIN forces had engaged in, following Gusmão's appointment as Supreme Commander of the FRETILIN army. The incidents were detailed from 19th June, 1980 through to 5th November, 1992, many of which involved the killing of Indonesian soldiers, the taking of firearms and other possessions and the burning of property.

To provide some insight into the insight of the military forces charged with maintaining order in East Timor and the atmosphere into which the witnesses were required to give their testimony at the trial some fifteen months later, it is salutary to recall the words of the Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces (as he then was) General Try Sutrisno uttered two days after the Dili massacre and reported in a Jakarta newspaper on 14th November 1991, - "ABRI is determined to exterminate anyone who disrupts stability."

After the Dili massacre the Indonesian Government instituted an inquiry known as the Djaelani Commission, so named after its Chairman, and as a result some charges were laid against the military. Whilst there has been considerable disquiet expressed on two grounds - not only at the disparity of sentences passed on the military as opposed as passed on the marches but also that the military were charged with military offences rather than under the normal Criminal Code whilst the marchers were generally charged under the controversial Anti-Subversion Laws - nonetheless the attitude and reaction of the Indonesian Government was generally favourably received by the international community.

Indonesia also agreed to and co-signed the Commission of the Human Rights Resolution at the 48th session reference E/CN.4/1992/L.10/ADD.12 in response to international concern with that incident, and perhaps also concern at the overall position in East Timor.

XANANA GUSMÃO

Gusmão was born in Mana Tuto, East Timor on 20th June 1946. He was the second son of nine children and studied for four years in a Jesuit seminary in the mountains overlooking Dili and also attended Dili High School. He completed three years compulsory military service in the colonial Portuguese forces and later, worked in the colonial administration Local Government Department.

Xanana Gusmão married in October, 1969 and has two children whom he has not seen since 1975. His wife and children now live in Melbourne. He sought to emigrate to Australia in 1974 and visit Darwin in that year. In the same year, he became a member of FRETILIN.

Gusmão was captured at a hide-out at the home of close relatives of the FRETILIN representatives in Lisbon, Abilio Araujo. They, together with several others were arrested at the time. Xanana Gusmão was asleep in an underground room especially built for the purpose and accessible only through a trap door concealed under a wardrobe. He had been using the hideout for a considerable period of time.

Some days after his capture, Xanana Gusmão appeared on State television in discussion with the governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares. He called upon his followers in the armed resistance to surrender to the Indonesian Military authorities.

THE TRIAL

According to the prosecution, Gusmão was accused of taking over the position of Supreme Commander of the FRETILIN army in 1980 following which there was an attack on security post resulting in two member of the Indonesian security forces being shot dead and three being wounded. There then followed in the document a catalogue of activities of the armed resistance movements from 1981 through to November, 1992. Gusmão was also accused of establishing a communication network which extended not only to other Indonesian provinces but also internationally and included appointing José Ramos Horta as the special C.N.R.M. representative, being interviewed by foreign journalists including Robert Domm of Australia and commanding one Costansio Pinto to organise the co-ordinate the demonstration in November, 1991 upon the arrival in Dili of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, Professor Kooijmans, by taking advantage of the congregation of a mass at the Motael Church. Gusmão was further accused of being arrested in possession of several firearms with ammunition.

In response to the charges the defendant's counsel presented a document which

challenged the jurisdiction of the Court to try the accused, called an Eksepsi. In it the defence canvassed the political history of East Timor, the emergence of FRETILIN and its establishment as a group which had consistently sought independence for East Timor. FRETILIN had always wanted to establish a separate state and therefore did not recognise the administration nor the new legal system which was imposed by Indonesia after integration. It was submitted that the Dili District Court and its jurisdiction only came into existence long after the establishment of FRETILIN. It concluded that the court had no authority to try the accused and a declaration to that effect was sought. The Court composed of the judges, the most senior of which was Hieronymus Godang S.H., would not accede to these arguments.

The witnesses who appeared for the prosecution and the substance of their testimony confirmed the allegations which contained in the prosecutions list of charges. On 11th December after the Court decide to proceed with the trial instead of acceding to the defence objections to its jurisdiction, Mr. Sudjono announced his intention to appeal that decision and told the press: "I am appealing to the High Court over the Judge's decision because integration is not valid juridically and is still an issue at the United Nations."

On 15th February four witnesses who were members of the Armed Forces of The Republic of Indonesia (ABRI) testified.

On 16th February Gusmão told the court that he was willing to accept responsibility for the crimes of his followers who had carried out various FRETILIN activities over the previous 16 years in the forest of Timor.

On 22nd February Gusmão's capture former deputy, Mauhudo, gave evidence of the operations and hierarchy within the FRETILIN movement. He spoke of his association with Gusmão from 1977. he was asked that Xanana Gusmão's policy line was to which he replied: "To struggle for East Timorese independence. Then the combat wing, FALINTIL, was divided into six sections to carry out ambushes on the Indonesian army, attack army post to steal arms and ammunition and to steal goods from the army and civilians."

On Thursday, 4th March the prosecution produced two further witnesses, Luis Cardoso and Saturnino da Costa Belo. They were expected to tell of Xanana Gusmão's activities during more than 16 years in the jungle. Saturnino was accused of involvement in the 12th November demonstration and was serving 12 year goal sentence in Baucau, East Timor. He was accused of being a FRETILIN courier, assigned by

Mauhudo to take a letter from Xanana Gusmão to Costansio Pinto, the leader of the Executive Committee in Dili, urging him to hold a demonstration on 12th November, 1991; the letter was then passed on to Gregorio Saldanha who had the task of arranging the demonstration. Saldanha received a life sentence in 1992 for his involvement in the organisation of the demonstration resulting in the "Dili massacre" after being found guilty under the Anti Subversion Act, and Costansio Pinto after remaining in hiding for months, later escaped from East Timor and has sought refuge in Portugal.

An incident of significance occurred when Saturnino da Costa Belo presented himself to give evidence on 4th March. At the onset he exclaimed: "Viva Independencia! Viva Timor Leste! Viva Xanana!" The judge ordered him to sit down but instead he continued with his defiance saying: "I ask the government of Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor." the hearing was suspended at that point and the witness removed and a doctor called in to examine him. About 45 minutes later the doctor informed the Court that the witness had a "mental disorder" and was unfit to appear.

Following this incident, the pre-prepared statement of the witness was then read to the court. In a telling omission, Suara Timor Timur merely carried the statement that "although Saturnino was unable to attend, with the permission of the (Court) his statement from the interrogation report was read out."

In all, 20 witnesses appeared for the prosecution, the last of whom gave evidence on 18th March. A further review of the trial timetable took place against the background of the need to complete the case within a framework of 120 days as provided by the Criminal Procedure Code. Beyond that time, it appears that defendants in Indonesia would otherwise be released from detention if their trials exceeded that time limit - a result which in the case of Xanana Gusmão, the authorities were rather keen to avoid.

On 13th May, 1993, the defendant, Xanana Gusmão, produced a 26 page handwritten statement in Portuguese, however, he was prevented from reading it by the Court on the basis that it was first required to be translated into the Indonesian language. A further session of the Court was appointed for 17th May. One point which was immediately noted by observers, however, was that Gusmão had contradicted his earlier assertion which had been made at the star of the trial that he was an Indonesian citizen.

On 17th May Xanana Gusmão was permitted at last to commence reading his defence plea but "he was stopped after a few minutes - his defence was considered irrele-

vant by the judges." The statement had been eagerly awaited by many legal, diplomatic and press observers, both within Timor and outside because of the extreme difficulty, encountered by all who had taken a direct interest in his case, in anticipating just what Gusmão was intending to say. That difficulty arose because of the isolation imposed upon him by his captors and the controversy about the choice of legal representation.

Despite the best efforts of the Indonesian authorities to suppress the document, the defence pleas of Xanana Gusmão has now been translated into English and other languages and is available for scrutiny by the international community. He begins by thanking the judges for the opportunity of expressing himself freely without coercion of any kind (presumably confident that he would at least be allowed to finish). "This is the appropriate moment for me to explain everything." He then goes on to affirm, once and for all, that he is "like all Timorese, a Portuguese citizen, and before my own conscience I am a citizen of East Timor."

"The U.N. recognises all legitimate all means of opposition to the colonial presence in any part of the world where people are fighting for liberation. My struggle and the resistance of my people ... should be placed in this context, standing above Indonesian law... the key question in this Court is the so-called process of the integration of East Timor."

"Mr. Peter Kooijmans... the rapporteur of the United Nations (was) sent to East Timor with the agreement of Jakarta to investigate... violations of human rights... during his visit a massacre was perpetuated in cold blood... the corpses have disappeared to this day or rather, were thrown into mass graves. Where? Only the forces of occupation know. Many of the murderers are present in this room, men from Kopasus, INTEL, the men in whose hands the entire political life in East Timor and also of Indonesia rests.

Gusmão then referred to some of the intimidation which had apparently been occurring: "Many witnesses who ere brought here were inhibited from saying what they wanted to say." He referred to the earlier incident involving the exclamation of the witness, Saturnino: "The hastily drafted medical statement stating that Saturnino was ill should make you blush with shame, all you gentlemen here present, because you know very well that the question rests here with you."

Gusmão deals with the military and political situation in general in saying: "The Indonesian generals should be made to realise that they have been defeated in East Timor. Here today is the commander of

FALINTIL, the glorious armed forces of national liberation of East Timor, to acknowledge military defeat on the ground. I am not ashamed to say so. On the contrary, I am proud of the fact that a small guerilla army was able to resist in a cowardly fashion invaded us and want to dominate us by the law of terror and crime, by the law of violence, persecution, prison, torture and murder. The moment has come for Jakarta to recognise its political defeat on the ground..."

His earlier contrived recantations fade into an embarrassing part of Indonesian history as he make his own personal statement about the struggle in which he has and will engage himself: "I can never recognise the criminal occupation of East Timor, only in order to be able to live for a few more years. My struggle is superior to my life. The people of East Timor have sacrificed their lives and continue to suffer. ...from today, I will start a hunger strike as a practical ways to appeal to the European community, the United States Government and the government of Australia."

On 21st May, 1993 the District Court at Dili found Xanana Gusmão guilty of all charges and sentenced him to life imprisonment. On 4th June the defendant's counsel, Mr. Sudjono announced in Jakarta that he had lodged an application for clemency to be submitted to the President of Indonesia. According to reports, neither the application or Sudjono's authority to apply for the exercise of discretion by the President was signed by Gusmão himself. In view of the apparently unshakable convictions of the defendant as expressed in his final defence plea, it is curious to say the least that an application for clemency should be made so shortly thereafter on his behalf by his own defence counsel.

THE CONDUCT OF THE TRIAL

Under the provisions of the Indonesian Criminal Code a trial of this kind is conducted in a court which is to be open to the public. Indeed, subversion and other political trials are often the subject of intense public interest and it is not unusual in Indonesia for crowds to throng the courtroom and its immediate environs. The Court officials often set up a public address system so that the crowds outside the Courtroom may better hear the proceedings.

East Timor is claimed by the Indonesian government to be an "open" province. That is to say, although there are large numbers of troops, it is possible for Indonesians themselves, as well as foreign visitors to Indonesia, to come and go to the province without hindrance. Regrettably, this claim of openness is not borne out by the reality.

Representatives of Amnesty International were refused permission to attend the trial. Mr. Rodney Lewis although accredited by the IBA London and the Law Council of Australia, was denied a visa. On the day on which Gusmão was finally to be heard in his own defence, it appears the military contrived to hinder all foreign observers. There were no diplomatic or legal observers present on that day. "Overbooked" flights and other travel problems were blamed for the obstructions.

Again, the defendant himself has his say on this contentious issue in the following terms:

"Here is this so-called Court, I see only Indonesians and above all, Indonesian military (from the Intelligence services.) According to Indonesian law, trials of this nature are, or should take place in public. Every time I enter this courtroom, the public I see are these same military authorities, some of whom have been the main actors in y case, throughout my imprisonment. The Timorese, my compatriots, are out in the street under strict surveillance. This is the blatant rule of the occupier."

The Asia Watch observer who attend the trial for a short period remarked that the trial had not been open to the public and noted the requirement for identification and checking of names against a list at two checkpoints. Reference was also made to one taxi driver who was apparently so intimidated that he did not wish to drive near the courthouse.

There was a controversy at the outset of the trial when it became clear to some observers that the defendant may not have been free to choose his legal representatives as provided by Indonesian law. The Legal Aid Institute base in Jakarta which had actively and vigorously defended a number of the Dili massacre defendants the previous year was rejected. Instead, Gusmão chose a Jakarta lawyer from a list of options presented to him by the authorities. It was quite clear that he was interrogated for lengthy periods after his arrest without having access to any lawyer, let alone one of his choice.

Since accessed to the accused was, with rare exceptions, reserved to his lawyer, the choice in this case was critical to questions concerning many observers, such as whether overt (or perhaps even vicarious) physical or mental intimidation was being applied him.

The truth was eventually revealed by the defendant himself in the "irrelevant" defence statement - "on 22nd December, I read a letter to me by the (Legal Aid Institute). On 23rd December I replied to (them) accepting a lawyer, but I was compelled to renounce it. On 30th December I had to write a let-

ter... refusing their offer. My initial letter which had been intercepted was returned to me."

Ultimately he appointed Sudjono, which produced controversy in the Indonesia legal community and claims that he was compromised by his close association with the defendant's captors Sudjono, on his own account rang his former student and friend after seeing him on television with Xanana Gusmão and eventually took the brief. When asked in a subsequent interview 'you're known as a lawyer famous for being close to the police and bureaucracy,' he replied, "What's wrong with that? Why should they my enemy?... That's how I make my living"

INTERNATIONAL AND INDONESIAN LAW APPLICABLE

Indonesia is a member of the United Nations although it is not a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). The ICCPR is, however, a convenient measurer by which the legal systems of the members nations of the U.N. may assessed.

On 10th December, 1948 the General Assembly of the U.N. adopted what is considered to be the authoritative guide to the interpretation of the U.N. Charter in the form of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

Article 10 of the UDHR provides "Everyone is entitled... to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial Tribunal, in the determination of .. (a).. criminal charge against him."

Article 3 of the ICCPR provides that, in the determination of a criminal charge, everyone is entitled to certain minimum guarantees, namely:-

(b)...to communicate with counsel of his own choosing (d)...to defend himself...through legal assistance of his own choosing (e)...to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his own behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him

The Covenant allows that the public and press may be excluded from the trial for reasons of public order or national security. However, in his case, the authorities, although concerned about security, did not use these issues as an excuse for the impediments to observers and public during the trial.

There are a number of relevant provisions of the Indonesian Criminal Code or KUHAP which are of assistance. They may be summarised as follows -

S.52 - when interrogated the suspect must be in a position to speak freely without any pressure being brought to bear upon him by anyone and in any form.

2.54,60 - the right to be assisted by the counsel of one's choice - if none is chosen a lawyer is assigned automatically where the sentence is death or imprisonment for more than 15 years.

2.65 - the defendant has the right to seek and submit witnesses who are favourable to him

2.153 (4) - it is the duty of the Judge to ensure that nothing is done no questions are asked which would cause the defendant or a witness not to be free to answer. To do so must result in an annulment of the decision

S.117 - makes the same provision for witnesses

2.159 - empowers the court with the authority to compel the appearance of witnesses

S.153 - all cases are to be heard in public except cases involving morals or juveniles.

BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL AND INDONESIAN LAW

The Australian Section concludes:-

* There has been a serious breach of international human rights standards and of Indonesian law in connection with the defendant's right to counsel of his own choosing (ART 3, ICCPR: s54, KUHAP)

* The reported outright refusal of the Governor of East Timor to allow any local Government officials to testify for the defendant not only appears to give offence to the Court but to potentially offend against s.65 of the KUHAP and article 3(e) of the ICCPR

* the court was patently not "open to the public" in breach of article 10 of the UDHR and of s.153 of the KUHAP

* a climate of fear intimidation and repression maintained by the military both before and since the Dili massacre incident which for all practical purposes removes the possibility of "a fair and public hearing by a competent independent and impartial tribunal..." thus offending against Article 10 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 153(4) of the KUHAP.

* as to Gusmão's right to an interpreter Article 14(3) of the ICCPR was clearly breached. The skill, accuracy and independence of the interpreters available to Gusmão at the trial and during his preparations have been brought into question. At the hearing on April 15th which the ASICJ observed, diplomats and journalists present noted several discrepancies. The interpreters on that occasion, as well as making a number of significant mistakes (inadvertently or otherwise), was reported to have been drawn from the staff of the Governor's Office, thus raising serious questions about independence and impartiality.

* arguably if there has been a breach of article 153(4) then according to its terms,

the decision of the Court should be annulled and therefore this issue and all others appropriately relevant should be raised with a higher Court upon appeal.

* the extraordinary decision of the Court to deny to the defendant the right to address it must rank as an injustice an unfairness of the first order.

This was no ordinary trial, not least because the defendant was facing the death penalty. For this reason such an irregularity in proceedings must offend article 10 of the Universal Declaration and all the rules of the natural justice and fairness. If the Court took the view the defence statement was irrelevant shortly after it was commenced, it deprived itself of the benefit of hearing the remainder of the statement and by definition, of dispensing justice without the aid of the very material which it had to review.

A majority of members of the United Nations General Assembly when last they were called upon to vote on the question denied Indonesia the right to remain and by inference the application of its domestic law to East Timor. In particular the Security forces but has been ignored. Indonesia then has been "convicted" at its own "trial" on the question of recognition of sovereignty and of jurisdiction.

CONCLUSIONS

The Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists concludes that the trial of Gusmão breached Indonesian and international law on all charges brought, and therefore concludes:

1. That procedural fairness and international principles of the natural justice were denied to Xanana Gusmão in the conduct of the trial.

2. That Indonesia breached international covenants on human rights and the proper conduct of trials in the trial of Xanana Gusmão.

3. That the trial breached Indonesian law even if it were considered that that law were applicable.

4. That the trial and sentence over Xanana Gusmão be set aside.

5. That the international community should condemn the trial and bring pressure to bear on the Indonesian Government to grant a new trial in accordance with international human rights laws.

The Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists is a national section of the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva. The view expressed in this report are those of the Australia Section, not necessarily that of the international body of members of the International Commission of Jurists.

REPORT ON XANANA'S CONDITION

By: FRETILIN Committee of NSW, Dec. 13

1. We have been informed by reliable sources that Xanana Gusmão has just been visited by International Red Cross delegates who were accompanied by his closest relatives.

Xanana Gusmão was visited for three consecutive days, namely on the 9th, 10th and 11th of December 93.

According to the same sources, Xanana is under strict camera surveillance.

Xanana has made an appeal to all East Timorese to support Konis Santana, the leader of the political and armed front of the resistance.

2. We have been informed last Thursday, 9 December 1993 that Xanana has been complaining, about the conditions in Cipinang prison centre. He was reported as saying that he has been unable to sleep due to the mosquito bites.

3. The situation in East Timor remain unchanged.

People are arrested, interrogated, tortured, detained and released but rearrested again after a few days afterwards, every time a foreign delegation is to visit East Timor.

There are at least 20,000-22,000 Indonesian troops in the territory, despite Jakarta's claim that some of its battalions had been withdrawn.

EVENTS INSIDE EAST TIMOR

SWEDISH MPS VISIT EAST TIMOR

From November, 1993 issue of Network News, newsletter of the East Timor Action Network/US.

Three Swedish parliamentarians, the first foreign politicians allowed in since 1991, visited East Timor in September. In a briefing about the trip, Ingrid Irhammar from the Center Party told ETAN that despite assurances from Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas before they left for Dili, they were not allowed free access in East Timor. Everywhere they went, soldiers and police accompanied them. A late request to visit Xanana Gusmão in prison was denied.

Bishop Belo told the group that "We live here like in a prison, everyone is in prison, please tell about this." He called East Timor "an island of total fear and terror." He said

there were informers throughout the Catholic Church.

In a rare moment, Irhammar had a brief private conversation with a Timorese waiter, who told her that it is "more terrible here, than you think." She said it was easy to see how "watched and controlled" the population is.

The MPs also met with the three Timorese students, who had sought asylum in the Swedish Embassy in Jakarta last spring. They agreed to leave the embassy after receiving assurances that would not be harassed. The MPs are exploring alternate ways to help them leave Indonesia for Portugal.

An Indonesian official criticized the MPs, saying "they did not behave like guests in Indonesia who wanted to make a just and objective assessment of the conditions in East Timor. They behaved more like inspectors."

The parliamentarians are from Sweden's three largest parties, Social Democrat, Moderate and Center. Since their return, they have raised questions concerning human rights and Swedish arms sales to Indonesia. They are also calling for international pressure, including a trade boycott and an immediate international arms embargo, to force the Indonesian armed forces to withdraw from East Timor.

EAST TIMORESE SENTENCED FOR NOTE DEMANDING GOVERNMENT COMPENSATION

AP, 1 October 1993. Abridged

(Dili) A local court said Friday it has sentenced an East Timorese to one year in prison for writing a note to President Suharto on Indonesian currency demanding compensation for victims of a pro-independence demonstration (sic).

Pedro Sarmiento da Costa, an employee at the local Investment Coordinating Board, was convicted Wednesday of humiliating the state by defacing the money, the court said.

He was arrested in February after the local post office discovered he was sending a 10,000 rupiah (\$4.74) bill bearing a handwritten demand to President Suharto.

De Costa testified he was sending the note to demand "\$500 billion compensation from the president for the victims of the Santa Cruz incident."

Da Costa address his demand to a special post office box for letters to the government but it was never sent because the post office discovered the writing on the money.

ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION IN EAST TIMOR

Notes by Rob Wesley-Smith, BRurSc ph/fax: [61-89] 83 2113

October 1993

This has been raised by East Timor supporters for eighteen years, yet probably without enough impact. I raised it with the Australian Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs in June last year. In this case I mentioned the spraying of herbicides to remove some tree cover to make it easier to hunt out the Resistance, and that I had been told that Australia's excess stocks of the defoliant Agent Orange from the Vietnam war had been sold to the Indonesians. This claim needs further investigation.

Environment degradation in East Timor needs more attention:

- [a] to gather evidence
- [b] to assess what the Resistance can do to try to improve the situation

Re [a]: I believe the Indonesians are damaging the environment of East Timor:

[1] Spraying chemical defoliant (such as Agent Orange from Vietnam) from aircraft. Has anyone seen this - probably mainly in 1977 and 1978, when they got the Bronco OV10 aircraft from the USA; or seen its effects, such as loss of leaves or strange dieback of trees; or seen spray nozzles (jets) on the trailing edge of wings, then or more recently?

[2] Cutting of trees - such as Sandalwood - for timber; clearing of trees for other reasons; excessive clearing in association with road-building or with the forced establishing of villages or other projects.

[3] Excessive burning, especially in the mid-late Dry Season. This will have the effect of creating hot fires, thus killing off the woody vegetation, especially smaller trees and shrubs initially - but repeat fires can kill bigger trees, too. And as the fires kill the smaller woody vegetation, the shade canopy is opened up, which allows more grass to grow, which then carries fire more easily and hotter, which kills the bigger trees. Observers - and the evidence of some photos - suggest that many hillsides have been degraded in this way since 1975.

[4] The human environment. Of course the whole obscene brutal occupation of the country degrades the "human environment" in all ways. But I would like to focus on the effects of the forced relocations of villagers into the tin shanty towns located along the roads being built for military - not philanthropic - purposes with the support of the collaborators of the Australian and Northern

Territory governments. These tin villages are the equivalent of the discredited "fortified hamlets" of the Western war in Vietnam.

Villagers to this day are prohibited from establishing or visiting gardens, or harvesting "bush tucker," more than short distances away from their guarded tin shanty (or collection of such into local "sucos"), and many have been tortured and/or killed as a result of such a "transgression." Also the forced removal of tribespeople and clans from their own ancestral lands has severe cultural and efficiency implications, helping the cultural and actual genocide being practised. This and many other issues has many parallels with the Australian Aborigine experience of yesteryear (today, too).

The removal of the local people from their land allows or encourages the physical degradation of the land by removing the knowledgeable land managers. In the Northern Territory of Australia the Aborigines used to light small fires wherever and whenever appropriate as they moved around the territory they occupied. Over the ages this had helped to shape the landscape and to protect rainforest trees and other sensitive vegetation from the effects of the devastating hot Dry Season fires which occur occasionally once the land managers are no longer functioning. This patchwork or mosaic of burning was also good for the production and location of much bush tucker. Some recognition by the authorities here of the protective value of this practice has now led to a program of aerial lighting of fires in the early Dry Season over wide areas of the Northern Territory.

Now I realise that a lot of burning will be done by the Timorese people to assist them with their agriculture, or for visibility, or to reduce the fire hazard. This can be good or bad, depending how it's done. I'd like to suggest how to burn to make life easier for the trees to grow well, which I presume is better in that it gives the people more cover (protection) from the military as well as protecting the land from erosion, weed invasion and other degradation.

Small "cool" fires will not kill the trees and will protect the area from "hot" fires later in the season. This means that people out bush should burn areas of dry or old grass more-or-less whenever they find them, no matter when except for the mid-late Dry Season (or, of course, unless it is bad for immediate security reasons). It is often possible to burn old grass patches during dry spells in the Wet Season. Try not to let fire burn around or into rainforest patches by clearing the grass from the edges and/or burning with the wind taking the fire away. Food crops could be sown into the burnt area.

The Australian and Northern Territory governments seek to aid development in East Timor by use of AIDAB and other government agencies in co-operation with the brutal illegal occupying military regime, and to praise their "developments" of recent years. These only assist the subjugation of the country. They would better serve the people of East Timor - not that there is any evidence that they wish to do this, by an honest assessment of the situation - by fighting to allow the people of East Timor the rights guaranteed under the UN Charter and Declarations, including freedom of association and movement, and by providing permanent, on-the-spot agencies and staff to assist the people directly rather than via the disgusting occupying oppressive and murderous forces.

KONIS SANTANA WANTS TALKS WITH INDONESIA

Portuguese Catholic Radio, Renascenca. 1 October 1993

The East Timorese resistance leader, Konis Santana, has called on Portugal to try to convince the Indonesian authorities to hold talks with the resistance movement.

The Radio quoted Konis Santana as saying in a letter to the Portuguese President, Mario Soares, that dialogue was the best path to peace in East Timor, a dialogue which must also include the Timorese people and the Catholic Church.

Santana also called on the resistance movement to fill the power vacuum created after the arrests of its leaders Xanana Gusmão and his successor Ma'Huno, by voicing total and unconditional support in the resistance leader abroad, José Ramos-Horta.

MILITARY SAYS ONLY ABOUT 100 GUERRILLAS REMAIN IN EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA (UPI, Oct. 5) – Government authorities contend only about 100 East Timorese guerrillas are still hiding out in the former Portuguese colony, a news report said Tuesday.

Lt. Col. Suprpto Tarman, an Indonesian military official stationed in East Timor, was quoted in Jakarta's Media Indonesia newspaper as saying that the numbers of guerrillas in the province had been declining gradually.

"They already number very little. There are about 107 people left," Suprpto said. He also maintained the pro-independence fighters have no influence at all with the majority of the population of East Timor.

Suprpto said that from 1977 to 1989, Indonesian armed forces had concentrated on "wiping out the guerrilla remnants."

Indonesia keeps troops in the province for social and other development activities, as well as to deal with Fretilin rebels fighting for an independent of East Timor.

Meanwhile, East Timor's governor, José Osorio Soares, said the poor quality of human resources remains an obstacle to further development of the province.

Disputes over the status of East Timor also impede plans to develop the area.

East Timor, 1,250 miles (2,000 km) east of Jakarta, is a former Portuguese colony. Lisbon withdrew in 1975, but Indonesian troops invaded shortly after. Jakarta annexed the territory one year later, but the United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and still regards Portugal as the territory's administrative power.

The East Timor situation made international headlines in November 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire on a pro-independence demonstration in the provincial capital Dili, killing scores of protesters. The bloody incident drew international condemnation of Indonesia.

Indonesia and Portugal have been trying to settle the future of East Timor through the United Nations. The third round of U.N.-brokered talks between Lisbon and Jakarta Sept. 17 in New York produced several agreements.

Among other things, Jakarta and Lisbon agreed on the importance of promoting human rights and freedom in East Timor and on providing access to East Timor for U.N. and humanitarian organizations.

SCHOLARSHIPS ENDED, EAST TIMORESE STUDENTS UPSET

Jawa Pos, 6 October. Abridged

(Solo) At least five East Timorese students studying at the University for Development Studies in Solo (UTP) are upset because their scholarship allowances from the East Timorese administration have been stopped. This is despite the fact that they are still registered by a gubernatorial decision as being recipients of scholarships. The cancellation of their allowances dates from September.

Students contacted by Jawa Pos confirmed that they were astonished because they had received no advance notice that this would happen. "We had no reason to believe that our scholarships had been stopped," said José Soreno Gomes.

The students affected are in the final stages of their studies. "The psychological

impact has been severe, especially as we face final exams in October," he said.

The amount received depends on requests submitted by the students, within a ceiling fixed by the East Timorese administration for different types of expenses.

The students feel particularly aggrieved as the stoppage was the result of a unilateral decision even though according to a gubernatorial decision in August 1993, they are still entitled to get their allowances. They had even been asked to submit their budgets for the concluding months of their studies.

Even so, the Social, Mental and Spiritual Department of the administration issued a letter on 30 September saying that the East Timorese students at UTP would no longer get their scholarship allowances.

"We are very upset because it has happened so suddenly." If they wanted to do this, they should have notified us long ago, said José.

RENETIL APPEALS FOR SOLIDARITY

The following is a translation from Portuguese of an appeal for solidarity received by CNRM in Darwin on behalf of Secretary General of RENETIL.

CNRM-National Council of Maubere Resistance
 RENETIL- East Timor Students National Resistance

SOLIDARITY APPEAL

The Indonesian Government has never ceased its efforts to crush any opposing force to its military occupation of East Timor. This also applies to the liberation struggle for the independence and liberation of East Timor in which the student youth is involved. Indonesia has battled in many ways and many fronts during the 18 years of occupation, so that East Timor remains its property, and enriches it. These have been 18 years of battle and 18 years of war against the East Timorese people.

East Timorese society has been ruined by the war, and its resources are appropriated by Jakarta capitalists. The East Timorese people have their political and economic rights violated. Jakarta has plundered its marble, its sandalwood and traditional resources. The price of the good East Timorese coffee has been manipulated. The production of coffee and other crops is hindered by the environmental damage caused by the weapons used by Indonesia, which it gets from the West. Through its P.T. commercial companies, Jakarta monopolises the main East Timor resources. All the coffee production is monopolised through P.T. Salazar Coffee Plantations. Sandalwood is in the hands of P.T. Scent Indonesia. Marble is captured by P.T. Marmer Alam Timor

Timur. These three companies are grouped under the P.T. Batara Indra Group, which controls almost the entire East Timor economy.

Jakarta's greed and search for quick profits, led it to enter into an agreement with Canberra to share East Timorese oil. As soon as Canberra was dragged into this by the evil of Jakarta, it forgot that previously, during World War II, Australian soldiers turned East Timor into a battlefield against the expansionist force of Japan. The East Timor island, and its people were used as a protective wall for the neighbouring Australian country and its people. Once upon a time the East Timorese people were victims of the interests of Japanese geopolitics and of Australian territorial sovereignty. Nowadays, the East Timorese people continue to be victims of the economic interests of two large neighbours, Australia and Indonesia, in collusion.

The wealth which should serve to sustain the East Timorese sons and daughters, are manipulated and plundered by Jakarta. Jakarta impoverishes the East Timorese people, who in their critical state, are forced to accept miserable study scholarships, driven by their thirst for knowledge of modern science and culture, and bow to the Indonesian regime. But in fact, the students did not conform to Indonesian wishes, they repudiated Indonesian presence on East Timorese soil. Jakarta has become aware of this, and has realised it will not win the war in East Timor. But Jakarta is not prepared to loose without first impoverishing and paralysing the future of East Timor, which lies in the hands of its youth and the generations to come.

The precarious situation created in East Timor as well as among the East Timorese students in Indonesia, curtails the moral, intellectual and religious development of the youth of East Timor. Some have been persecuted, captured, imprisoned or killed, and others have been forcibly evicted to Indonesian islands, or enticed by appealing baits, only to end up in shanty towns on Javanese soil.

In East Timor as well as in Indonesia, sons and daughters of East Timor follow the Indonesian education system. In this system, financial factors play a crucial role. Without funds, education cannot proceed. This is where Jakarta has tried to hit East Timorese students lately. On 18 August, the unfortunate East Timorese brother, Abilio J. Osorio, invested with powers as 'Governor of Timor Timur,' yet led by Jakarta minds and hands, signed a statement ending scholarships for 122 East Timorese students spread throughout Indonesia. Others continued receiving theirs, anxiously awaiting

for the moment they would also be struck by the same tragedy.

The meagre one hundred thousand rupiah (\$50) per month are insufficient to sustain the living costs of a student, which in practice are much higher. It would in fact be just to get much higher living allowances. Firstly because they are now insufficient to meet basic needs and, second, because the wealth being extracted by Jakarta from East Timor is huge in comparison with these meagre scholarships.

The government would accept our protests and request for a raise, but would do so only if it could extract political guarantees from us. However, as it already has repeatedly done since the invasion and throughout it, it would be the first to violate the points of any agreement.

May this writing help to give a clearer picture about our current situation. A situation which is the consequence of the economic and socio-political climate faced by the East Timorese people under the Jakarta military regime. All the Jakarta efforts in East Timor are only geared at the maintenance of the status quo there.

We hope that our thoughts and concerns are appreciated. We therefore humbly appeal for solidarity support by our friends abroad, whether individuals or East Timor solidarity groups. We the People and the Student Youth always retain in our hearts the memory of the help we have been given and which we may receive in order to be able to face this new crisis.

I thank you for kindly reading about our situation, and your kind solidarity with us. With sincerely grateful thanks,

I remain

For the General Secretary of RENETIL,
Signed S.R.

President of the Permanent Commission.
Indonesia 29, October 1993

INDONESIAN TROOPS BEING WITHDRAWN FROM EAST TIMOR?

UPI, Oct. 6, abridged.

JAKARTA (UPI) – The Indonesian government, saying security in East Timor has improved, plans to withdraw two military battalions from the former Portuguese colony within next two months, news reports said Wednesday.

Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, the military commander for the Udayana region that includes East Timor, told local media the withdrawal would begin this month, adding that "we are just waiting for the ship to pick up the troops."

The government had initially planned to begin reducing its military presence in East

Timor in March, but Syafei said security in the region had improved enough to speed the withdrawal of troops.

Syafei touted the accelerated plan as evidence that unrest over human rights and democracy issues is settling, and he denied some international criticisms that Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor has actually worsened.

Syafei blamed the latest criticisms on information from media reports in Portugal, recognized by the United Nations over Indonesia as the territory's administrative authority.

GUERRILLAS KILL SIX VILLAGERS, MILITARY SAYS

11 Oct. 93

JAKARTA (UPI) – East Timorese guerrillas are to blame for the slayings of six people during an ambush last month in the former Portuguese colony, a statement from the Indonesian armed forces in Jakarta said Monday.

The statement, quoted by the official news agency Antara, said the attack occurred when about 30 East Timorese villagers from Osoala in Baucau district went hunting. The hunter broke up into several groups small groups, one of which was ambushed by separatist guerrillas, the statement claimed.

Six people were killed by members of the separatist movement, the statement said.

It said the attack had prompted anger among the East Timorese people.

The army statement said government officials and military authorities were giving direct assistance to the families of the victims. But it did not say whether government forces were pursuing the alleged killers.

A military official said only about 100 East Timorese Fretilin guerrillas remain in the province, clustered in several groups throughout the jungle.

Reuter version of guerrilla killings story

JAKARTA, Oct. 11 (Reuter) - Rebels ambushed and killed six deer hunters in Indonesia's East Timor province last month, the official Antara news agency reported on Monday.

A military statement issued in Jakarta and carried by the agency did not say how or where the six East Timorese were killed in the former Portuguese colony.

TIMORESE GUERRILLAS HUNTED

Abridged, Oct. 13.

JAKARTA (UPI) – Government forces continued their search for East Timorese guerrillas blamed for the recent killings of six

villagers in the former Portuguese colony, officials said Wednesday.

The East Timorese Dili military chief, Col. Johnny Lumintang, told east Java's Surya newspaper that about 20 villagers have joined the military in the search for the rebels.

Military authorities in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor have blamed Fretilin separatist guerrillas for the brutal killings of six villagers from Osoala in the Baucau district on Oct. 5.

Lumintang said residents from Osoala and nearby villages asked for weapons when joining the pursuit of the alleged killers.

Lumintang said the brutal killings were clear evidence that the separatist Fretilin guerrillas have violated human rights in the province.

"We want to give evidence to the outside world that Fretilin guerrillas are violating human rights in East Timor. So far the international world has only focused on the Indonesian government for grossly violating human rights," he said, asking why international activists have been slow to criticize the recent killings.

Last week's bloody incident surprised government officials and military leaders in the province. Officials believe it was the latest activity by the Fretilin guerrillas, which launched its armed rebellion against the government in 1976. The attack also indicates that the separatist rebels are still active despite dwindling support.

Lumintang said there are about 107 Fretilin guerrillas spread throughout East Timorese jungle. He did not say how many weapons were owned by the separatists.

KOSTRAD TROOPS TO TIMOR

Abridged

JAKARTA (Oct. 14) UPI - Military authorities decided to send combat troops to pursue a score of East Timorese guerrillas blamed for the recent killings of six villagers in the former Portuguese colony.

Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, the commander of the Bali-based Udayana military region, which includes East Timor, told local media that some 200 soldiers from Indonesia's elite Army Strategic Reserve Command, or KOSTRAD, would be sent to the Osoala and Aitana villages of the Baucau district where deaths occurred.

"I have ordered to the local military command conducted a more special mopping-up operations in that region," Syafei told east Java's Surya newspaper.

He said the plan to use special strike troops is an effort to wipe out and capture the Fretilin separatist guerrillas, blamed by

military authorities for the killing Oct. 5 of six Osoala residents who were hunting wild boar.

"This is a new development that separatist guerrillas killed villagers," he said, adding that he believes it is a sign guerrillas fighting for independence are losing support among the local residents. "This indicates that Fretilin's present in East Timor is come up to end."

Syafei said the killings would not alter the government's plan to withdraw some of the 10 military battalions it maintains in the region for what the government calls social and other development activities, as well as to deal with Fretilin rebels.

COMMENT FROM MARTIN WESLEY-SMITH

This story about Fretilin guerrillas killing six villagers sounds just too suspicious. It might be true - but how can anyone be sure? It is a perfect piece of propaganda from the army that sent Indonesian troops across the border from West Timor in 1975 disguised as disaffected East Timorese UDT and Apodeti fighters. Already it has been used to justify "200 soldiers from Indonesia's elite Army Strategic Reserve Command, or KOSTRAD, being sent to the Osoala and Aitana villages of the Baucau district" and as an indication that Fretilin's presence in East Timor is at an end.

GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS CONTINUE THEIR HUNT FOR REBELS

UPI, 16 October 1993. Abridged

Comment: This gives the clue to what the army is seeking to do in their effort to persuade world opinion that Falintil guerrillas were involved in an operation to murder villagers.

Indonesia should allow immediate access to international human rights agencies like Amnesty International and Asia Watch, assisted by Catholic clergy who have the confidence of the local people, to investigate the incident in Osoala and Aitana villages.

(Jakarta) Government forces continued their search for East Timorese guerrillas blamed for the recent killings of six villagers in East Timor.

The Dili military chief, Col. Johnny Lumintang, told Surya newspaper that about twenty villagers have joined the military in the search for the rebels. They blame the guerrillas for the brutal killings of six villagers from Osoala in Baucau district on 5 October.

Lumintang said the killings were clear evidence that the guerrillas have violated human rights in the province.

"We want to give evidence to the outside world that the Fretilin guerrillas are violating human rights in East Timor. So far the international world has only focused on the Indonesian government for grossly violating human rights," he said, asking why international activists have been slow to criticize the recent killings.

Lumintang said there are about 107 guerrillas spread throughout East Timorese jungles but did not say how many weapons they owned.

TROOPS LEAVING FOR EAST TIMOR

The 18 October issue of Jakarta Post carries a photograph of a large number of troops in battle-dress who are laughing and waving and being cheered on by a smiling Army chief-of-staff, General Wismoyo Arismunandar. The caption reads:

EAST TIMOR DUTY: Army chief of staff Gen. Wismoyo Arismunandar sings along with members of Infantry Battalion 201 in Jakarta during a get-together. Wismoyo on Saturday bade farewell to the troopers who will soon be assigned to East Timor.

Battalion 201 is from the South Sumatra Military Command, Kodam II, Sriwijaya. The photograph gives the lie to Major-General Syafei's constant claims that a troop reduction is under way in East Timor. The troops in this photo are clearly combat troops. This surprising piece of evidence from the pages of Jakarta Post shows that the strategy of rotating troops in East Timor with battalions BEING DEPLOYED there from other military commands is still very much in place. Where else in Indonesia does such a strategy exist except Aceh? No battalions from outside are deployed in regions where conditions are 'normal.' Carmel, TAPOL

TWO KOSTRAD BATTALIONS DEPART EAST TIMOR

From Jakarta. KOMPAS in Indonesian, 18 October 1993

Dili, KOMPAS-Battalion 510 from Kostrad (Regional Military Command) has been officially withdrawn from East Timor. The withdrawal was the implementation of the statement issued by the 9th Udayana regional commander, Major-General Theo Syafei, during the 48th Armed Forces Day anniversary in Dili on Tuesday 5 October based on the improving situation in East Timor. The 510 Battalion was relieved of its duties on 6 October during a ceremony by the Commander of the 164 Wira Dharma

Military Command, Colonel (Infantry) Johnny J Lumintang, while Battalion 507 will be relieved of its duties on Tuesday this week.

Lumintang clarified that territorial operations were directed at providing assistance to the district authorities in hastening the development process for people's well-being. Johnny Lumintang said, "Basically, a soldier is trained to protect and repulse all forms of threat so the community can live in continuous peace. It would not come as a surprise if the community showed its continuous gratitude." The commander reminded the 510 Battalion personnel to maintain and improve their discipline, which forms the basis for their future achievements. This is so because the battalion's success is not only measured in terms of its operational experience but on the discipline of its personnel.

INDONESIAN TROOP REDUCTION IN EAST TIMOR

MEMO by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, October 21

International criticism about East Timor focuses among others on the large number of Indonesian troops in East Timor. On several occasions, Major-General Theo Syafei, commander of Udayana/IXth Military Command based in Bali which includes East Timor, has announced that the number of battalions in East Timor will be reduced. On 17 August 1993, Indonesian independence day, Jakarta announced that it would withdraw all combat troops by the end of October, leaving only 10 territorial battalions. For those not familiar with Indonesian military structures, some clarifications are needed.

One of the most important Indonesian military doctrines is HANKAMRATA, basically a territorial command and control structure. This structure broadly parallels the civilian administration structure down to village and neighbourhood precincts. The territorial structure is a "shadow government," monitoring political and social life and controlling the daily conduct of the civil administrators.

In the case of East Timor, with its specific security problems, a special territorial military operation, OPERASI TUNTAS (Operation Once-and-for-all) has been designed. It is comparable to the 'low-intensity conflict' strategy conducted in the Philippines or Central America in the eighties. Its objective is to 'isolate' the armed resistance from the population and create a new social (i.e. Indonesian) structure in the villages.

Announcing the planned withdrawal of combat troops from East Timor serves two purposes. In propaganda terms, it creates the impression that security and order in East Timor has improved and is under control. Moreover, the territorial troops are described as soldiers who are engaged in development projects: building roads, houses, bridges and so on. While it is true that some territorial troops are involved in such work, their chief purpose is as part of the territorial structure.

Moreover, while territorial troops are distinct from KOSTRAD (Army Strategic Command) and KOPASSUS (elite force) combat troops, they are also equipped for combat operations and can be deployed in any crisis situation, to provide back-up for the police or engage in skirmishes with the armed resistance.

Major-General Theo Syafei's now asserts that only nine territorial battalions and one combat battalion remain in East Timor. A full-strength Indonesian battalion consists of 650 men, which means that about 5,000 soldiers are permanently based in East Timor, which is still quite a sizable number. According to Indonesian military standards, a region the size of East Timor would have only 2 or 3 battalions.

According to normal procedures in other regional military commands, territorial troops based in East Timor should be part of KODAM Udayana/IX (Military Command based in Bali). In reality most of the battalions stationed in East Timor originate from other military commands and every three months, fresh battalions are sent in to replace those that leave. This practice has been going on since 1975 and there are no indications that this is about to change. At the very moment when the military authorities have been announcing the withdrawal of troops from East Timor, the English-language daily, Jakarta Post [18 October 1993] published a photo of the army chief-of-staff, General Wisnomo Arismunandar, bidding farewell to troops of Battalion 201 (from the South Sumatra military command) who were just about to leave for East Timor. East Timor has always been regarded as a war-zone and therefore treated differently.

While the Timorese resistance has gradually switched to a strategy of focusing more on clandestine work in urban areas (to which the Indonesian military respond by launching territorial warfare), armed resistance remains an important symbol of resistance. The Indonesian military commander in East Timor, Colonel Johnny Lumintang claims that there are only 107 guerrillas left in the bush. While using such an exact figure should be taken with a pinch a salt, it is a fact that guerrilla activities remain a constant

security threat for the Indonesian military. In mid-October, 200 KOSTRAD combat troops were deployed in the Baucau region to track down Timorese guerrilla units.

The reorganisation of the Indonesian armed forces in 1983 led to the birth of two rapid deployment KOSTRAD regiments which can be dispatched to reach any part of the Indonesian archipelago within 48 hours, whenever needed. When serious disturbances occur, East Timor can be flooded by KOSTRAD combat troops overnight.

Although the guerrillas have always been described as 'security disruptors' and terrorists, there is a deliberate policy of portraying the armed resistance as isolated bandits stealing and looting villagers and even killing Timorese villagers.

There are now signs that the Indonesian military are upgrading their strategy of "Timorization of the war." It started some years ago with the establishment of battalions 744 and 745, largely consisting of Timorese soldiers. On 5 October 1993, armed forces day, Major-General Theo Syafei inaugurated a new force call PASUKAN ADAT ('Traditional' Troops) consisting of 3,844 Timorese paramilitaries which have been recruited from all thirteen districts. As yet, nothing more is known about this force but it clearly represents a further development of the army's strategy of getting Timorese to kill Timorese.

EAST TIMORESE GUERRILLA KILLED IN ARMED CLASHES

22 Oct. 93

JAKARTA (UPI) – An East Timorese guerrilla was shot to death during armed clashes with government troops in the troubled former Portuguese colony, the official news agency Antara said Saturday.

The fighting occurred Thursday between members of the East Timorese Fretilin guerrilla movement and Indonesian soldiers in the Manufahi district, about 100 miles east of East Timor's capital Dili.

Col. Johny Lumintang, chief of the East Timorese military resort, said during the military raid against the Fretilin the government forces also seized one gun and some 50 bullets belonging.

Lumintang said the slain fighter was killed when he resisted arrest by military forces in a raid against the separatist movement in East Timor.

Lumintang said the number of Fretilin guerrillas continues to decline, adding, "there are only about 106 guerrillas spread throughout East Timorese jungle."

He did not say how many weapons were owned by the separatists.

Lumintang said government troops in the former Portuguese colony would continue attempts to overcome the rebel movement, and punish anyone who resists arrest.

"Whoever (is) voluntarily surrendered would be treated humanely. We would do nothing against them," Lumintang said, adding that "there are many guerrillas who voluntarily surrendered and have been given amnesty."

East Timor, 1,250 miles east of Jakarta, was a Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia soon after Lisbon withdrew in 1975. Jakarta voluntarily declared the territory its 27th province but the United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and considers Portugal the administrative power.

The East Timor situation first made international news in November 1991, when government soldiers violently put down a pro-independence demonstration in the provincial capital Dili, killing scores of protesters.

Meanwhile, Lumintang said residents in the East Timorese village of Osoala and government forces are continuing their pursuit of Fretilin guerrillas blamed for the recent killings of six villagers.

Military authorities blame Fretilin separatist guerrillas for the brutal murders of six villagers from Osoala village in the Baucau district on Oct. 5. The bloody incident surprised government officials and military leaders in the province.

EAST TIMORESE BEING TRIED FOR RIPPING INDONESIAN FLAG

AP, 14 October 1993. Abridged

(Jakarta) An alleged activist for East Timor's independence has gone on trial for ripping up an Indonesian flag, a news report said Thursday.

Alberto Rodrigues Pereira, 21, could be sentenced for up to seven years if found guilty of a public display of hostility to the Indonesian government. He is also charged with destruction of property for which the maximum sentence is two years and eight months.

The Surabaya daily Jawa Pos said Pereira went on trial Wednesday in Dili, accused of ripping the flag on 16 August, the eve of Indonesia's 48th independence anniversary.

Last month, Pedro Sarmiento da Costa, an East Timorese civil servant, was sentenced to one year in prison for defacing Indonesian money by writing a letter to President Suharto on a 10,000-rupiah bill. The letter was to demand compensation for the victims of the Dili massacre, but the post office seized it.

PERTAMINA TO CONDUCT GEOLOGICAL SURVEY IN EAST TIMOR

AP, 22 October 1993. Abridged

The state-owned Pertamina oil company will conduct a geological survey next week in East Timor, a report said Friday. The survey is part of the groundwork for a geothermal energy source exploration that may be conducted in 1996, the Antara news agency quoted Djuhana Ardinata, head of exploration and production for Pertamina in Bali as saying.

SECURITY TIGHTER IN TIMOR

29 Oct. 93

JAKARTA (UPI) – Military leaders tightened security in troubled East Timor to guard against protests on the second anniversary of a massacre that sparked international condemnation of Indonesia, news reports said Friday.

Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, chief of the Bali-based Udayana military command which includes East Timor, told reporters that the East Timorese Fretilin guerrilla movement was increasing tensions in the region.

Syafei said military authorities found some 20 posters in Dili urging people to remember the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre there.

The government has admitted that at least 50 people were killed in the clash in Dili between protesters and government troops. Another 62 people remain unaccounted for, and witnesses to the massacre put the death toll at close to 200.

Syafei warned armed forces to watch for possible clandestine activity, particularly relating to specific dates such as Oct. 28th, the date of student-led protests at Motael, and Nov. 12, the date of the Dili massacre. Syafei said the Fretilin guerrillas are likely to mark those dates with some kind of action.

Motael was the site of clashes between anti-Indonesian students and youths supporting the government on Oct. 28, 1991. One pro-government student was killed, allegedly by Indonesian troops.

Resentment over the Motael incident is viewed as a precursor to the demonstration in Dili two weeks later, when government troops opened fire on mourners paying homage to a youth killed in an earlier protest. The killings sparked international condemnation of Indonesia.

Syafei said that despite the diminishing strength of the Fretilin movement, the anniversaries of the earlier protests may lead to renewed demonstrations.

Military authorities say there are about 100 Fretilin guerrillas spread throughout East Timorese jungle. Government forces shot to death a Fretilin guerrilla last week.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor soon after Portugal ended its colonial empire in 1975, and Jakarta annexed the territory one year later. Since then, Indonesia has been fighting with the Fretilin guerrilla movement seeking independence for East Timor.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and considers Portugal the administrative power.

MILITARY COMMANDER WARNS STUDENTS OVER DEMONSTRATIONS

AFP, 8 November 1993. Abridged

(Jakarta) A few days ahead of the second anniversary of the Dili massacre, an Indonesian military commander has warned East Timorese youth against holding anti-Indonesia demonstrations, press reports said Monday.

The Jayakarta daily quoted Major General Theo Syafei, head of the Bali-based Udayana commander that oversees security in East Timor, as saying that Indonesian authorities would not tolerate any anti-Indonesian demonstrations.

"We are aware that there are students that have held clandestine meetings in Salatiga and Yogyakarta to prepare the demonstrations," Syafei said, referring to East Timorese student activists studying in the two Central Java university cities.

He said the anniversary of the Dili shooting and the planned visit of several European parliamentarians who are "friends of Indonesia" to East Timor on Tuesday, might be the target for the demonstrations.

"Generally, the moves (demonstrations) are launched whenever there are officials or delegations from foreign countries visiting East Timor. The aim is to draw sympathy," Syafei said.

28 MILITARY ATTACHÉS VISIT EAST TIMOR

AFP, 2 November 1993. Abridged

Comments: The figure of 'guerrilla remnants' was 107 a couple of weeks ago, then with the murder of one guerrilla, it went down to 106, but now it has almost doubled.

The contradictions in the army's propaganda are highlighted in this piece. While on the one hand it is working hard to convince the international community of its intentions to reduced the military presence in East Timor, Belo clearly speaks of a heavy security approach. Let's hope he was given the opportunity to speak to the military attachés.

– TAPOL

A group of foreign military attachés is visiting East Timor where Indonesian officials told them the security situation was improving, said the official news agency, Antara.

Military commander Colonel Lumintang told the officers who were flown to Dili in an air force Hercules that security conditions were improving and eight battalions remained there. He said the Fretilin pro-independence movement was now left with only about 200 members armed with 160 antiquated firearms.

He said security conditions would be re-evaluated every six months and troops would be further reduced to only two local battalions - about 2,000 men - by the end of 1995.

The attachés came from Australia, Belgium, Britain, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, Spain, Thailand, the US and Vietnam.

Meanwhile Jakarta Post quoted East Timor's Catholic Bishop Belo as calling on Jakarta not to use the pretext of threats from Fretilin remnants to adopt a heavy security approach in East Timor, especially during forthcoming local government elections. He said that more East Timorese nationals should be given the chance to lead regencies.

SOME ATTACHÉS DUBIOUS

Nov. 5 story by John Owen-Davies, abridged. – John

Jakarta, Reuter - Indonesia imposed tight security for a landmark visit to troubled East Timor by military attachés from more than a dozen foreign embassies in Jakarta, one of the group said on Friday.

"They almost sealed the place off for our visit. Everywhere we went there were police in strong numbers," the attaché, who stayed in the Timor capital of Dili, said.

The group of about 25 attachés, from countries including Australia, the United States, Britain and Japan, was briefed by army commanders but not shown areas with active soldiers.

Some of the group queried stated troop levels in the former Portuguese colony during the three-day visit, viewed as the possible start of more frequent visits by foreigners.

The attaché visit, which ended on Wednesday, was believed to have been the biggest of its kind arranged by the army.

Some European Community countries shunned the visit, a few in apparent support of fellow member Portugal, as did Canada, Burma, the Philippines and South Korea.

Foreign military sources believe the army allowed the attaché visit, about 10 days ahead of the anniversary of the Dili incident, to help improve Indonesia's human rights record.

The Jakarta-based attachés were told that Indonesia had only one combat battalion of about 650 men in East Timor, as well as seven battalions of soldiers engaged in development projects.

The number of Fretilin guerrillas was put at around 100.

Foreign military sources said some attachés queried the troop figure, saying to cope with such a situation Indonesia would probably need at least one division of 10,000 men.

"I would estimate that there are up to 14 battalions still in the area," one source said. "Part of the problem is that the Indonesian army is not well versed in counter-insurgency."

EC MILITARY ATTACHÉS DID NOT VISIT TIMOR

By TAPOL, 6 November 1993

TAPOL has learnt independently from two quite separate and reliable sources that the EC governments decided that it would not be appropriate for their military attachés to accept an invitation by the Indonesian occupying authorities to visit East Timor. None of the EC countries recognise integration and visits by military attachés are almost as sensitive diplomatically as visits by ambassadors would be.

According to our information, it was the French embassy in Jakarta that first raised the issue of not accepting the invitation and other EC governments agreed. The only country to break ranks was Britain.

All the wire reports we have seen as well as Jakarta Post of 3 November, report that attachés from Belgium, Germany, France, Italy and Spain were among the military attachés who visited East Timor.

But according to our sources, the only military attaché from an EC country who went was from the British embassy. The Foreign Office now claims that he will "share" the information he received with other EC governments.

It appears that the list of military attachés made public by Antara news agency was the list of invitees, not the list of those who actually went.

Foreign journalists in Jakarta may wish to check our information and find out more about this apparent piece of misinformation.

The date of the visit was 1-3 November, not 3-5 November as we earlier reported.

WHO KILLED PEOPLE IN OSOALA?

From Protected sources, via TAPOL. 3 November 1993

Comment: More information needs to be gathered to knock the army's claim about guerrilla killings on the head.

Claims by the army that six East Timorese villagers were killed by guerrilla forces in Osoala, Baucau district, early in October, are pure fabrication, according to sources inside East Timor, conveyed to the outside world through a reliable channel.

The source said it is common practice for the army to take people they don't like into the forest, forcing them to carry their ammunition, then ambushing them and killing them. They then claim that the guerrillas are responsible for the killing. An earlier incident happened about four months ago to a villager named Alberto.

Such incidents are used, according to the source, to justified the continued military presence in East Timor.

The source also said claims about troop withdrawals are untrue as the withdrawn troops have been replaced. [Note the photo published in Jakarta Post on 18 October of Battalion 201, taking leave of the army chief of staff, on its way to East Timor.]

The source also denies that there are only territorial battalions in East Timor. The soldiers live among the people and are everywhere. There are identity card checks on the streets, in the middle of the night, and many checkpoints on the roads. Young people from the villages are not allowed to come to Dili.

The young people arrested in advance of the US Congressional staff delegation visit were taken to Betano in the south of the country on a so-called 'study' trip and were forced to work there. They were all released after being held for a month.

TIMOR TROOPS NUMBER CUT

The Telegraph Mirror, 4 November 1993.
By REUTER

JAKARTA: Indonesia has only one army combat battalion left in remote East Timor and all other soldiers there are engaged in development projects, the official Antara news agency said yesterday.

Colonel Johnny Lumintang, commandant of the Wira Dharma military district which oversees security in the troubled area, said the government planned to reduced the number of troops gradually as socio-economic conditions improved.

On November 12, 1991 up to 180 people were killed in the capital, Dili, when troops opened fire on a crowd mourning the death of a pro-independence sympathizer

INDONESIA PLANS TO WITHDRAW MORE TROOPS FROM EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA (Nov. 7) UPI

Declaring the guerrilla threat in East Timor to be at an end, the government said it will withdraw one more military battalion stationed in the former Portuguese colony, the official news agency Antara reported Sunday.

Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, chief of the Bali-based Udayana military command, told Antara that in view of the improved security in East Timor, one out of eight military battalions posted in the province will be pulled out by April 1994.

Fretilin remains a political threat but not an armed threat, Syafei said. The East Timorese Fretilin guerrillas are divided into nine to 14 groups and each possess only about 10 weapons used mainly for survival, he said.

Fretilin is split into two political groups, Syafei said. One consists of elements that oppose East Timor's integration with Indonesia, while the other includes religious figures who are discontent about social conditions. "A certain percentage of these elements are students residing outside East Timor," he added.

Syafei said late last month that military authorities in East Timor tightened security prior to the second anniversary of a November 12, 1991 massacre that sparked international condemnation of the Indonesian government.

The government admitted in an official report that 50 people were killed in the Nov. 1991 incident and that scores of others remained unaccounted for. Witnesses put the death toll close to 200.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor soon after Portugal ended its colonial rule in

1975, and Jakarta annexed the territory one year later. Since then, Indonesia has been fighting with the Fretilin guerrilla movement that seeks independence for East Timor.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and considers Portugal the administrative power.

Syafei said after the battalion's withdrawal, the remaining units will only consist of health and engineers battalions. At present, he added, the army troops in East Timor are made up of intelligence, strike and territorial battalions, which are responsible for development projects.

He said the strike troops will remain until April or June 1994 and the intelligence and territorial battalions will be withdrawn by the end of next year.

INFANT MALNOURISHMENT IN TIMOR

Jakarta Post 5 November 1993 Dateline:
Dili Unabridged

At least seventy per cent of infants under five in this province (sic) are malnourished, Samuel Munaiseche of the East Timor Office of the Ministry of Health said.

He said three per cent of the children are severely malnourished and so weak they become sick easily.

Besides the lack of people's understanding about nutrition, many health officers in the area cannot speak Tetum, he said.

EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR RULES OUT REFERENDUM ON AUTONOMY

UPI, 9 Nov. 93

JAKARTA (UPI) – East Timor Gov. José Osorio Soares rejected Tuesday the possibility of a referendum on autonomy for the former Portuguese colony, arguing that self-determination would be a setback to the region.

"The international community, especially the European Community, will not be able to press us to carry out a referendum," Soares told a 15-member delegation from the European Parliamentary for Indonesian Friendship Association.

Indonesia has been under international pressure to improve its human rights record and withdraw from East Timor since invading the island after Portugal withdrew in 1975, sparking a guerrilla resistance movement.

"Speaking about a referendum at the time being is obviously a setback to the region which has clearly chosen to join Indonesia," he said. He did not elaborate.

The European delegation arrived in Indonesia last week for a visit that included a refugee camp on Galang Island, near Singapore. The visit is aimed at promoting mutual understanding.

The Indonesian military tightened security and Soares promised that there would be no demonstration on the anniversary of the internationally condemned Nov. 12, 1991, killing of at least 50 Timorese during a funeral procession.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and regards Portugal the administrative power.

TIMOR CHIEF OPPOSES POLL ON SELF-RULE

13 November 1993 The Age By AAP/AFP

(Jakarta, Friday) The Governor of Indonesia's disputed province of East Timor has claimed that East Timorese do not want a referendum on a self-determination and would resist international pressure for such a vote.

The Governor, Mr. Abilio Soares, told a visiting delegation that the former Portuguese colony's integration in Indonesia was irreversible.

"If we held a referendum it would mean a total setback for us," he said.

But his claims were immediately rejected by leaders of the East Timorese resistance who are continuing an international campaign for an act of self-determination in the territory, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

In a message broadcast in Portugal, the new commander of East Timorese resistance forces, Mr. Konis Santana, appealed for international action to stop continuing abuses by Indonesian forces in the territory.

Speaking on Lisbon TSF radio, Mr. Santana said "massacres, tortures and violations of human rights are continuing" in East Timor.

"While the people are denied the right to self-determination, the massacres and violations of human rights will continue," he said.

Security was reported to be tight in the province today, the second anniversary of the 1991 Dili massacre in which as many as 180 civilians were killed by Indonesian troops in the provincial capital.

The security crackdown has been aimed at preventing any demonstrations or protests by anti-Indonesian elements.

"I can assure you there will be no demonstrations in Dili." Mr. Abilio said. "Those who took part in the 1991 demonstration have realised they were wrong."

Reports from Dili say authorities are checking the identity cards of people entering and leaving the city and there's a large

number of plainclothes military on the streets, especially around the Santa Cruz cemetery, where the 1991 massacre took place.

Today's 'Jakarta Post' newspaper reported that two members of the pro-independence Fretilin guerilla movement surrendered to Indonesian troops this week.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it as the country's 27th province a year later.

Although Australia recognises Indonesian sovereignty over the territory, the United Nations and many other countries, including the United States and Britain, do not.

The army has kept a tight grip on the area, where access by foreigners such as diplomats and reporters is limited.

"The armed forces should always be alert because they (the guerrillas) have certain dates for their commemoration," Major-General Theo Syafei, the area's military chief, said last month.

The army said this month it had only one combat battalion left in East Timor and that other soldiers, in seven so-called territorial battalions, were engaged in development projects.

Reuter reports that contacts in Dili said the city was calm. One resident said there had been a slight increase in security. "There is still some trauma over the (shooting) incident but generally there is no problem," the source said.

MILITARY PREPARES FOR PROTESTS ON ANNIVERSARY OF EAST TIMOR MASSACRE

12 Nov. 93

JAKARTA (UPI) – Indonesia's military tightened security in East Timor on the eve of the second anniversary of a massacre of pro-independence demonstrators, officials said Friday.

The government, meanwhile, denied reports on foreign radio that it had arrested several youths planning to mark the anniversary with protests.

"Everything is going fine in East Timor. There are no such arrests," said Lt. Col. Johny Lumintang, the military chief in East Timor's capital Dili, as quoted by east Java's Jawa Pos newspaper.

Lumintang was responding to reports on foreign radio that a number of youths planning to mark the anniversary of the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili were arrested by military authorities Thursday night.

Government soldiers opened fire on pro-independence demonstrators at the cemetery on Nov. 12, 1991, killing scores of protes-

tors. The government has publicly admitted that 50 people were killed and more than 60 others remained unaccounted for. The incident drew strong international condemnation of Indonesia.

Lumintang said East Timor remained calm overnight, even though authorities had seized pamphlets allegedly distributed by the pro-independence East Timorese Fretilin guerrillas.

Two Fretilin guerrillas surrendered to security forces early this week. Government officials said the two will be reunited with their families.

Indonesia invaded East Timor soon after Portugal withdrew in 1975. Jakarta annexed the territory one year later, but the United Nations does not recognize Indonesian rule over East Timor.

JAKARTASTILL PAYING FOR DILI KILLINGS

Sydney Morning Herald 13 November 1993 by Terry Friel

Jakarta, Friday: Two years after Indonesian troops gunned down at least 50 civilians in the dusty streets of Dili, Jakarta is still struggling to overcome the massive damage done to its international standing.

The vexing issue of East Timor has undermined Indonesia's international reputation and its relation with other countries since Indonesian troops moved into the eastern half of Timor island in 1975.

But the massacre of civilians outside Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery where it is estimated that about 100 people died, placed the issue firmly in the world spotlight again. The Government put the toll at 50 with another 66 missing.

Indonesia is facing increasing international pressure, with threats from the United States to end trade privileges and ban arms sales and strong criticism from a Swedish parliamentary delegation which recently travelled to East Timor.

Anxious to resolve the problem, Indonesia has taken several steps, among them, talks with East Timor's former rulers, Portugal.

Security is tight in East Timor as authorities seek to prevent anti-Indonesian protests marking the anniversary of the massacre.

Reports from Dili say plainclothes soldiers are on the streets and identity cards are being checked of all people entering or leaving the capital.

The provincial Governor, Mr. Abilio Soares, reassured a delegation of European parliamentarians yesterday that no disruptions would be allowed to mark the second anniversary, saying: "Those who took part

in the 1991 demonstration have realised they were wrong."

The commander of the military region covering East Timor, Major-General Theo Syafei, has warned the military will not tolerate any anti-Indonesian activities.

Indonesia is slowly reducing the number of combat troops stationed in the province, with the aim of cutting the 10 battalions of combat and territorial troops to the standard level of two battalions by the end of next year.

This would put it on par with Indonesia's other provinces.

When Indonesian troops moved into East Timor in 1975, Jakarta and the Indonesian military expected the issue to be resolved neatly and quickly.

But almost 18 years later, East Timor remains one of the most painful issues dogging Indonesia's foreign relations.

Jakarta recently said it would allow human rights groups and United Nations officials more access, amid growing pressure over East Timor and human rights generally, particularly from the US.

Last month, the US Congress voted to cut off military training funds for Indonesia, largely due to concerns over human rights abuses in East Timor.

Washington is also threatening to ban arms sales and has blocked Indonesia's planned purchase from Jordan of US-made warplanes.

ARMY UNABLE TO END TIMOR'S RESISTANCE

Green Left #123, November 17, 1993, By Max Lane

The Suharto regime in Jakarta seems unable to end the resistance to Indonesian occupation in East Timor or bring to an end the international diplomatic controversy about the occupation. The regime continues to pretend that things are winding down, but the facts speak otherwise.

Major-General Theo Syafei, commander of Udayana/IXth Military Command based in Bali which includes East Timor, has announced several times that the number of battalions in East Timor will be reduced. On August 17, Indonesian independence day, Jakarta announced that it would withdraw all combat troops by the end of October, leaving only 10 territorial battalions.

In East Timor, a special territorial military operation, Operasi Tuntas (Operation Finally Complete) has been designed. It is comparable to the "low-intensity conflict" strategy conducted in the Philippines or Central America in the '80s. Its objective is to isolate the armed resistance from the

population and create a new social (i.e. Indonesian) structure in the villages.

Syafei now asserts that only nine territorial battalions and one combat battalion remain in East Timor. A full-strength Indonesian battalion consists of 650 men, which means that about 5000 soldiers are permanently based in East Timor, quite a sizable number. According to Indonesian military standards, a region the size of East Timor would have only two or three battalions.

While the Timorese resistance has gradually switched to a strategy of focusing more on clandestine work in urban areas (to which the Indonesian military responds by launching territorial warfare), armed action remains an important symbol of resistance.

The Indonesian military commander in East Timor, Colonel Jhony Lumintang, claims that there are only 107 guerrillas left in the bush. But guerilla activities remain a constant threat for the Indonesian military. In mid-October, 200 combat troops were deployed in the Baucau region to track down Timorese guerilla units.

There are now signs that the Indonesian military is upgrading its strategy of "Timorisation" of the war. On October 5, Syafei inaugurated a new force called Pasukan Adat ("Traditional" Troops), consisting of 3844 Timorese paramilitaries recruited from all 13 districts.

There continue to be reports of armed clashes in East Timor, the last one in the Indonesian press occurring on October 22. The Indonesian military claims one Timorese guerilla was killed. At the same time there are reports that demonstrations occurred during the recent visit of US congressional aides to East Timor.

In Indonesia, radical activists in the Indonesian Forum for International Solidarity (FISI) issued a statement reiterating their support for the freedom struggle in East Timor.

Diplomatically also East Timor continues to remain a problem, except in relation to Australia, which has become Suharto's main diplomatic ally. Last month, the US ambassador to Indonesia, Robert Barry, listed East Timor, human rights and labour rights as three issues hindering the further development of good relations.

Indonesian press reports of his speech noted that the US Senate is considering linking future arms sales to Indonesia with improvements in the situation in East Timor.

TWO EAST TIMOR REBELS SURRENDER TO OFFICIALS

Jakarta ANTARA in English, 11 Nov. 93.

Note: This is scanned material and contains obvious errors. – John

Dili, 11 Nov. (OANA-ANTARA)—Two members of the outlawed Fretilin [Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor] group, a Security Disturbance Movement [GPK] in East Timor, have surrendered.

"Americo dos Santos alias Maufitun and Rosa Da Cabral gave themselves up to the local security force," Major L. Simbolon, a spokesman of the Wiradharma 164th Regiment, told ANTARA here Thursday.

Maufitun surrendered in Fohogam, Leuten regency, at 8 p.m. local time on Tuesday 9 November. He was carrying a M-16 automatic rifle with 85 ammunitions and a grenade.

Meanwhile, Rosa Da Cabral, six months pregnant, gave herself up on Sunday, 7 November. Her husband, who is also a Fretilin member, is still at large.

The two cited lack of food supplies as the main motivation behind their surrender. They found hiding in the forest without adequate nutrition made their life difficult, Simbolon said.

Maufitun was quoted as saying that he realised he had been a victim of propaganda by Fretilin members living overseas. The group was fighting for East Timor's independence which was a former Portuguese colony and Indonesia's youngest province.

"It was all a big lie," Simbolon said quoting Maufitun.

He and Da Cabral will be reunited with their families in line with the authorities' policy to return all surrendering GPK members to relatives to enable their integration back in society.

According to Simbolon, Da Cabral expressed her wish to be sent to "puskesmas," a public health center, when she gave herself up.

"She wants to deliver her baby there and she has heard about the developments progressing in East Timor," he added.

The word "puskesmas" was unknown to East Timorese previously, Simbolon said.

The major believed that the spirit of the GPK members has declined. "Many who are hiding in mountains and forests are starting to surrender and those who remained have resorted to robbing the local villagers," he said. In a recent incident in Baucau, a number of GPK members attacked several local hunters.

BIBILEU: GENOCIDE ON A MASSIVE SCALE

Publico, 12 November 1993. By Jean-Pierre Catry (Peace is Possible in E.T.). Translated from Portuguese. Abridged (lists of the dead not included)

(Lisbon) On the day marking the second anniversary of the massacre at Santa Cruz, in Dili, Publico tells the story of Bibileu, a grouping of small Timorese villages (in the Viqueque region, to the south-east of Dili), whose inhabitants were dying, between 1975 and 1991, - the victims of the repression (in some cases direct, in others indirect) of Indonesian military occupation. The documents and testimonies were collected by the Portuguese non-governmental organisation Peace is Possible in East Timor. ... The sources of information were: a handwritten diary, a letter from the Commander of the local militia, the testimony of a Catholic priest, and the survivors of the massacre.

There are 352 names. The anonymous hand which wrote them down also indicated the sex, age, birthplace, date, place and cause of death, and the military unit responsible. Church sources say that the true figure could be four times greater. The first deaths occurred in 1975, the year of the invasion. The latest deaths were in 1991, time of the Dili massacre. This data on genocide in one Timorese borough shows that Santa Cruz was not an isolated accident.

No one could have guessed the content of the school exercise book, with its picture of a kitten and the inscription "Search for a Friend" in English on its cover, which was secretly handed over to a foreign visitor. Inside, a Timorese had listed the names of 352 people, all hailing from the "suco" (group of villages, roughly equivalent to a Portuguese "borough") of Bibileu, district of Viqueque, who had been killed between 1975 and 1991.

The author, who apparently had first hand, or in some cases second hand, knowledge of the victims, indicates the age, sex, birthplace of each of them. Also noted are the date, place and way in which the victim died, as well as the name of the military unit responsible, when appropriate.

209 of the victims are men; 93 women, and 50 children. 93 deaths are listed between 1975 and 1982; 158 deaths during 1983 alone, and 101 deaths between 1984 and 1991 (the year of the last entry). While the massacres did not cease over the 16 years covered, the document shows a brutal increase in 1983 - 8 years after the invasion took place.

Two Portuguese journalists (including Publico's envoy), in Dili last February to

report on the start of Xanana Gusmão's trial, were handed another exercise book containing the names of 301 Timorese, who had been arrested and tortured in another borough, also in the Viqueque district. The exact location was not identified, but the places in which the arrest occurred point to a borough in the Uato-Lari area, to the east of Viqueque. Of the 301 listed, 131 were given as missing since the date of arrest, and had, therefore, probably been killed (see Publico 19 February).

Bibileu, situated in the mountains to the north-west of Viqueque, is not unique in East Timor's recent history but by chance, there are various testimonies concerning the population of this borough: The exercise book, a letter from the local militia commander, the testimonies from a Catholic priest and people who escaped from the camp in which the population had been enclosed. This rare collection of information has enabled a picture to emerge of the genocide on a massive scale.

When the Indonesian navy disembarked in December 1975, first in Dili and then Baucau, and when early the following year Jakarta's troops flooded into the remaining cities and coastal towns, four-fifths of the Timorese population fled before it. The Indonesian military gradually occupied the main communication channels and the cities and towns in which they were installed, but the majority of the population left before the troops' arrival. The people took refuge in the mountains, in the island's interior, where the Falintil (Fretilin's armed forces) organised resistance.

In spite of the problems arising from the relocation of hundreds of thousands of people to the hilly interior areas, survival was possible, thanks to agriculture, abundant cattle, and the spontaneous natural resources of a generous equatorial soil. The greatest difficulties began in 1977, when the invading soldiers systematically used airplanes to bomb the places where signs of life were detected, and to burn crops.

For two years, the people had to be on the move constantly, in order to escape the bombing and to search for food.

Craras, strategic village

From 1978 onwards, the Indonesian army increased its attacks on the refuge areas. In 1979, the majority of the Timorese population was forced to surrender, not only on account of the constant attacks, but also the starvation and sickness caused by deprivation. Such was the fate of the Bibileu people, who were regrouped and kept under guard in a camp, or a so-called "strategic village" in Craras.

There is not much information about how the surrender of the Bibileu people hap-

pened, or about the Craras camp itself. According to a letter from Virgilio dos Anjos, resistance military commander from 1975 to 1979, he and his men surrendered their weapons to Indonesian troops. Perhaps it was because of this, or just because they were lucky enough to surrender to a more law-abiding Indonesian commander (Suharto had promised to spare the lives of those who surrendered) which saved them from the massacre that wiped out the majority of the fighters who surrendered.

Arrested and ill-treated, Virgilio dos Anjos and his men were taken to the outskirts of Dili, and subjected to a pro-Indonesia "mentalisation" program. Once returned to Craras, they were forced to take part in "military operations against our brothers in the armed resistance," writes Virgilio dos Anjos.

"Our surrender never meant that we accepted integration," the former resistance commander continues. He had, meantime, been promoted to commander of the Craras militia, formed by the Indonesians.

Little is known about life in this camp. The strategic villages, which the Timorese called "concentration camps," were composed of a nucleus of houses, positioned in a confined space, so as to facilitate surveillance. Each camp was guarded by an Indonesian military unit which, when it expected an attack by the resistance, installed itself in the midst of the houses, thereby using civilians for its own protection.

The nucleus of living quarters was surrounded by a strip of land for cultivation purposes, which was itself surrounded by a free circulation area, where the people could gather the crops planted before the formation of the camp, gather foods that grew spontaneously, collect firewood, etc. The size of these two areas, for cultivation and gathering, varied from camp to camp, according to the nature of the land, and the existence of resistance groups in the neighbourhood.

The lists in the exercise book show that people did die of starvation in Craras but, compared to other camps, it was not one of the worst.

The militia rebels

According to the testimonies of two people living in Craras, there were 1593 inhabitants in the camp in 1983. They had come from seven villages in Bibileu. The exercise book, which lists the victims according to their village of origin, mentions six: Aisahe, Maneclaran, Tato Hosa, We Bae, Laku Wai and Amarlesa. For the 1975-1982 period, 93 deaths are recorded. However, judging from 1983, it may be concluded that there is further information and that this list is probably an incomplete pic-

ture of the real situation, especially since from 1976 to 1982 the people were dispersed and constantly moving around, which made gathering accurate information difficult.

The letter from Commander Virgilio dos Anjos says that the men recruited for the camp's militia were fulfilling their role against their will. The Indonesians were under no illusions, and the militia were not given weapons. However, in order to get hold of weapons, the militia tricked the Indonesians. In league with their "armed resistance brothers," writes the Commander, they simulated an attack on the camp, so as to then be able to justify being armed. The Indonesians gave them weapons in October 1982.

In March 1983, the Indonesian Military Commander of East Timor, Colonel Purwanto, entered into negotiations with Xanana Gusmão.

The initial talks were held in resistance-controlled areas. A cease-fire is agreed, but Xanana insists that, before discussing the main issue, the Indonesian Government inform the UN Secretary General about the start of negotiations. This would be the only assurance that Indonesia was sincere about entering into dialogue. For three months, the Timorese waited for Jakarta's reply.

On 26 June, General B. Murdani sent an ultimatum: "Our army is prepared to destroy you if you are not prepared to cooperate with our Republic," and he sets the month of August as the deadline for surrender.

When the first signs that Murdani was putting his words into action, the militia at Craras reacted. The immediate reason for the uprising was abuses perpetrated by the Indonesian soldiers at the camp: after a party they had raped several women from the camp. However, the rebellion had been planned for a long time. On 8 August, the militia attacked the Indonesian garrison. 16 military were killed (two escaped). Before returning to the bush, the Timorese militia managed to get hold of 17 weapons.

The occupiers waited one month before reacting. On 7 September, they entered Craras and killed all those who had not fled the camp - about 200 women, babies, and old people.

In the days that followed, the rest of the population was surrounded and subjected to bombing attacks from the air. When about 800 civilians were rounded up near the We-Tuku river, south from Craras, they were massacred by machine gun fire. There was a sole survivor - a man named Tino-Kaik, who had hidden beneath the bodies.

The last group of fugitives from the camp were captured a few days later and taken to another camp called Klalerek Mutin, near

the south coast, where they continued to be subjected to reprisals (see letter from Virgilio dos Anjos).

Concentration Camp

In November 1984, Mnsgr. Belo was not allowed to visit the Klalerek Mutin camp, when he was visiting nearby. A Catholic priest, who was allowed to carry out religious duties at the camp, wrote that among the people who had been regrouped at Klalerek Mutin, there were 46 widowers, 122 widows, and 276 orphans. According to his testimony, 1278 of the Craras inhabitants had been killed, and 56 had disappeared.

The 158 people listed in the exercise book as killed in 1983 are, therefore, but a small part of those who were actually killed that year. They are just the ones which the author, who was living outside Klalerek Mutin, managed to identify.

There was an obvious desire to punish the survivors from Craras, regrouped in Klalerek Mutin. The camp had been located in the southern coastal area which, given its sanitary conditions, was known to be unsuitable for permanent habitation, especially because of malaria.

Before the invasion, the fertile area had been used by people from Viqueque for growing rice, but this was subsequently abandoned as it became impossible to get there. On the pretext of avoiding any chance of the people again attacking their Indonesian guards, all sharp objects were taken from them - knives, machetes, etc.

One year later, according to the priest's testimony, the people were given 20 picks, 10 machetes and six hoes for working on the land. There are many ways of killing people - starving them to death is one way.

There was neither doctor nor nurse, nor any medicine at the camp. Sickness was rife, and there was "extreme hunger and deprivation."

Forced Labour

On 11 October 1986, two people managed to escape from Klalerek Mutin. Much of the information contained in this report was supplied by them, and by the Catholic priest already mentioned.

Two security rings surrounded the camp: the first consisted of 12 watch posts (jagas), occupied every night by the able bodied men of the camp. The second ring was composed of 10 watch posts, situated every 300 metres, and occupied during the day by two men in each one.

Inside the camp there was an Indonesian military platoon, supported by 12 Timorese auxiliaries (hansips). Fearing attacks from the Resistance's IV Unit A Company which was active in the area, the military threatened to kill the people if there were an at-

tack on their post. They also threatened to kill the men on guard, if they did not raise the alarm when guerrillas were close or passing by.

On 24 July 1986, six men on guard duty, whose ages ranged from 10 to 47 years old, were accused of not raising the alarm when guerrillas were passing by. After being beaten and tortured (with sharpened points of sticks, and electric shocks), they confessed after three days of this treatment that they had been contacted by a relative of one of them, who was in the resistance.

The night guard duty exhausted the men, who were forced, along with the other inhabitants, to take part in Gotong Royong - voluntary work for the community which, in East Timor, is forced labour carried out for the benefit of the military or privileged individuals.

In Klalerek Mutin, this work basically consisted of preparing a vast area of plain, which would eventually be used by the military or some of their collaborators. After excavating the land, everyone - men, women and children - were forced to trample on the damp earth until it became soft, and "good and mushy." This long and arduous work had traditionally been done by herds of buffalo. However, after the invasion, nearly all these animals disappeared, and the Timorese were forced to do the work. The people were only allowed to cultivate their own vegetable gardens within a one kilometre radius of the camp.

For most of the year, they only had 2 or 3 days per week to work for themselves, but at the times of greatest agricultural activity (sowing, pruning, harvest) the amount of time spent in forced labour for the occupier was increased, just leaving Sunday for their own work.

Two Sacks of Rice for a Man's Life

The women also were forced to work without pay in the houses of the Indonesians and their collaborators: collecting water and fire wood, washing dishes and clothes, etc. This work was officialised by means of a list affixed in the "Balay-Desa." However, what revolted the people most deeply was the fact that young women, both single and married, were forced into carrying out other services for the Indonesians on demand.

Similarly, there was the supposed sports day ("ola raga"), when the young women were made to wear shorts and play football with the soldiers. After the match there was a dance and the women, single and recently married, were forced to go with the soldiers that were interested in them.

In August 1985, three women - Cristina (30), Martinha (32) and Adelina Soares (26), whose husbands were in the bush, were

imprisoned for refusing to go with soldiers. Taken to the Viqueque Kasi Satu (military command), they were tortured with electric shocks and cigarette burns to the face, breasts and genitals.

In 1990, the camp had a total of 1552 inhabitants: 30 widowers and 191 widows (less widowers and more widows than six years previously, as men were especially targeted). In March, 17 terrified people managed to flee the camp. When they arrived to Viqueque they made complaints to the authorities about the abuses committed by the garrison in Klalerek Mutin: on any pretext, people were being arrested, tortured, forced to denounce others, who in turn suffered the same fate.

Sometimes, as in the case of Candido Amaral, accused by Sebastiao dos Reis of possessing a firearm, the brutality ended in death. The truth, or simply a means employed by Sebastian to put an end to his torture? Candido either did not want, or was unable to produce the firearm. "They undressed him, ridiculed him, burned his genitals with lighted cigarettes. At 5 o'clock on 29 March 1990, they dragged him to Tula-Metan, a place by the sea, and killed him with machine gun fire, that disintegrated part of his body."

The Viqueque authorities turned a deaf ear to the fugitives' complaints, but when the news got to Dili, the Commander of the Commandos' Battalion was impelled to take action. The soldiers responsible for the death were relocated to other units, without any further punishment. The Battalion Commander sent two sacks of rice to the man's widow and five children...

According to a foreign visitor who went to Klalerek Mutin in 1991, the appearance of the camp, which even won a "best kept village" prize, does not give any hint of concealing so much suffering. Contact with the inhabitants there is out of the question without the presence of the Indonesians or their agents. Any Timorese talking to a visitor would, therefore, certainly expect subsequent interrogation and reprisals.

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

MARIO CARRASCALÃO TO RUMANIA

Editor, 28 October 1993. By Suryansyah. Translated from Indonesian, Abridged.

Headline: My problem every day <Masalah saya setiap hari>

Ex-East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalão has been appointed Indonesian Ambassador to Rumania from early 1994.

Rumours circulate in Jakarta that he was a supporter of the Fretilin [sic] clandestine network, and some expected him to move to Portugal.

In an interview, Carrascalão said the rumours about his treasonous intentions were fueled by corrupters he had offended whilst governing ET. He said the reason for the delay in his appointment was that he had refused offers of ambassadorships outside Europe. He would use the opportunity to convince people to accept the integration of ET into Indonesia.

CARRASCALÃO WILL CAMPAIGN ABOUT EAST TIMOR

Kompas, 20 October 1993. Abridged

Mario Viegas Carrascalão was one of eleven ambassadors sworn in by President Suharto on Tuesday. He will be Indonesia's ambassador in Romania and said he regards the post as suitable, because the language they speak in Romania is rather like Portuguese which he speaks fluently.

Replying to questions from journalists, he said he would campaign on Indonesia's behalf in Romania. "I once lived there for eighteen years (sic), I have many friends there some of whom are now government officials and I will do my best to tell them about East Timor which is now a part of Indonesia."

Asked what his feelings were on being appointed an ambassador, he said: "This is yet another proof that what I have done in the past is accepted by the government, particularly by the President. It is out of the question for a traitor to be appointed ambassador."

Asked whether anyone had accused him of treachery, he said: "There are people who regard me as controversial. When I was appointed governor of East Timor, I carried out my duties according to the aspirations of the people. But because of my style, some people would have preferred me to remain silent. But I can't stay silent on matters related to the government's interests, or the people's interests - particularly the people's interests; I will never remain silent on their interests."

EAST TIMOR HERO SOUGHT

Jakarta Post, 4 November 1993. Unabridged

Chairman of the National Heroes Day Committee Lt. General Sutopo Yuwono says it is high time for the government to name a national hero from the province of East Timor.

Sutopo told reporters the hero should be someone who was involved in the process of integration in 1976.

He said probably one obstacle in determining a hero from the province is that the Law requires a hero to be a deceased person while most East Timorese involved in the integration process are still alive.

ANC HAILS PLAN TO OPEN INDONESIAN CONSULATE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Jakarta Post 5 November 1993. Unabridged (excluding paras on different topic)

(Jakarta) The African National Congress has welcomed Indonesia's decision to open a consulate in South Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas said.

Alatas made the announcement after accompanying Allan Boesak, aide to Nelson Mandela and chairman of the South African Peace and Justice Foundation, to see President Suharto at Bina Graha on Wednesday. During the occasion, Boesak presented a letter from Mandela to Suharto.

Boesak was invited to Indonesia because Jakarta hoped to forge closer relations with the ANC, especially given that he is a close aide to Mandela, Alatas said.

He said the ANC is expected to emerge as the winner in the first non-racist elections to be held in South Africa next year.

The government announcement last month that Indonesian entrepreneurs are now free to travel to South Africa to tap trade and investment opportunities, following the UN decision to lift the trade embargo on South Africa.

To facilitate the entrepreneurs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is currently working on a plan to open a consulate in South Africa. Indonesia will begin considering opening an embassy after the elections next year.

AUSTRALIAN & INDONESIAN AIR FORCES EXERCISE AT MEDAN

RAAF JOINS EXERCISE OVER SUMATRA

The Australian, Monday Nov. 15, 1993

Four F/A 18 fighters from the RAAF's 76 squadron (RAAF = Royal Australian Air Force) soared over northern Sumatra yesterday in the first joint exercises with the Indonesian Air Force. A total of 180 air force staff from both countries are participating in a 5 day exercise at the Palonia airforce base near Medan.

The first bilateral air exercises see the RAAF Hornet fighters pitted against Indonesia's aging F5 Tigers. According to Indonesian defence sources, the 2 sides are practising 'dissimilar air combat tactics,' which

trains the 2 air force's pilots in air combat techniques.

The RAAF aircraft arrived in Medan from the Butterworth air force base in Malaysia where they have been involved in a Five Power air defence exercise.

Lt.-Col. Eris Haryanto, who is commanding Indonesia's contingent in the exercise said his team would stay on the defensive because of the Hornet's superior technology and capability.

Australia's air attaché in Jakarta, Group Captain Rick Jones, said that he hoped this week's activity would contribute to the establishment of a much closer relationship between the RAAF and the Indonesian Air Force in future.

WHAT DO INDONESIAN PEOPLE THINK OF EAST TIMOR?

From 'Lenito' by email, Nov. 23, 1993

Hope this piece of info may help your genuine opinions.

At best of my knowledge the Indonesian people think that East Timor is the 27th provinces (which integrated into the RI) on demand of the East Timorese (majority) in the Indonesian archipelago. They don't know that the 'real war' has taken place there. Many of them have never heard about the war in East Timor, what they believe and have been told so far is that East Timor is now actively developing itself, focusing on development projects. Indonesian soldiers who are being deployed there are designed to help villagers building infrastructure, only a few battalions being deployed there to fight against Fretilin remnants.

Apart from that, many Indonesians thought that in East Timor, Fretilin members are communists, therefore they have to be dealt by the armed forces in the Indonesian backyard. It therefore, during the period of late 70s and through 80s the Indonesian people were completely left behind by the news of atrocities (a series of military operation which resulted many casualties, death, starvation, disease, massacre, torture and so on inside East Timor). Access to East Timor for visitors is very strict, only in December 1988, the Indonesian generals softened their policy to 'open East Timor' for visitors without special permission. However, such a move is still questionable when it comes into practice.

Ironically, most of the Indonesian people DO NOT AWARE (or they are somewhat partially blind) of what was happening in East Timor, they were indoctrinized by the government for nearly two decades that East Timor is an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia and the province is now undertak-

ing its development programme to catch up its backwardness with other provinces inside Indonesia.

Atrocities, genocide committed by the Indonesian soldiers have been suppressed by the Indonesian mainstream press and one can hardly find the real story from inside East Timor. On the contrary, any advantageous movement such as the capture, encirclement or annihilation by the Indonesian armed forces toward the guerilla remnants (GPK in the Indonesian terminology, known as 'security disturbance movement' in the bush, were the major elements of the Jakarta's administration for public consumption. The ritual ceremony of giving award to soldiers who succeeded in their operation of killing the East Timorese (due to their heroic feats in East Timor) appeared frequently in the headlines of most papers.

What most people do believe is that there is a "special area" that must be treated differently in terms of security inside East Timor. So far it's like a taboo for the press to figure out the exact number of innocent soldiers who have been deployed there. More extremely, the horrendous reprisal originated by the army towards the East Timorese was poorly covered by the Indonesian press.

So to answer your questions of how do people think of East Timor, my observation is that as human beings, the Indonesian people do think about the suffer of the East Timorese people although they were not well-informed and experienced as the East Timorese themselves. It is perfectly understandable of how the policy makers managed the situation. Close the territory of East Timor out of visitors (either Indonesians or foreigners) is one of the main element of avoiding public prominence where the situation in East Timor is explosive and remains pervasive. The vicious military offensive has been underway over the years and with fresh troops sent to East Timor on a regular basis are completely left out of most Indonesians knowledge. Only a few handy people know about this and it is limited to a certain circle of people who never made it publicly.

This only came into effect after the fortuitous video camera in the hands of a courageous cameraman recorded for the first time on one of the many massacres that took place in East Timor. The massacre of over 200 civilians in Dili on 12 November 1991 infuriated a wide number of individuals, NGOs, activists and students, governments inside Indonesia and worldwide. Since then, the problem of East Timor is considered as a 'sharp gravel in the Indonesian shoe' as pointed out by the Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. Many people become aware of the real situation in East Timor after be-

ing 'silenced' by the Indonesian policy makers and voices of moderation are being heard calling for change.

To date, it's hard to say what do people think of East Timor, apart from the "classical way of thinking" but an obvious reason to be pointed out is that most Indonesians are reluctant to take risk in their lives of voicing different or alternative opinions, instead they adhere to the official government lines (i.e. East Timor is an integral part of RI). Those who come up with a different alternative that East Timor must be given a full autonomy leading to independence seem to be waited until the present regime changed I guess.

Thanks for reading this.

MUSLIMS IN JAKARTA OPPOSED MASSACRES

According to an AP item datelined November 26 that I saw in a local Japanese newspaper on November 28, the East Timor issue figured in the November 26 demonstration in Jakarta by Muslims demanding an end to the lottery in Indonesia. The relevant part translates: "On that day 500 students descended on the parliament to demand the banning of the lottery and distributed stickers which read, in reference to the shooting incident by the army in East Timor in 1991, 'Suharto, the mastermind behind the tragedy.'"

— *Jean Inglis, (Free East Timor Japan Coalition), Nov. 29*

Clarification from Carmel, TAPOL:

The sticker produced by Yayasan Pijar and distributed to demonstrators outside the Parliament Building was an attack on Suharto as the responsible person for all massacres. It reads:

"SDSB - Suharto Dalang Segala Bencana [Suharto is the Cause of all Disasters]. It then lists: Sampang (Madura), Haur Koneng (in West Java, the killings in July this year), Dili, Aceh, [one name that is undecipherable in our copy] and Tanjung Priok (1984).

They are all YOUR responsibility."

Our information is that the four people rounded up at the demo have since been released, but Nuku Sulaiman of Yayasan Pijar who was arrested with a police warrant later that night, 'for insulting the President' is now in police custody. He could, if brought to trial, be sentenced to up to eight years.

INDONESIA PROTESTS PORTUGAL'S ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

UPI, Dec. 3

JAKARTA (UPI) — Indonesia Friday denounced Portugal's latest criticism of alleged human rights violations in East Timor, and warned the accusations could undermine ongoing dialogue between the two nations.

"Indonesia deeply regrets that despite the understanding achieved during the last meeting between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal in New York Sept. 17, the government of Portugal continues to make unsubstantiated charges against Indonesia and to twist the facts surrounding the issue of East Timor," a statement released by the Indonesian foreign ministry said.

Jakarta is protesting a Portuguese statement that used the term "massacre" in describing a Nov. 12, 1991, clash in the East Timorese provincial capital of Dili. In that incident, government soldiers fired on a pro-independence demonstration, killing scores of protesters.

Indonesia claims Lisbon is bound by the 1992 chairman of the Commission of Human Rights' statement officially describing the 1991 clash as an "incident." Jakarta says both nations agreed to that designation.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor soon after Lisbon withdrew from the former Portuguese colony in 1975, and Jakarta annexed the territory one year later. Opposed by many residents, the annexation resulted in a civil war that reportedly claimed the lives of as much as one-third of the East Timorese population.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and still regards Portugal as the administrative power.

Jakarta and Lisbon have agreed to a fourth round of talks on the issue, scheduled for May 6 in Geneva.

WHITHER INDONESIAN POLITICS?

By Maggie Ford in Jakarta, Business Times, Dec. 10, 1993

The travails of the small but increasingly successful Indonesia Democratic Party are fast becoming a barometer of movement in the country's politics. Decisions over the next few days may show whether the prevailing winds are set fair or due for change.

Yesterday, President Suharto, in his first statement on this week's deadlocked opposition congress, called for a peaceful end to

the row which had blocked the daughter of his predecessor from becoming leader.

According to a Reuter report, Interior Minister Yogie Mehmed, who has himself faced accusations that he masterminded the deadlock, quoted the president as calling on Megawati Sukarnoputri and other members of the Indonesia Democratic Party (PDI) to reach consensus.

"Let's solve this in a good way. There should be a consensus. Differences are fine but must be of some quality," he quoted Mr. Suharto as saying yesterday.

The government is to call in leaders of the party, including Megawati Sukarno, its de facto new leader, in an effort to sort out the PDI's third conference failure in a row. But this time, mediators face a new situation.

For despite the inability of the party to choose a leader according to its rules, an overwhelming number of delegates meeting last weekend in Surabaya, East Java, made their position clear.

Despite procedural obstacles, more than 250 of the 300 branches and all of the party's 27 provincial chapters endorsed Ms Megawati, daughter of Indonesia's first president, as their leader.

In contrast to an earlier party conference held in Medan in July, which broke up amid violent disarray as one faction physically fought another, the Surabaya meeting managed to remain peaceful.

The emergence of Ms Megawati marks the first time that the PDI membership has been offered the choice of a genuine political figure of stature as a leader. Although a Member of Parliament, Ms Megawati has not moved to the centre of the political stage until now.

In the past, the PDI had been bedeviled by factionalism and outside interference. But under its most recent leader Soerjadi, it was able to galvanise significant support during elections and to cut into the vote of the ruling Golkar group.

Golkar has dominated Indonesian politics since President Suharto's New Order government took over from President Sukarno in the late 1960s. The government has pledged to democratise Golkar and enforced a policy of civilian control of the group two months ago.

Despite pledges that the government would not interfere in PDI's congress, analysts say the "ghosts" of past interference and political engineering can be seen hovering over the organisation.

Political scientist Sumartana describes the repeated failure of the party to achieve a successful outcome to its leadership crisis as caused by a "striving for freedom against bribery, intrigue and the abuse of power."

An editorial in *Republika* newspaper pointed out that the PDI was a child of

President Suharto's New Order government, like Golkar and the United Development Party, the only three political groups allowed. "The failure of the one is the failure of all," the editorial said.

The task for Soesilo Soedarmon, minister in charge of politics and security, and Yogie Mehmed is thus more difficult than in the past, when all that was required was an indication of support for one PDI faction or another.

Political commentators have pointed out that failure to respect the choice of the majority at the conference could create a disillusioned underground political movement and affect Indonesia's international image.

And if the ministers refuse to accept the endorsement of Ms Megawati, they will also dash hopes that have already been raised by no less than President Suharto himself over the future of political change in Indonesia.

Mr. Suharto has made it clear in the past year that he supports more press freedom, less military involvement in politics, and a more active Parliament.

The next few days will no doubt reveal whether or not he will allow a party which could threaten the dominance of Golkar, his ruling vehicle, to realise its potential.

THE TIMORESE EXTERNAL RESISTANCE

THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR AWARDED THE 1993 RAFTO HUMAN RIGHTS PRIZE

Press Release of the Professor Thorolf Rafto Foundation for Human Rights (Bergen, Norway), October 10

Invaded militarily by Indonesia on 7th December 1975, East Timor was proclaimed the '27th Province of Indonesia.' The Indonesian annexation of East Timor has been extraordinarily brutal - under Indonesian rule some 200,000 East Timorese, or approximately one-third of the total population, have died.

Indonesia has attempted to veil the atrocities of East Timor by silence. East Timor has been basically off-limits to everyone. This, combined with geo-politics and the strategic importance of the Indonesian archipelago are reasons why the ruthless Indonesian occupation of East Timor has virtually been ignored internationally and by the media. When Aung San Suu Kyi was awarded the 1990 Rafto Human Right Prize, the suffering of the people of Burma was

little known to the world at large. The prize changed that.

Indonesia is the world's fourth largest state, in terms of population. The East Timorese constitute one of the very smallest nations in the world. The East Timorese are an indigenous people famed for their traditional environmental integration and non-exploitative harvesting of natural resources. Indonesia has not had a similar approach to the large reserves of oil and rich natural resources on the Timor island and in the Timor Sea.

A Portuguese colony for more than 400 years, the people of East Timor represents a Roman Catholic enclave in the present Indonesian Muslim setting. Their language is not accepted and their cultural identity suppressed.

The people of East Timor are fighting for independence in the face of massive Indonesian repression. Amnesty International has since the invasion documented a pattern of gross and persistent human rights violations by Indonesian security forces in the territory. These have included extra-judicial executions, 'disappearances,' torture and ill-treatment, political imprisonment and unfair trial.

The Pope visited East Timor in 1989. A Portuguese parliamentary delegation had to call off its visit in 1991. On 11 (sic) November 1991, Indonesian troops shot some 180 East Timorese civilians in a funeral procession for a repression victim at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the East Timorese capital. Witnessed by foreigners, the Santa Cruz massacre provided evidence for Indonesian bloodshed, but it did not put an end to it. Recently, scores of East Timorese students have been detained by the security forces.

The United Nations has time and again and all along, condemned the armed invasion and Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

Mr. José Ramos-Horta, journalist, writer and diplomat and a leading figure for the East Timorese will receive the Prize on behalf of the East Timorese people. Mr. José Ramos-Horta has represented his people at the United Nations and presented last year a three-point peace proposal for East Timor asking for peace negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations.

The Prize ceremony will take place at Den Nationale Scene theatre in Bergen, Norway, on 4 November 1993.

For further information please contact The Rafto Foundation for Human Rights, tel: 47 55 25 75 90 - fax: 47 55 95 33 10.

[The Foundation's announcement of its decision to award this year's prize to East Timor was widely reported as front-page news in the Norwegian press and on TV.]

CNRM REP RECEIVES HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD

Statement by Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Chairman and Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance upon receiving the 1993 Professor Thorolf Rafto Human Rights Award.. Bergen, 4 November 1993

Distinguished members of the Board of Professor Thorolf Rafto Foundation, Ladies and gentlemen:

I am honoured to be here today and thank you for the invitation extended to me to receive the 1993 Professor Thorolf Rafto Human Rights Award on behalf of the people of East Timor. I wish also to express my gratitude to our friends who thought of my people and made this possible.

We are here today to honour the memory of a great man, Professor Thorolf Rafto, whose life was a constant struggle for peace and freedom. He belongs to that group of people, men and women, whose deeds in their lifetime outlive life itself. Theirs was a life worth living and being proud of. What is our passage through this world if we see injustice and we do not protest, if we see hunger and we do not offer food to the hungry, if we witness intolerance and we do not offer generosity, if we see child labour and we do not shed tears and express our anger, if we see dictatorships enslaving a whole country and we cohort with them in the name of national interests. Professor Thorolf Rafto is alive among us through a life of challenge, courage, integrity and generosity.

Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to make use of this unique occasion to share with you my peoples history and struggle for freedom and our collective desire for peace and our vision of our future

I come from a country that is not even classified as a Third World country. We belong to the poorest of the Earth, we are "les damnés de la terre," in the words of Franz Fanon. I was born and grew up in East Timor, my childhood was lived in remote villages and my first language of communication was Tetun. Where I grew up the most important event of the year was the arrival of an old truck, at the wheel an old Chinese merchant.

East Timor was underdeveloped, but there was no starvation or famine. The fertile soil and the abundant rain fall provided the basic crops and animals needed by the people. The traditional society with its religious rites and the delicate relationship between the people and the Earth and the environment survived centuries of Portuguese colonial rule. This is the country I come from, a 18.889 km² half-island, with

about 700,000 people in 1974, a country rich with proven oil reserves, natural gas, manganese, marble, sandalwood, the best coffee in the world, a fertile soil and a rich sea.

East Timor was poor but at peace. The Portuguese colonial rulers, for all their misdeeds, largely left the people alone. Apart from the introduction of the Catholic faith which today is the single most potent unifying force in East Timor, the Portuguese did not do much to alter the traditional status quo. East Timor was an island of peace, stability, racial tolerance, where peoples of so many diverse ethnic origins and languages, Malay-Polynesian, Melanesians, Portuguese, Chinese, some Arabs, co-existed in peace. Not once was there a minor racial incident in the post World War II period.

All this changed in 1975.

It is almost 20 years now since that day, December 7 1975 when my country, East Timor was invaded by the armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia. More than 200,000 people died by 1981, entire villages wiped off the face of the Earth, entire tribes decimated, thousands of people executed, women raped in front of their husbands and children, men tortured and killed in front of their families, the wealth of the country looted, the native languages robbed, the culture suffocated. This is not a literary form of expression. I talk about real people, about human beings, about my own brothers and sisters who were murdered, about my friends who were abducted and killed, I talk about prisoners thrown off helicopters, I talk about dismembered bodies of children,

I talk about families torn apart, about parents, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, children, separated by this war for almost 20 years.

Almost 20 years later and as we approach the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, the situation in East Timor is explosive. The youth is restless and resentful. A massive crack down has been effected for several months now with hundreds of arrests. Torture remains pervasive. A vicious military offensive is under way since July and fresh troops are sent to East Timor.

Xanana Gusmão, our leader, remains incommunicado in a prison thousands of miles away from his beloved country in contravention of the 4th Geneva Convention. His trial early this year was universally condemned as a charade and a travesty of justice. Yet, the international community is doing very little to seek his release. Young Timorese who used peaceful means to express their anger over the occupation are sentenced to prison terms ranging from 10 years to life. Indonesian soldiers and officers

who shot 271 civilians in cold-blood escaped with almost total impunity.

Time and again I think of this war and all the wars. I think of the persecution of the Jewish and the holocaust and the world's indifference; I think of the gypsies killed by the Nazis and who are still discriminated everywhere; I think of the poor African migrant workers who having seen the wealth of their countries looted by European powers and who are forced to take menial jobs in France and Germany are subjected to all forms of humiliation; I think of the Guatemala Indians murdered every day by the army; I think of the 40,000 million Burmese people imprisoned by a military clique involved in drug trafficking; I think of the great Tibetan people enslaved by their Chinese neighbour and of the Chinese people enslaved by their decrepit communist rulers; I think of the people of West Papua whom the world only think of as an exotic endangered species; I think of the Moslem women of Aceh who are raped by a Moslem army; I think of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and in the refugee camps at the mercy of the Israeli army and of their despotic Arab "brothers." And I ask myself, how can a group of individuals manage to have so much destructive power and inflict so much pain and misery to so many people.

You might ask, ladies and gentlemen, why did Indonesia invade us? President Suharto of Indonesia recently answered your question. "We invaded them because of we love them." The Chinese also love so much the Tibetans that they decided to drown them in a sea of Chinese settlers; Saddam Hussein loved so much the Kuwaitis that he could no longer stand being separated from them. In fact Saddam Hussein seems to love so many people - the Iranians, so he invaded them; the Kurds, so he gassed them.

For 500 years, the people of East Timor were colonised by the Portuguese. With them they brought the Catholic faith together with their Latin culture and values, which combined with the Timorese animist beliefs and rituals that had existed for over a thousand years. Throughout that period, there was little or no contact between the people of East Timor and the peoples and rulers in the remote islands of Java.

We are a different country and a different people: we have our own history and culture; our own languages, religion and perception of material values.

Portuguese navigators, missionaries and merchants first arrived in East Timor in 1511 and colonised it for almost 500 years, making East Timor the oldest European colony second only to Northern Ireland. It was never a part of what is today called the

Republic of Indonesia: neither in the period of the Dutch and Portuguese colonisations of the region nor even before the arrival of the European powers. On independence, the Republic of Indonesia based itself on the area colonised by the Dutch, claiming the same political boundaries. But the Republic of Indonesia is in reality only a geographical term which encompasses over 250 distinct nationalities, thrown together by the Dutch for simple administrative expediency, no different from the ex-USSR empire or ex-Yugoslavia. Because East Timor was not one of the territories colonised by the Dutch, the Indonesian founding fathers did not claim it.

In June 1974 I visited Jakarta, Indonesia, in my capacity as secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Timorese Social Democratic Association, and met with the then Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik. After our third round of talks, Mr. Malik addressed to me a letter which reads in part:

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

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

In the course of the discussions, I convey to Mr. Malik our desire to develop close relations with Indonesia and our intention to seek membership of ASEAN. In an effort to appease our giant neighbour, I went as far as proposing that our future diplomats and security forces be trained in Indonesia.

Adam Malik's words were the words of a statesman who was conscious of his country's lack of any legitimate historical claim to East Timor. He viewed the emergence of an independent East Timor as a natural outcome of the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire.

However, ladies and gentlemen, then and now, the ultimate power in Indonesia is held by the men in the army, the men who have the weapons, weapons supplied by the Western democracies, US, UK, France, Germany, Holland, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Australia. Time and again I learn how the word of an Indonesian official can be as easily broken as it is said, how a lie becomes the official truth, how lies have become part of the political culture and the means to survive and perpetuate power.

Respect for the colonial boundaries is what has kept most of Africa, Latin America and Asia from disintegrating. As unjust and bizarre was the European division of Africa at the Berlin Conference, the 51 post-colonial African states rest their very existence on the artificial boundaries worked out

by their former white rulers. Attempts by whoever and from wherever to alter these absurd boundaries without the consent of the peoples affected will cause major upheavals. Maybe the root cause of the conflicts in Africa is their colonial legacy and a case can be made for negotiations leading towards adjustment of the boundaries that would do justice to the millions of peoples split off at the Berlin Conference. However, I do not believe that any one single regime can take upon itself the task of redrawing a country's boundaries at the expense of its neighbours. But this is what President Suharto of Indonesia and the generals around him decided to do in 1975. Today, Indonesian rulers are eager to talk about the nightmares of the possible disintegration of Indonesia, the Yugoslavia scenario, if they were to let go of East Timor. Before the end of the Cold War, Indonesia argued its case for colonising East Timor with the bogus communist threat. Now that the "Cold War" is over, another argument had to be found and nothing better than talking about the Yugoslavia scenario to scare off the rest of the world.

However, ladies and gentlemen, these Indonesian generals are the very same ones who have followed the very same totalitarian forms of a rigid, centrally controlled state apparatus imposed on the peoples of Yugoslavia and the ex-USSR. These are the same generals who claimed the whole of the Dutch East Indies of 250 distinct ethnic groups speaking over 300 languages for this artificial conglomerate called the Republic of Indonesia and impose their will by brute force. Maybe they should learn from the Yugoslavia that force might delay the outbreak of a conflict but it will not keep stability for ever.

If we are to try to find a common denominator in the ethnic conflicts that plague places like Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, to mention but a few, I would submit that the root cause of these conflicts rests on the denial of a people or groups of people their inalienable right to self-determination. I do advocate self-determination not only for the peoples who, like the Timorese, fall within the UN classic and restrictive definition of self-determination, meaning, self-determination only for the peoples of the so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories. Self-determination is the right of every nation, all peoples, all groups, large and small. I am prepared to argue also that self-determination does not always mean the creation of an independent state out of a non-self-governing territory and people or from an already existing independent state. The outcome of an act of self-determination can be free association, integration within an

independent state, full independence or many other treaty arrangements that the parties directly concerned might agree on through consultations, dialogue and negotiations. The use of force has proven that to impose one's view on others has always led to wars beyond anyone's predictions.

Our right to self-determination is well established in international law and in ten United Nations' resolutions. In response to the invasion of East Timor, the Security Council adopted two resolutions, Res. 384 (1975) and Res. 389 (1976), calling for Indonesia's withdrawal and affirming the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. The General Assembly adopted no less than eight resolutions along the same lines.

No amount of lies, deceit, distortion and attempts to rewrite history will suffice to deny us our inalienable right to self-determination.

Almost 20 years after the invasion, the problem of East Timor has not disappeared. A fortuitous video camera in the hands of a courageous cameraman recorded for the first time one of the many massacres that took place in my country. The massacre of 271 Timorese civilians in Dili on 12 November 1991 was not an isolated incident or an "aberration." It followed a well-documented pattern of gross and systematic human rights abuses in many parts of East Timor perpetrated by the members of the Indonesian armed forces with the full knowledge and active participation by the highest officers in the Army. The massacre of 12 November 1991 was ordered by the then chief of the Indonesian armed forces, now Vice-President of the Republic, Gen. Try Sutrisno. This is the same man who ordered the massacre of more than 100 Muslims in Tanjung Priok in September 1984, the one who ordered the killing of at least 4,000 Muslims in Aceh.

Against this background, as bleak as it is, we begin to see a light at the end of the tunnel. There is a general realisation that the invasion and annexation of East Timor has been a colossal mistake. Editorials in the Washington Post, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Times of London, The Nation of Bangkok are calling for self-determination in East Timor. In Indonesia itself, voices of moderation are being heard calling for change.

We note with some satisfaction the changing attitude of the US in regard to the East Timor problem. Both the Congress and Administration have taken steps to redress the injustice done to us. However, we hope that the US will not address only the human rights question, but also the root causes of the conflict.

The UN Secretary-General is taking a more personal interest in the issue. I commend the Secretary-General for sending a Personal Envoy to East Timor soon after the 12 November 1991 massacre and again in March this year when his Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako, met with Mr. Xanana Gusmão. We also commend the Secretary-General for sending an observer to attend Xanana Gusmão's trial.

The Commission on Human Rights adopted by an overwhelming majority on 12 March 1993 a comprehensive resolution condemning Indonesian for gross and systematic abuse of human rights in East Timor. This August the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in a resolution led by Prof. A. Eide again condemned Indonesian.

Mistakes are inherent in the human condition. Indonesian leaders must have the courage of great men and women who can accept their mistakes and have the vision to change course.

The recent headline news on the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks should give all of us renewed hopes inasmuch as they demonstrate that the seemingly most intractable problems can be resolved if there is political will, courage and vision by all involved, the Israelis and the Palestinians. Here I wish to commend the Foreign Minister of Norway for his outstanding role as a go-between and peace broker. We only hope and pray that these first steps towards peace will not be reversed.

On our part, the Timorese political leaders inside the country and in exile have shown our collective desire to meet the Indonesians half way to reassure them that we are prepared to put our hearts and minds towards finding a solution to this protracted problem which has not served the interests and well-being of our people and the good name of the Republic of Indonesia.

Our imprisoned leader, Xanana Gusmão, has proposed and reiterated time and again our very basic stand. We remain ready to enter into a process of dialogue with the Indonesian authorities, under the auspices of the United Nations, without pre-conditions, to explore all possible ideas towards a comprehensive settlement of the conflict.

The head of the Catholic Church of East Timor, Bishop Ximenes Belo, has reiterated his appeals for a referendum on the future of East Timor.

Mr. Konis Santana, the new interim leader of the resistance, conveyed a message to me from inside East Timor on Tuesday, while I was in London, en route to Bergen, reiterating this basic stand and re-stated his full support for the three-phase Peace Plan I presented in April 1992 to the European Parliament in Brussels and in May 1992 to

the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

I am happy to say that since this Peace Plan was first outlined, some of the ideas we advanced have been tested, namely, the question of Timorese participation in the negotiations under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, involving the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers. In view of Indonesia's refusal to sit face to face with the Timorese, we have proposed that our own involvement could be in an indirect way, following the proximity talks model tested in the Afghanistan case. We proposed that we should meet separately with the Secretary-General or his representatives to whom we would convey our views. This has happened already on several occasions in Rome and in New York. In the most recent talks on East Timor between the two Foreign Ministers in New York on 17 September 1993, one of the points agreed to was that the Secretary-General should meet personally with representatives of the Timorese people.

We hope however that the process of consultation with the Timorese be extended to those in East Timor, namely, Mr. Xanana Gusmão and other leaders who are in prison, members of the clergy, in particular Bishop Ximenes Belo.

There cannot be a serious approach to this problem without an effort being made to involve the Timorese who in East Timor. The UN should dispatch an Envoy to East Timor to follow up the New York agreement of 17 September.

The Peace Proposal is in three phases.

Phase One, which should take up to two years to be fully implemented, would involve all three parties working with the UN to implement a wide range of "confidence building measures," but would not deal with the "core" of the problem which is the issue of self-determination. During this phase, neither side would concede their fundamental position.

These measures will necessarily include a drastic scaling down of the presence of Indonesian troops and weaponry in East Timor, together with the introduction of a significant UN presence in the territory.

This phase of the talks must focus on achieving:

- * An immediate end to all armed activities in East Timor;
- * Reduction of Indonesian troop presence to a maximum of 1,000 within a six-month period;
- * Removal of all heavy weapons, tanks, helicopters, combat aircraft, long-range artillery pieces;
- * Immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners;

- * Reduction by 50 per cent of Indonesian civil servants in East Timor;

- * Stationing in the territory of UN Specialised Agencies such as UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, FAO, etc.

- * A comprehensive census of the population.

- * Establishment of an independent Human Rights Commission headed by the Catholic Bishop;

- * Lifting of all Media control by the army;

- * Freedom of political activities

- * Removal of restrictions on the teaching of Portuguese; a Portuguese Cultural Institute to be set up;

- * Appointment of a resident Representative of the UN Secretary-General.

These are some of the ideas which I believe are feasible, could be implemented immediately without loss of face for Indonesia. On the contrary, its international standing would improve significantly and its presence in the territory will be less resented, thus relieving a very tense situation.

Phase Two - Autonomy (5 to 10) years

Phase Two, lasting between five and ten years, would be a period of genuine political autonomy based on ample powers vested in a local, democratically elected Territorial People's Assembly. The following initiatives and ideas could be explored and effected.

- * Portugal and Indonesia normalise relations during this phase.

- * Political parties, including those advocating independence for East Timor, are legalised;

- * The European Community sets up a legation in East Timor headed by a senior Portuguese official;

- * Elections are held for a Territorial Assembly. The election process and procedures must conform with universally-accepted democratic norms. The UN to provide technical support and supervision of the entire process;

- * Only East Timorese identified as such in Phase One may vote and be eligible;

- * The democratically-elected Assembly elects a Governor of the Territory who has to be a Timorese;

- * The Assembly and the Governor have a 5-year mandate;

- * The Territory may enter into trade relations with foreign countries, promulgate its own laws affecting investment, land ownership, property, immigration, etc.;

- * Remaining Indonesian troops are withdrawn within three months. The Territory will have no army. A police force is trained by the UN and is placed under the elected governor;

* Further reduction of Indonesian civil servants.

At the end of the second phase, the autonomous status of the territory could be extended by mutual accord. Seven years would have elapsed since this Peace Plan was effected and Indonesia, having initiated an entirely new relationship with the Timorese, could have won the trust of the people; the people of East Timor having enjoyed a period of peace and freedom without the presence of the most hated symbol of the occupation, might accept to continue this form of association. The changing generation and attitudes and perception in Indonesia might also result in Indonesia accepting as very natural that East Timor becomes independent while maintaining strong economic links with Indonesia.

Phase Three - Self-determination

If all parties agree that Phase Three should enter into effect immediately, then the UN would begin to prepare a referendum on self-determination to determine the final status of the territory.

Assuming that a referendum will result in an independent East Timor, Timorese political parties would form a government of national unity for the first five years. No matter what the results of the election are, there should be efforts and wisdom by the winners to bring into the government all minority parties.

This is our policy and remains valid. We believe that this represents the best possible prescription for a resolution of the conflict.

Indonesia should seize the olive branch we are now offering. It can only gain. It is obvious now that the invasion of East Timor was a colossal mistake: the occupation has sapped so much of Indonesia's energy and resources.

If Indonesia withdraws from East Timor, it would be able to regain its international reputation as a peace-loving country and not be threatening to its smaller neighbours such as Malaysia and Singapore. Moreover, an independent East Timor will be an asset for Indonesia, for ASEAN and the whole region in many ways.

Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to share with you our vision for an independent East Timor.

We can assure everyone that the government of an independent East Timor will apply for membership in ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum within days of our independence. This will be a top priority.

East Timor will maintain close ties with Portugal and the rest of Europe. We are a crossroads of three cultures and religions: Melanesian which binds us to our brothers and sisters of the South Pacific region; Malay-Polynesian which reminds us that many

of our peoples trace their origins to South East Asia; and after five hundred years of Portuguese Catholic influence, we are a distinct nation-state in the region with a special understanding and relationship with the European Community. Indeed an independent East Timor will be a valuable advocate of the region's interests in that forum. Through our accession to the Lomé Conventions, we will build the bridges of dialogue and cooperation between ASEAN and the EC.

The majority of the Timorese residents outside the country, are based in Australia. Timorese and have a special understanding of Australians and this will serve as a bridge between Australia and the South Pacific island states as well as between Australia and Southeast Asia.

We will not have a standing army. For our external security, we will rely on a Treaty of Neutrality to be guaranteed by the permanent members of the Security Council. We will endeavour with the UN and our neighbours to declare the seas surrounding East Timor a Zone of Peace and work towards total demilitarisation of the entire Southeast Asia and South Pacific regions.

We will endeavour to build a strong democratic state based on the rule of law which must emanate from the will of the people expressed through free and democratic elections.

We will encourage a free and independent media as the voice of the people: a media that informs and educates. We believe that there can be no foreign interests controlling the local media. However, we are conscious that there will not be much private wealth to support an independent media. In order to avoid monopolies, we would try to incorporate an obligation on the State to allocate funds in support of the media written into the Constitution.

In order to ensure the independence of the media, the Constitution and the laws of the country should state that government interference in the editorial policies of the press and their day to day operations is inadmissible. In the final analysis, we believe the media should be as independent as the judiciary.

From day one of independence, all international human rights treaties which would open up East Timor to international scrutiny will be submitted to the Parliament for ratification. We believe that human rights transcend boundaries and prevail over state sovereignty. No government can hide under the cover of "domestic jurisdiction" when it comes to human rights.

We would introduce in the school curriculum from very early the subject of human rights.

At the international level, we will actively work with like-minded countries, NGOs and the media to strengthen the UN human rights machinery. We will actively support the creation of an international human rights court and a penal court to try war crimes and crimes against humanity.

We will seek the cooperation of UN human rights agencies as well as of NGOs such as Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and Asia Watch to advise and assist us in our own efforts to promote respect for human rights and the rule of law in our country.

At the domestic level, we will from the first, proclaim a general amnesty and national reconciliation. To be true to ourselves, we will forgive our worst enemies. For a society to be healthy, sane and happy, it cannot be based on hatred and revenge. Because of its credibility and standing over the past twenty years, the Church will be expected to play a major role in the healing process for our society.

East Timor is a relatively small country. But with an area of 18,889 km² and a total population of 700,000 (1974 figures), it is at least equal, if not larger, in size and population than at least 30 independent states members of the UN. For instance, it is almost ten times the size of Luxembourg and has twice the population. It is sixty times larger than the Seychelles.

In terms of natural resources, East Timor is potentially self-sufficient in most agricultural goods, meat and fish. It also has large oil reserves and other minerals.

On the economic front, we will channel our resources into food production in order to feed our people. We will seek the cooperation of the UN Specialised Agencies such as the FAO, World Food Program, UNDP. However, all our policies will be a result of close consultation with the people in each region, town and village in East Timor.

In addition, in cooperation with the FAO and other international bodies, we will initiate a massive reforestation program to replant our forests and restore our largely depleted forests and our badly damaged environment.

Regarding the "Timor Gap Treaty" we will look at its terms, seek clarification and renegotiate if necessary. The sea boundary dispute will have to be settled through an international tribunal. We will seek international partnership in mineral explorations such as oil, but we will not sacrifice our own environment for short term gains.

The civil war in 1975, and the subsequent invasion, uprooted thousands of peoples. Properties were abandoned, destroyed or sold at unfair prices. This situation will have to be redressed.

A voluntary resettlement plan will be effected to allow the many tens of thousands of Timorese displaced and uprooted from their ancestral lands to return.

We believe in free education and health care for our people. The money saved from not having a standing army will be well used in these areas. At least 40% of our resources will be allocated to our best resource our people through massive investment in health and education.

With the cooperation of WHO we will seek to eradicate malaria, tuberculosis and other preventable diseases within a decade.

It is estimated that over 100,000 Indonesians are now living in East Timor. Most are poor Indonesians who came to our country looking for a better life. We would not be true to ourselves if we were to turn our backs on our poor neighbours.

Indonesian migrants in East Timor will be welcome to stay and with us to build a better home for us all. They have brought with them the wealth of their culture which can enrich the whole community.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Ours has been a long, painful and often lonely march. We don't know when this will end. The most powerful forces of this world have sided with those who invaded our country. In the face of so much hypocrisy and hostility, in the face of these overwhelming odds, I often felt crushed, defeated. I'm often asked, what keeps me going. I have no clear answer to that. I have no personal political ambitions. I have no plans to seek or to expect material reward in an independent East Timor. Then, what motivates me? Maybe there is an answer. East Timor is my country and it was taken away from us. We, Timorese, who struggle for our country's freedom, we are not doing but our own obligation to win back something that belongs to us. Each of us knows the suffering, the pain, the destruction inflicted upon our people and country. The people back home, women, children, elderly, are brave. They face persecution, imprisonment, torture and death. Yet they do not give up. How could I, living in the relative comfort and security of the exile, not be inspired by those brave men, women, children and elderly?

My respect and admiration and gratitude go to the non-Timorese, the Portuguese, Angolans, Mozambicans, the people of little Sao Tome and Principe, the people of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verdeans, who have been with us from the very beginning. Our gratitude goes to our friends in Australia, Japan, France, the US, Canada, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Norway, who have no material incentive to gain from our struggle. Many have been with us for the past 20 years giving their time, en-

ergy and money. They are our true friends. They are the ones who have kept our struggle alive in the international conscience. With their dedication, they have inspired us to persevere.

LEADERS AND THE PUPPET LEADERS OF EAST TIMORESE?

From an anonymous online commentator, Oct. 25.

In recent months following the capture of Xanana Gusmão an internal conflict among ET-se leaders exile come to vogue. The dispute ranging widely from differences on how to carry out the struggle, the controversial proposal and statements made by Abilio Araujo up to a classical disagreement concerning the top position of those concerned political frictions in the struggle. Fortunately, the case was settled through the expulsion of Abilio Araujo who, among others, was claimed to have been launched a "palace coup" subsequently after Xanana's capture.

Refer to the analysis of FITUN, 11 September 1993, Abilio Araujo seems to have been the "scapegoat" of the conflict as he personally declared himself as the leader of the resistance. On the other side Mari Alkatiri, Roque Rodrigues and Ramos Horta who expelled Abilio reiterate their commitment to the resistance and fully uphold the central command from the main land heading currently by Nino Konis Santana under the non umbrella organisation CNRM.

Inside Indonesia Francisco L da Cruz, Abilio Osorio, Mario Carrascalão, to name a few, also claim themselves as the leaders. WHO ARE THE REAL EAST TIMORESE LEADERS?

This is only a personal view, on how the Timorese look at their leaders?

History must be traced back if one need to figure out the problem. Let us have a quick look on the matter. Following the abandonment of Portugal in the late 1974s Fretilin took control over the territory. Da Cruz and his compatriots fled the country taking refuge in Indonesia's province (NTT) and begun a negotiation process with the country leaders. In the mean time, Fretilin proclaimed the independence of a Democratic East Timor.

Surprised by the unilateral independence of East Timor, the incomplete negotiation process was suspended and Indonesia invaded the territory. Many Fretilin leaders with strong commitment to their principles evacuated to the mountains, died whilst those alive continued to voice the struggle up to the current date. Luckily, Ramos Horta and others escaped from those perni-

cious events as they were abroad at the moment. The aftermath of the invasion led Da Cruz and his compatriots to position what is, later on, dubbed as "puppets" of the of Indonesia government. And in fact they are.

In late 1978, following the capture of Xavier do Amaral, the death of Nicolau Lobato and other Timorese leaders, the strategic of the previous conventional war was gradually removed by the new leader of the resistance. It was because war was considered as not affecting some interest parts only, since (if I am not wrong) every household in that territory have, at least, lost one of their relatives during the invasion taken place. People were started to be engaged more deeply in the war. In essence, a sense of people's army was growing. The concept of the fish and the sea in the classical guerilla war was introduced.

Indonesia troops behave (atrocities, killings, etc.) have also helped rising awareness of the population towards the struggle. Since the war was waging by the people, Xanana came to conclude that an establishment of a non umbrella organisation that could embrace all different parties in the struggle was necessary. And for many years this idea has been widely accepted. Today the war is perceived as belong neither to Fretilin, UDT nor others. Many have died in the aftermath of the invasion and gradually the resistance shaped the Timorese mind that not certain parts only are waging the war but the people themselves who engaged in it and must be carried on.

Apart from Indonesia's effort to use all possibilities at their disposal to press the ET case down in international fora, public awareness on the war is growing. Perhaps a most successful achievement in the struggle of any National Movements Liberation, CNRM re-emerged as a symbol of the resistance after almost been totally quelled, and begun to morally stimulate the Timorese participation in the struggle. Not surprisingly, if today the people is absolutely opposed to Indonesia occupation, bearing the pride of being Timorese against what they call the barbarous invasion, one can easily reach a conclusion who are the ideal leaders for these people.

However, not that easy if a conclusion is to be drawn. The long Indonesia's occupation have indirectly risen the puppet leaders figures, even urged some of the ex-opponents to re-consider their prior repudiation. Abilio Araujo, for instance, is the unique among others who come to recognise the role of Da Cruz and his compatriots. He criticises Xanana's role in the struggle, blaming the victims of the Dili massacre []. Abilio concluded the struggle by offering a proposal to Indonesia for a reconciliation

process, a matter refused by many for years. Abilio, in the eyes of ET, disavowed the braveness of many that have been more "patriotic" than he was and is. Many of whom have sacrificed their lives for these 18 years to free their land. Hence, the phenomenon of his replacement from the scene, applauded by many inside the territory.

Indonesia may be greeted by its achievement in weakening the resistance, but what happened was reversed to Indonesia's expectation. As FITUN claims: "If the Indonesians see Abilio's move and his 'dishonourable expulsion' as a victory for them, they are wrong."

Just as in 1978 following the death of Nicolau Lobato, the war has never ceased. Indonesian's are deluding themselves. Those occurrences have united Timorese more than ever. Bishop Belo broaden it as, "The people can die but the idea and the culture will continue to resist" this occupation.

History tell us, the worth of devoting life for one own principle and words is, he/she will be highly respected by the people and, in turn, will create the magnetism that shape people's mind of who he/she is and why he/she struggling for. Leaders, therefore, were naturally recognised once their commitment to their people outcry is fulfilled. The above scenario does exist in the Timorese traditional leadership structure.

Traditionally the adoption of "primus inter pares" in leadership system is because leaders are believed to be knowledgeable, powerful, strong and have the ability to protect people from any dangerous situations. In essence, the pervasiveness of an ideological commitment to a principle and its people - is intrinsic - in the Timorese traditional leadership system. Thence, leader is also an acknowledgment for those who commit themselves to free their people. Not for those working with the enemy.

Puppet leaders for Timorese are no more than "robots." Francisco L Da Cruz himself clarifies it. In a talk with the youths who were seeking asylum in Finland and Swedish Embassy recently he says: (in TETUM):

"Hey labaric, hanoin hanesan imi hanoin nee, ami hanoin uluk tiha ona, may be hare ba dalam laiha ona ami buka terobosan (way out) seluk." (Re- Hi guys, we had the same thinking in mind as you (to be independent), however, as there was no way out, this (integration) is the only (ultimum) option.

The ultimum option for these puppets can be concluded as only a "mere way out" to achieve their interest regardless what the majority of the people wish, what they themselves and their previous followers envisaged (Da Cruz was UDT President that held the idea of affiliating with Portugal). Not surprisingly, they are totally denied as leaders in the eyes of their own peo-

ple. The pride of being Indonesia's ambassador may lead Da Cruz to achieve another climax of great satisfaction in his life, unfortunately, at the expense of losing his own prestige in the eyes of East Timorese. Oddly, he still claiming himself as devoting his life for the people of ET.

This classic proposition is only a vague opine of leaders who fighting without principles in their minds, without objectives to achieve, except remain vulnerable to their bosses and ready to say "Yes" anytime.

Leaders, in the eyes of the people, are those who devote their lives to the struggle. Those who, although, through the very unfavourable condition of the struggle commit themselves to fight the foreign occupier. Leaders are not those who live in luxury plane denying others fundamental value of freedom for the sake of their own interest. Leaders are not those travelling around the world with a very limit capacity trying to shape world's opinion in an issue widely described as "black history of mankind in the 20th century," neglecting the life of those slaughtered by the regime they working with.

Given the above arguments, it may be too idealist to claim Xanana, Ramos Horta, Araujo, Alkatiri, and Santana (regardless their political differences) as the real and ideal leaders of Timorese people. There are still many unknown who died as leaders, and many who are struggling and respected as future potential leaders. Time and chance will be the real instrument to predict and prove all the likely events to come.

All in all, as the people continue to witness their own suffering, they do also witness those who commit themselves to free this "long deterioration." Those who are pervasive to their ideological commitment will, undoubtedly, gain considerable recognition as leaders. Puppets may claim themselves as leaders, but leading the people under the pressure of a strong "big boss" who stood above their moral and genuine principle. Puppets, therefore, remain vague as governing without the governed.

This, may lead us back to the history of "elites or compradors" in Latin America decades ago. By being puppet of the bourgeoisie they can also benefit from the exploitation of their own people.

SO, WHO ARE THE REAL EAST TIMORESE LEADERS? No precise answer for this question yet, I guess. As well as the difficulty in claiming who is the winner between Socialism and Capitalism, people in ET have their own idea towards the issue. Time and chance will clarify it whether through a plebiscite, referendum or people's own conscience.

THE MASSACRE OF SANTA CRUZ AND THE NEW FACE OF SOLIDARITY

Matebian News, November 10 1993

The following is an editorial of Matebian News/East Timor Information & Documentation Centre. Other items include: Timorese and Aussies Peace Activists in rubber dingies and kayaks challenged Indonesian warships; Konis Santana message; send a message to Xanana campaign; The Indonesian press and East Timor; ETRA's activity report; poems for Xanana and those killed in Massacre by Abé Barreto. (For subscription please write to P.O. Box 481, Fairfield NSW 2165, Australia or email to peg:etra or etra@peg.apc.org) annual subscription is AUS\$20.

This year, November 12 marks the second anniversary of the massacre of Santa Cruz. Hundreds of Timorese young men, women and children were cold-bloodedly shot by the Indonesian "trained -to-kill-civilians" troops. The Timorese youth that took part in this day of protest against the Indonesian illegal occupation of East Timor and, specially those who were in the front line and subsequently killed, were aware of the risks. They were ready to die for their homeland. As Domingos Segurado put it in the film "Cold Blood," "my whole family was killed (...) I am ready to die (...) country." These words echo the feeling of all the young generation of East Timor. They are ready to die not because of revenge but because, as far as they are concerned, Indonesia has shown more than enough evidence that if the Timorese people are to become integrated, the end product is complete genocide.

This new generation of Timorese are showing unequal sense of courage and determination. Those who were killed, also died with a deep sense of hope; they believed that although the Indonesian guns have silenced them forever, their death will awake the international community to start to speak out for the Timorese people. This hope could even be heard from the mouth of the young Timorese student who spoke to the microphones of Max Stahl in front of the Sta. Cruz cemetery, minutes before the massacre. He said: "we love freedom, we want protection."

Since the film of the massacre reached the TV screens of "the world," the uproar could be seen in the TV screens of every major liberal democracies. Condemnation after condemnation flew from Parliament to Parliament, and from all major NGO's. Even in the Australian Parliament, the former Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, called upon the In-

donesian government to find a negotiated solution with the Timorese people.

After two years, can it really be said that the world is awake for East Timor? -The real world is made up of so many different "worlds," each of them with their own self-interest. This self-interest is what moulds their stated (and practiced) understanding of democracy and social justice. It is, therefore, wrong to see the world as one. As far as East Timorese people's interest is concerned, all that counts at this stage is the world that holds the power in the UN. That is, the USA, Japan and the European Parliament. The so-called Third-World is, as always, divided to the brink of insignificance because of the perennial race to take advantage of the western dollar and their failure to develop an alternative economic model.

In the USA, one can argue that since the "massacre of Sta. Cruz," there have been significant improvements in terms of the US Congress support for East Timor. The cut of US training program, the petition signed by 43 (almost 50%) US Senators urging Pres. Clinton to raise Human Rights in East Timor when he met with Pres. Suharto in Tokyo, stopping the sale of US made F-5 aircraft fighters from Jordan to Indonesia and the current debate on the Feingold Amendment are strong signals of change in attitude towards the issue of East Timor. The pressure in the US Congress to move towards a more significant stand on East Timor can be sustained. One of the strong arguments to be used is the fact that the US Administration is now focus on the Asian-Pacific region with the view that "democracy is key to both the economic and security realms." The current ideologues of the US Administration now argue that one can not make progress in complex economic issues unless there is free debate in the society. Another important argument now echoed in the Congress is that "clearly, East Timor never did, nor does it today, pose a threat to Indonesia."

In the European Parliament, the role of Portugal has been the decisive factor. The Portuguese Euro-parliamentarians have been awake in terms of raising the issue of East Timor whenever possible. As recently as on the eighth of October, for instance, as a result of the Portuguese Euro-parliamentarians' lobby, the European parliamentarians and the delegates from the African, Caribbean and Pacific (EP/ACP) called upon the European Parliament to seek "diplomatic isolation of Indonesia" and "total arms embargo on Jakarta (...) until clear signals are given that the Indonesian government is prepared to create conditions allowing the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination and independence." Although this has to be

ratified by the European Council of Ministers, one can also say that the issue of East Timor has reached a high profile in the agenda of the European Parliament.

In Japan, the new Prime Minister is now under pressure to take a stand on East Timor. Just prior to the arrival of the Portuguese President, Dr. Mario Soares in Tokyo (19.10.93), twelve legislators from seven parties appealed to the Prime Minister to express readiness to urge Jakarta to put less restrictions on foreign doctors and human rights groups who enter East Timor and backs a Portuguese call to allow the people of East Timor to call a referendum on independence. The group also called upon the Prime Minister of Japan to support the position taken by Portugal in the on-going talks between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the UN.

All these new developments are a direct result of the massacre of Sta. Cruz. Since then, the impact in the International community continues to be strong due to two main factors: one, was the capture, illegal trial and imprisonment of the Symbol of the Timorese National Resistance, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão; another, is the fact that since the Massacre of Sta. Cruz, a new face of solidarity have emerged. Unlike the seventies when the solidarity was a product of progressive political parties under the banner of "international solidarity" and "armed struggle as the only way out," the new face of the solidarity is one made up of individuals and NGOs with a total focus on social justice and fundamental rights of all peoples to self-determination and independence. The difference in these two faces of the solidarity is simply a matter of different historical perspective. That is, the so-called "cold-war" era as opposed to the "new world order." The current solidarity, however, is harder to sustain because of the absence of support from political parties infra-structures. It has, however, very positive aspects; this new breed of solidarity, combined with many long term and consistent activists of East Timor, has the potential to launch new ideas and creativity because it enjoys clear political breeding space. This is crucial because the debate on East Timor is occupying a much broader and complex spectrum than that of the seventies and early eighties.

To enrich and sustain this debate and guide it in favour of East Timor is not only a duty of all the Timorese but also the greatest challenge to every single active supporter of the rights of the Maubere People to self-determination and independence.

RAMOS-HORTA STATEMENT IN BANGKOK

Statement by Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Co-Chairman and Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, at the Foreign Correspondents Club in Bangkok, 19 November 1993.

Much of this speech is a slightly shortened version of Ramos-Horta's Rafto prize acceptance speech, reprinted above. This article only includes the paragraphs which are unique to his Bangkok address.

Ladies and gentlemen:

I thank the Foreign Correspondents Club of Bangkok for hosting this gathering today. I hope that my interest in addressing you here should highlight our awareness that we are part of this region and that it is high time that a concerted regional effort be made to contribute towards a solution to the conflict in East Timor which, I must add with regret, is a festering sore and a black spot in the otherwise impressive ASEAN record.

...

We are conscious of our geography which compels us to co-exist with our neighbours in this part of the world. We can assure everyone that the government of an independent East Timor will seek membership in ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum within days of our independence.

East Timor will maintain close ties with Portugal, a country that having colonised us for almost half a millennium has shown its high moral standing and an abiding commitment to our right to self-determination. Portugal and East Timor will be most valuable partners for the ASEAN in its relations with the EC, Africa and Latin America.

For the past 20 years, our neighbours have turned their back on us. They allowed the largest member of the regional family to bully and invade a small member of the family without a voice of protest. In some cases there was active connivance in the suppression of our very existence. While ASEAN can be proud of its contribution to the resolution of the Cambodian conflict, it cannot be proud of its role on East Timor. It is time for ASEAN to contribute towards peace and justice in East Timor. We appeal to Thailand as Chairman of the ASEAN, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines and Brunei to offer words of wisdom to their Indonesian neighbours. Some immediate benefits could be accrued from a flexibilization of Indonesia's current stand. For instance, the Portuguese veto of a new ASEAN-EC agreement could be lifted. Why should the rest of ASEAN be penalised because of an Indonesian intransigence?

Indonesia is mediating the Moro conflict in the Philippines while Vietnam is mediating between the New People's Army and the Philippine Government, the two issues being purely domestic affairs. Shouldn't we all expect that the Indonesian government which has shown such willingness in mediating its neighbours internal problems show also the same willingness in negotiating an end to its occupation of East Timor?

...

We are as determined as we are optimistic about our future. To Indonesia and our other neighbours in the ASEAN we are offering a hand of friendship and appealing to them to help us bring peace and freedom to East Timor. More pain and misery and loss of lives can be spared, more embarrassment in the international fora can be avoided if ASEAN live up to its responsibilities. Thank you.

REBEL LEADER CLAIMS 150 EAST TIMORESE KILLED

UPI, 25 Nov. 93

TOKYO – An East Timorese rebel leader claimed Thursday Indonesian troops have tortured and killed at least 150 people since a 1991 crackdown on pro-independence demonstrators.

Mari Alkatiri, secretary of foreign affairs of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, also expressed disappointment with Japan for failing to apply to Indonesia principles linking aid with improvements in human rights.

"Indonesian troops killed at least 150 East Timorese people, especially the youth...since the 1991 Dili massacre," Alkatiri said in an interview with Kyodo News Service.

"Unluckily, foreign journalists could not be present at the scene of these killings, as Indonesia has banned their access to East Timor," Alkatiri reportedly said.

Indonesian troops shot into crowds of peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timorese capital of Dili Nov. 12, 1991.

While an Indonesian government commission said 50 were killed, foreign human rights organizations said the death toll could be as high as 180.

Alkatiri, accused Jakarta of breaking a U.N.-mediated agreement concluded with Portugal to allow foreign journalists to cover East Timor.

"Indonesia will do everything to suppress the East Timorese people if the international community closes its eyes to the agony of the people," Alkatiri said.

ALKATIRI CLAIMS DISMISSED BY SYAFEI

UPI, 26 Nov. 93. Abridged

JAKARTA – An Indonesia military general said it was not fair to link Indonesia's human rights record with a November 1991 massacre in East Timor.

A military official in East Timor's capital of Dili denied claims by East Timorese rebel leader Mari Alkatiri that Indonesian troops have tortured and killed at least 150 people since the November 1991 crackdown on pro-independence demonstrators.

"The countries which (point to) the security situation in East Timor as the implementation of the human rights barometer in the country is not commensurate to the real condition," said Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, the commander of the Bali-based Udayana military region which includes East Timor.

Syafei told Indonesia's official news agency Antara that security situations in East Timor are improving and that "if there are still other countries linking (the 1991 massacre) with the implementation of human rights in Indonesia, that was a very unrealistic ground."

Meanwhile, Major L. Simbolon, chief of the military information service in Dili, said he could not confirm or deny claims by Alkatiri that up to 150 East Timorese people have been killed by government troops.

He said he was not surprised by Alkatiri's statement. "As an anti-Indonesia activist he (Alkatiri) should say that. Otherwise he would no longer be anti-government," Simbolon said.

Alkatiri said in an interview with Kyodo news service that Indonesian troops killed at least 150 East Timorese people, "especially the youth. ...since the 1991 Dili massacre."

CNRM FUNDING APPEAL

From CNRM - National Council of Maubere Resistance, Nov. 28, 1993

East Timor-based CNRM, the National Council of Maubere Resistance, is the supreme organisation of all East Timorese nationalists struggling for self-determination and independence of their country. It is open to all, regardless of any political party affiliations they may also hold. CNRM was officially launched in 1989 by Resistance Leader Commander Xanana Gusmão, aiming to unite all Resistance factions in one effectively coordinated national effort. Following Xanana Gusmão's capture, CNRM is now co-chaired by the Commander-in-Chief of the East Timor Resistance Armed Forces (FALINTIL), Nino Konis Santana; the Head of the Political Resistance Front; and the Head of the Diplomatic Front, Special Rep-

resentative José Ramos Horta. Given the nature of the struggle and of the Indonesian governing regime, the Political Resistance Front operations are clandestine.

Simultaneously to its conduct of East Timorese resistance activities, CNRM is attempting to develop the governing institutions of a future state of East Timor. Inside East Timor and Indonesia, CNRM is supporting the development the human resources required for a future administrative bureaucracy; undertaking measures to protect the culture and language of the country; and monitoring the human rights situation and informing on violations.

Overseas, CNRM is leading a diplomatic struggle aimed at achieving, within the United Nations framework, a peaceful resolution of the East Timor issue in a manner reflecting the aspirations of the majority of its people and acceptable to the international community.

The conduct of this diplomatic struggle requires, among others, the development of CNRM Departments of International Relations, Information and Media Relations, and Community Relations, all assisted by several technical and advisory bodies.

The International Relations Department has a number of CNRM East Timor Representatives placed in several key locations in the world. Their tasks include diplomatic activities with multilateral organisations, human rights organisation, lobbying governments, liaising with local non-government support groups and other important pressure groups. Public diplomatic activities include keeping close relations with mass media organs and other means of influencing public opinion. The Information and Media Relations Department takes a central role in this area. The Community Relations Department has the task of fostering the development of close and harmonious relations between the various sectors of the East Timorese community in exile.

The above CNRM activities are frequently hampered by insufficient funding. While CNRM receives donations from a number of sponsors all over the world, no government or other major political institutions funds it in a major way on a permanent basis. CNRM has to rely therefore on significant voluntary work contributions or on severely underpaid officials whose attention to their main tasks is often deflected by the need to raise their own funding requirements for their work.

The decentralised nature of CNRM's operations, with bases in Australia, Portugal, Indonesia, East Timor as well as some key international centres such as New York, Washington, Geneva, and Brussels, require relatively high communications and travel expenses. Difficulties of access to East

Timor and Indonesia further increase communication costs. The need to train personnel, often to become conversant in many new languages and learning to operate in very foreign environments is an added burden.

CNRM has, notwithstanding, been able to achieve encouraging results from its activities. Over the last year increased international salience of the East Timor issue and growing diplomatic support from key states has been noticeable. Similarly the issue has achieved a higher profile in United Nations bodies searching for a solution to the conflict and an improvements in human rights conditions in East Timor. Closer liaison with a variety of supporters has improved public awareness about the issue, and contributed to induce favourable government policy changes. Closer media relations have led to greater interest and increased coverage of the East Timor issue. Relations among groups of the previously highly fractionated East Timorese community abroad are improving.

The CNRM International Relations Department has been able to make significant organisational and human resource development progress over this period. It has also been entrusted with the task to seek funding for CNRM operations, as well as to seek material assistance for East Timorese students persecuted by Indonesian authorities.

Inside East Timor, CNRM has been able to reorganise its top leadership after the capture of its leaders Commanders Xanana Gusmão and Mau Hunu by Indonesian military forces. Its Political Resistance Front has also had to meet strong Indonesian pressures. Nonetheless, inside activities have continued strengthening East Timorese resistance to Indonesian occupation and oppression

The intensification of East Timorese resistance and the further development of CNRM activities and organisational growth does require adequate funding.

We therefore appeal for donors willing to contribute to CNRM funding.

Additional funds are needed for the 1994 operations budget of the CNRM International Relations Department, for Information and Media Relations, for Political Resistance Front operations as well as for humanitarian assistance.

A more detailed itemisation of forecast expense budget estimates is confidentially available to prospective donors upon request.

Commitments for ongoing funding from large donor bodies or agencies would be particularly valuable.

Additionally, any fund raising activity which could be launched would be of value.

This could be entrusted to a special fundraising group, for example.

We would appreciate any suggestions or assistance with our fundraising efforts.

Funds may be sent by cheque made payable to CNRM, mailed to c/o GPO Box 1174 Darwin NT, Australia 0801.

Please refer any further inquiries or suggestions to the above address or by e-mail to cnrmnt@peg.apc.org

EAST TIMOR PEACE PLAN

From CNRM -National Council of Maubere Resistance, November 1993.

The conflict in the former Southeast Asian Portuguese colony of East Timor, illegally invaded and annexed by Indonesia nearly 18 years ago, continues to fester away. Except for a few Indonesian military officials, there have been no winners in this tragedy, only many losers.

East Timorese people have been subjected to massive human rights violations of genocidal proportions. It is estimated that over one third of the population has died. Indonesia's image has been increasingly soiled internationally, exposing it to a growing number of punitive pressures from its erstwhile supporters. The strong stance taken by the US Clinton Administration has further increased the already excessively high cost to Indonesia of its East Timor policies. Not only have Indonesian people had to suffer many casualties from this ignoble war, but the obstinacy of their military leaders continues to burden national coffers, adversely affecting the country's development efforts.

Indonesia's suppression of legitimate East Timorese aspirations for respect of their human rights, including the right of self-determination, has been a cause for continued international tensions, affecting Jakarta's relations with neighbouring democracies such as Australia, the European Community, some APEC member states and others.

Consistent with the enhanced peace making and peace keeping role of the United Nations in the post-Cold War world, the leaders of CNRM -the East Timor Nationalist Resistance umbrella organisation- have advanced a plan to assist the UN Secretary General's mandate to find a solution to the East Timor conflict.

CNRM Special Representative and Co-Chairman José Ramos Horta presented a 3-phase peace plan, first articulated by Resistance Leader Commander Xanana Gusmão shortly before his capture. The plan has been backed by Commander Konis Santana, who currently leads the Armed Resistance. It is consistent with statements by East

Timor Catholic Church leader Bishop Belo and has been endorsed by Portugal who presented it to the UN Secretary General.

The plan has also received enthusiastic support in the US, Europe, Canada and Japan. Indonesia's friends have been able to perceive its usefulness as a potential means of assisting Jakarta to extricate itself from its East Timor quagmire and conveniently resolve this issue.

We feel it is timely to again draw attention to this initiative at this stage.

The text of the peace plan is given in Ramos-Horta's Rafto Prize acceptance speech, reprinted above.

JRH: "THE MOMENT OF FREEDOM APPROACHES

Publico, 12 November 1993. By José Ramos-Horta (CNRM special representative) Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) The participation of Timorese in the negotiations, under UN Secretary General's auspices, is accepted by practically everyone. The Secretary General's representatives have opened their doors to the Timorese. There are assurances of a meeting between a Timorese delegation and the Secretary General himself. In the near future, the Secretary General's envoy will be going to East Timor.

We were never short of prophets of doom. For the pessimists and defeatists, it is an inglorious fight, and continuing it is only serving the interests of "a minority" abroad. The apologists for surrender advise us to accept the fait accompli, and to go for just a few residual gains, such as a Portuguese Consulate, that would safeguard the Portuguese "cultural heritage."

The Timorese millennial heritage, its rites, language and art, its intimate ties to the sacred land stolen from it, its trampled dignity, are values not worth defending. The only value worth safeguarding is the Portuguese colonial heritage.

Is it worth fighting? Nearly 20 years of heroic resistance answers that question for the Timorese. The voices of 12 November 1991 answer, as do the voices from so many other massacres perpetrated against our people. The voices of Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, Xanana Gusmão, and Konis Santana also answer the question. They ask only for a referendum.

I shall not answer for the Portuguese State. Collective conscience and sense of dignity, represented by the President of the Republic, Government and Assembly, decide on Portugal's position. It could accept defeat and humiliation. It could also maintain its present position, which is more dignified.

Almost 20 years after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, it is clear that the issue of East Timor, far from being forgotten, is gaining ground internationally. The small victories are accumulating. I admit that Indonesia is still able to influence the situation on the ground and internationally, but time is running against the present regime.

In September 1992, the US Congress cancelled the training program for Indonesian officials in the US. In September 1993, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously for a Budget amendment, conditioning arms sales to Indonesia on the human rights situation in East Timor. In July 1993, 43 Senators wrote a letter to President Clinton, expressing their support for the East Timorese people's right to self-determination. For his part, the US President delivered that same letter to his Indonesian counterpart at their meeting in Tokyo, at the time of the G7 Summit. In March 1993, the UN Human Rights Commission voted by overwhelming majority in favour of a resolution condemning Indonesia, in spite of Indonesia being a member of that Commission, and in the Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement. In August 1993, the UN Sub-Commission on Minorities again voted in favour of a resolution against Indonesia. Throughout the world, activities in support of the people of East Timor are on the increase.

Participation of Timorese in the negotiating process, underway under the auspices of the UN General Secretary, is practically accepted by all parties. Representatives of the Secretary General have opened their doors to the Timorese. There are assurances of a meeting between a Timorese delegation and the Secretary General himself. An envoy of the Secretary General will be going to East Timor in the near future, as part of the 17 September 1993 agreement.

It is a slow process, and the results are not, at first glance, obvious. I also believe that, if the Timorese people's fight were easy, then we would have many more "friends."

Talks between the Maubere National Resistance Council (CNRM) and the various Portuguese authorities, have been frequent and constructive, and climate for relations has been excellent. The Foreign Ministry is backed by a team of "veterans" of the Timorese cause, from the Secretary General, Ambassador Costa Lobo, and the Director-General of Political Affairs, Ambassador Antonio Monteiro, to Nuno de Brito, Special Adviser on East Timor to the Minister. One of the most dedicated Portuguese diplomats, Francisco Ribeiro Teles, who has been involved in the East Timor issue for years at the UN, will be joining the team. They back up the efforts of Rui Quartin-

Santos, a serious and unrelenting "veteran" of the Maubere people's fight.

I am in no doubt, therefore, about Foreign Minister Durão Barroso's determination to maintain a serious, firm but flexible policy in seeking a fair solution to the drama of the Timorese people.

The CNRM's negotiating strategy does not differ from that of the Foreign Ministry, and has been widely debated and reaffirmed. The CNRM maintains its 3-phase peace plan as valid: the first being the human rights and humanitarian phase, the second, the autonomy phase, and the third, self-determination. I cannot see a more moderate and credible alternative, but the CNRM will try to adjust its position according to the dynamics of the struggle, on both an internal and international level, and will not reject out of hand other contributions to the progress of the peace process.

I shall not spend time studying the internal situation in East Timor. I will just add that the Maubere Resistance suffered much greater set-backs in the 1970's, with the almost total annihilation of the political-military leadership, the destruction of nearly its entire arsenal, and many thousands of civilian deaths. But the Resistance knew how to raise itself from the ashes of defeat. Almost 20 years after the 1975 7th December invasion, I am fully convinced that Indonesia has lost the political battle. It is still militarily superior on the ground, but by losing the political battle, it will lose the war. Contrary to what Indonesian propaganda announced, the capture, humiliation and trial of Xanana Gusmão led to not even one guerrilla surrender. In fact the reverse was true: the Resistance strengthened and became more determined than ever.

I do not condemn the voices which, today in Portugal, are raised in support of the accepting defeat, and democracy's capitulation to the dictatorship. I believe that these supporters of the defeatist line are motivated by the best intentions. Perhaps they will make a positive contribution, in their own way, towards finding a comprehensive settlement to the problem. On the other hand, I believe that debate is always healthy.

1993 - A CHALLENGING YEAR FOR THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR

MATEBIAN NEWS - EDITORIAL - DECEMBER 1993

In our December issue of Matebian News we also a report by José Ramos-Horta title: East Timor: A retrospective view of 1993 diplomatic struggle; Bishop Belo's Oz tour; A report from a FALINTIL commander Dai Tula; ETRA's activities, Update on Xanana; East Timor photo exhibition. For copies, please email to: etra@peg.apc.org

If there was a time where the resistance of the people of East Timor could be compared to 1993, was the third year of the resistance, 1978, when the late president of Fretilin, President Nicolau Lobato was killed. His death was the culmination of 3 years campaign mounted by the occupying forces to destroy the structure of the resistance and put an end to the diplomatic pressure exerted from the international arena.

1993 suffered a similar situation. The capture of Xanana Gusmão was a culmination of more than 10 years campaign mounted by the Indonesian occupationists to destroy the Command of the Timorese National Resistance.

There are differences this time. One is that Resistance is ready to renew its forces, in spite of the fact that Xanana's capture was followed by the capture of Ma'Huno Bulere Karatayano, the last member of the surviving members of the Central Committee of Fretilin. The second one is the fact that Xanana Gusmão was not killed.

He is alive and, above all, he has not betrayed the struggle of his people; on the contrary, he continues to be a source of inspiration for his people. This is very important if one takes into account the degree of suffering this barbaric 18-year old occupation has already caused to this traditionally very peaceful people of East Timor.

Konis Santana also is experiencing in 1993 what Xanana Gusmão went through in 1979-80. Both had found themselves in a position where they had no choice but to take over the leading role and build up, urgently, some form of central, command-critical to survive a war of occupation.

Here, too, there are differences. One is the fact that Konis Santana is not alone; there are number of very experienced commanders who can help him sustain the war in most critical times such as when Ma'Huno was captured in April this year; another difference is that East Timor is now relatively opened to the world and, unlike in period 1978 to 89 when East Timor was

closed to the world, it is now under the microscope of the international community.

The experience of the past, however, is a safeguard for the Resistance of the Timorese People. Konis Santana follows, without doubt, the strategy defined by Xanana Gusmão. National Unity as the sacred road to follow in East Timor and, abroad fighting for a diplomatic solution.

As far as the Command of the struggle goes, Konis Santana continues to defend the non-partisan role of FALINTIL (Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor), the principal component of the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance), safeguarding, at all costs, the non-partisan and supra-partisan role of this organisation which embodies the National Unity strategy.

1993 also was important in upholding the impact of the infamous massacre of Santa Cruz of 1991. The effect of this massacre has not gone away and there are signs that the Senate and the Congress of USA will keep it alive for sometime.

In the international arena, we witnessed the emergence of an embryonic face of an infra-structure of the CNRM. This, in itself, is a gigantic challenge not only for José Ramos-Horta, but to all the Timorese activists abroad who genuinely want to liberate their Homeland.

Overall, 1993 was what many believed: a test of the capacity of the Timorese to tackle unfamiliar forums such as the USA and Japan.

It is the shift from lobbying the 3rd World to lobbying the industrialised world; a shift from the focus on armed struggle to focus on diplomatic struggle; a shift from focusing on political partisanship to national unity approach to politics.

In short, 1993, in spite of all the setbacks caused by consecutive capture of the Timorese supreme leaders, the people of East Timor proved clearly to the world that the foundation of the Maubere's Resistance is, indeed, unbreakable.

INDONESIA MOVES ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

MANUEL MACEDO'S BUSINESS

Expresso, 2 October 1993. By M.R. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) On the 21st of this month, businessman Manuel Macedo will be formalising the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association's legalisation process. Won over by "the efforts made by Indonesia in

Timor to improve the living conditions of those people," following his visit in August to Jakarta and the former Portuguese colony, the textile manufacturer from the north told *Expresso* that he will be starting up "energetic" export activity to that territory.

"What I found shocking was that, as the Timorese like Portuguese wine which is not available there, they are forced to import it from Singapore at four thousand escudos per demijohn, and even at that price it is no good," says Macedo, who seems to have been unaffected by the climate of terror denounced two weeks ago by the Bishop of Dili during an interview with a Swedish journalist. He appears equally untroubled by the accounts of Indonesian soldiers' persistent "brutality" and the increasing numbers of political prisoners, reported by the refugees who arrived in Lisbon on Wednesday.

As he confessed to *Expresso*, Macedo's current concern is to get "good wine from the Dao region" into East Timor for just one thousand escudos a demijohn, as well as Portuguese canned goods and other products. He says he has Suharto's backing, in that exports to East Timor will be tax free and, if the transport line has already been assured by a Dutch company, then, according to Macedo, "Timor's development" will not be in the hands of strangers. One of the investments planned for the territory is the installation of two textile factories, in which Macedo (as well as other industrialists in the Friendship Association, such as Adalberto Felix, Alberto Machado and Gaspar Santa Rosa) is interested.

In fact, another of Manuel Macedo's aims is to consolidate more commercial contacts with Indonesia. To this end, he is promoting a trip to Jakarta at New Year for sixteen businessmen - "all from the Guimaraes area."

Since business cannot be all one-sided, the industrialist says that, shortly, he will be importing Indonesian coffee and textiles, and confirms that they have already signed an import deal involving oil for Switzerland. As he wishes "to contribute towards improved relations" between Jakarta and Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOPs), Macedo says he is acting as intermediary for tons of rice which Suharto is going to donate to the Guinea Bissau and Mozambican governments.

GALVAO DE MELO GOES TO INDONESIA

Publico, 8 October 1993. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) In Madrid last weekend, Galvao de Melo and Manuel Macedo, the driving force behind a Luso-Indonesia friendship

association (which will be founded in Porto on 21st of this month) met with ambassador Lopes da Cruz, Suharto's personal adviser. Lopes da Cruz had gone to Madrid in the context of a diplomatic initiative to explain Indonesia's version of the East Timor problem, and had presented the Spanish authorities with a video on the subject. With the same objective, he then travelled on to London. At the meeting, Galvao de Melo's itinerary for his mid-November visit to Indonesia and East Timor was discussed.

Manuel Macedo also reported to Lopes da Cruz on the activities which the Luso-Indonesia friendship association's intends to carry out. These include installing in Timor a library with 3000 books in Portuguese. In addition to Manuel Macedo and Galvao de Melo (who will be Chairman of the General Assembly), this association includes prominent entrepreneurs and businessmen, such as Adalberto Felix and Paulo Felix (both from Santo Tirso), Alberto Pimenta Machado (a Guimaraes industrialist, related to the President of the Vitoria de Guimaraes football club), Luis Leite, and Lisbon businessman Gaspar Santarosa.

INDONESIA WANTS TO SETTLE CONFLICT WITHIN FIVE MONTHS

This story is full of errors and speculation, which has been typical of Mantiri's reporting on East Timor. I'll only correct one, in the last paragraph: The United States Congress is considering linking arms sales to Indonesia to human rights in East Timor; there has not been a decision, and an embargo is not (alas!) on the agenda for 1993. - Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

This story reads like pure fantasy. Can anyone confirm any of the major points? - John MacD

By bob mantiri

Brussels, Oct. 11 (ips) - Indonesia wants to settle the East Timor conflict within the next five months, it was learned Monday from diplomatic sources in Jakarta.

In the last two months Portugal and Indonesia have been engaged in intensive secret talks at the United Nations general assembly in New York, an EC diplomat - who requested not to be named - revealed.

He said that Indonesian minister Ali Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart José Manuel Durão Barroso agreed to work "on confidence building measures which would lead to a far reaching autonomy for East Timor and a reinstatement of the Portuguese language and culture" in Lisbon's former overseas territory.

"At a later stage there would likely be a return of the East Timorese exiles from Portugal and also a possible involvement of former political leaders in the administration of an autonomous East Timor," the diplomat said.

East Timorese delegates from Indonesia and their compatriots in Portugal are reported to have met for the first time last Friday and Saturday in Madrid.

On the Portuguese side the participants were Abilio Araujo and general Galvao Melo. Indonesia was represented in the talks by the former deputy governor of East Timor Lopes da Cruz as well as Clementino Amaral, Salvador Ximenez and Tito Baptista.

The so-called "historic reconciliation meeting" was originally planned for last month in Brussels, but this was postponed due to "technical problems."

The new diplomatic initiatives coincided with reports from Jakarta that Indonesia's president Suharto wants to solve the problem within the coming five months. palace sources said that Suharto, who has been in power for more than 25 years intends to step down in march.

An extraordinary session of the highest political body, the 'consultative people's congress' is said to be planned by that time. the people congress will appoint Vice-President try Sutrisno, a former four-star army general, as Suharto's successor.

The people's congress would also formally approve the autonomous status of East Timor. president Suharto, a former army general who came to power in 1965 after bloodily crushing a communist coup, is ambitious to go into history as 'bapak pembangunan' (father of the industrial development of Indonesia).

Next year is the year that Indonesia plans to launch itself as a newly industrialised nation, EC diplomats said.

If these efforts fail, due to strong criticism of the international community, Suharto will go down into history as a failure.

That is why he is keen that the East Timor problem is settled once and forever before he steps down, diplomats speculated.

Indonesia's poor record on human rights in East Timor has blocked a new economic agreement with the European community and Indonesia's partners within the association of south east Asian nations (ASEAN) – which blames Jakarta for the problem.

The United States has decided to impose an arms embargo against Indonesia, while the countries from Africa, Latin America and the pacific during their bi-annual meeting with the EC last week adopted a resolution for the diplomatic isolation of the government in Jakarta.

RECONCILIATION TALKS BOGGED DOWN

*Radio Netherlands, 15 October 1993.
Translated from Indonesian*

The process of reconciliation between pro-integration and anti-integration East Timorese is not going as well as Jakarta would like. Even so, Abilio Araujo, a former Fretilin minister who is involved in the process, hopes that it will eventually lead to the participation of East Timorese in talks under the auspices of the UN. But others have their doubts.

To what extent can this reconciliation initiative help find a solution to the question of East Timor. Radio Hilversum has looked into the issue and here is its report:

It is now three months since Indonesia's ambassador for East Timor Affairs, Lopez da Cruz, launched his idea of a dialogue between East Timor groups abroad, but the process is not going well. Abilio Araujo, who still refers to himself head of Fretilin's representation abroad told Radio Netherlands this week that he is not in a position to say when and where the meeting will take place, but he is still hopeful.

The first meeting that was to have been held in Brussels was cancelled. According to some circles, it is scheduled to take place in Madrid next month, with delegations on each side consisting of seventeen persons. For his part Abilio Araujo claims that the reconciliation talks are his idea, not Lopez da Cruz's.

The people of East Timor have suffered for far too long and the Indonesia-Portugal negotiations have gone on for years without any results. None of the major powers have done anything to change the situation in East Timor. He therefore believes that negotiations without an agenda are necessary in order to improve the human rights situation, build understanding, and exchange information between friends inside and outside East Timor. The aim is to protect the safety and national identity of the East Timorese, said Abilio Araujo.

But it isn't clear whether those East Timorese who, as students returned to East Timor in 1975 to lead Fretilin [Araujo was among these students], have now abandoned the principle of self-determination for the people of East Timor. I am steering clear of issues that could obstruct reconciliation, said Abilio, who also told Radio Netherlands that he talks to Lopez da Cruz almost daily by phone.

Although he has now been expelled from the Fretilin leadership, Araujo who still regards himself as holding the position (of head), says he enjoys majority support among East Timorese people and plans to

hold a Fretilin conference next month. He can probably count on this support because for years, he has had access to funds that have among other things been used to give scholarships to young East Timorese in Portugal.

In any event, Jakarta lobbies are today seen as conspiring as they did in 1975 to split the East Timorese community. Not surprisingly, many Fretilin people today oppose Araujo and some are shifting over to his rival, the CNRM coalition which is led by José Ramos-Horta and Konis Santana. On the other hand, José Martins, a former Bakin [Indonesian intelligence agency] agent who was recently a guest of the Jakarta government, has accused Horta of misusing tens of thousands of dollars intended for the people of East Timor.

Another interesting development is that the Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, who visited the UN headquarters and Washington a few months ago, believes that this reconciliation is quite useless unless all sides are involved, including Horta's group.

In recent interviews with Swedish and Dutch radio programmes, Belo likened East Timor to a prison. Such opinions are certainly not helpful to Jakarta, especially to the lobby being developed by Lopez da Cruz whose task it is to give these reconciliation talks some credibility in the eyes of the UN.

Abilio Araujo told Radio Netherlands that the reconciliation talks have not yet taken place because his group has funding and logistical problems, whereas José Martins who has in the past few months drawn close to Abilio Araujo recently denied in a separate interview with Radio Netherlands that he will be participating in the proposed meeting.

Meanwhile, Lopez da Cruz was recently in Madrid only to attend a meeting of the Indonesia-Portugal Association, which has apparently been used to conceal efforts to get the bogged-down reconciliation talks going.

It comes as no surprise that, when asked by a foreign journalist when the reconciliation talks would take place in Madrid, an Indonesian military attaché in a European capital replied bitterly, 'Who are you, an intel agent?'

It also seems that General Galvao Melo, a former right-wing supporter of General Spinola now turned businessman with textile interests, whose help was sought in setting up the Indonesia-Portugal Association, will next week be making a visit to Jakarta.

“ON GOOD TERMS WITH JAKARTA”

Portugal-Indonesia Association launched
Diario de Noticias, 22 October 1993. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) The Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association was introduced yesterday in Oporto - allegedly, for the good of the people of East Timor.

“My friendship is with the people of Timor, for whose future I can see no other way but one of understanding and being on good terms with Indonesia.”

It was in this way that General Galvao de Melo introduced the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association. Many were the criticisms of the government, which “appears to be most interested in Timor’s future.” As he took up his position as Chairman of the Association’s general assembly, Galvao de Melo said it was time for us to “stop being hypocritical.” “Portugal, which for 400 years cared little about Timor, ended up by abandoning it,” added the General, who saw the occupation of the territory by Indonesia as a way of avoiding “China getting a foot inside the door” of its archipelago. This avoidance, however, brought Indonesia into a violent clash with Fretilin. Then followed a list of the basic infrastructures lacking at the time of the Portuguese departure, which have been created following occupation by Indonesia.

“What sense does the term independence make for a territory which is merely a part of one of the 17,000 islands which form the Indonesian archipelago, and whose population (little more than half a million) produces the equivalent of little more than 30,000 Escudos per capita per annum,” Galvao de Melo asked the journalists present.

Yesterday, little was said of possible trading relations between the two countries. Only the “installation of a warehouse in Timor and another in Indonesia is planned,” Manuel Macedo, the Association’s President, informed the conference. However, according to his information, there are companies which are already prepared to look into future transactions. Such is the case of Mida, and a cooker manufacturer.

During the ceremony, letters arrived at the hotel, where the Association was being presented, congratulating the leaders for the initiative. Among such letters were messages sent by Janssen van Raay, Member of the European Parliament, Francisco Xavier do Amaral, former President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, and former Fretilin and Falintil leader.

DURÃO BARROSO RECEIVES INDONESIA’S FRIENDLY GENERAL

Publico, 6 November 1993. By J. T. Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) At a recent lunch organised by the American Club, General Galvao de Melo, the Chairman of the AAPI’s (Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association) General Assembly, publicly asked whether the guest of honour, Mr. Durão Barroso, would allow him a 30-minute audience.

To the amusement of those present, the Foreign Minister replied that this had been the first “indecent proposal” a General had ever put to him.

Early yesterday evening, the Minister and General met for nearly two hours. It was the first meeting between a Government representative and a member of the new association.

On leaving the audience, which took place at the Palacio das Necessidades (Foreign Ministry), Galvao de Melo emphasised that he had met Durão Barroso in his personal capacity, and acknowledged the gulf between his ideas on East Timor, and the Government’s policy on the matter.

Galvao de Melo, who is waiting for a formal invitation from Jakarta to visit Indonesia, also said that he had joined the AAPI for “political reasons,” and expressed his view that negotiations with Suharto’s Executive was the only way out for the issue of Timor.

LIURAI SUPPORT INTEGRATION

Publico, 12 November 1993. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Lately, the supporters in Portugal of Jakarta’s position have been referring to a document in which 35 Liurai (the traditional chiefs in Timor) accept the integration of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia. They claim the document reveals a change of attitude inside East Timor.

The declaration, written in English and dated 14 August this year, repeats the Indonesian argument on the legitimacy of integration: the “surreptitious, sudden and irresponsible” departure of the Portuguese from Timor, in August 1975; the subsequent request from four parties for intervention, known as the “Balibo Declaration”; its “free and democratic” ratification, on 17 July 1976, by the so-called Representative Assembly of the People of East Timor. In spite of available information, suggesting that today the Liurai’s influence is relative in East Timor, and the fact that the document itself does not reveal the traditional leaders’ place of origin, PUBLICO is print-

ing the declaration’s full text below, as well as the names of those who signed it, as a further contribution towards understanding the Timorese problem:

“Twelve years ago, on 17 July 1976 to be exact, we became Indonesian citizens officially, and we are tremendously proud of that. In the name of our people, we, the traditional leaders of all East Timor, have decided to express our innermost feelings about our political position, as follows:

1. We categorically reject Portugal’s claims of being East Timor’s “administrating power,” because the Portuguese Government surreptitiously, suddenly, and irresponsibly abandoned East Timor in August 1975, leaving our people in the turmoil of a civil war.

2. We consider Portugal’s wish to continue the decolonisation process to be unrealistic, mistaken, and out of place. The decolonisation process that Portugal started and that was continued by the East Timorese political parties has already been completed. Portugal aborted the decolonisation process when it realised that the majority of the Timorese people rejected the idea of communism being imposed in East Timor.

3. On 30 November 1975, after the Portuguese departure from East Timor, four political parties representing the majority of the people, requested integration with the Republic of Indonesia. Their request was subsequently freely and democratically ratified by the Representative Assembly of the People of East Timor, at the time of the interim Government, by means of a Petition for Integration, which was accepted by the Indonesian Government. Thus, on 17 July 1976 East Timor became, de facto and de jure, part of the Indonesian Republic.

4. Taking into account the fact that the traditional leaders, who were on Fretilin’s Central Committee, as well as other Timorese who did not belong to political parties, were determined on integration with Indonesia, it may be concluded that all Timorese have exercised self-determination, and chose integration with Indonesia.

5. Since 17 June 1976, we, the Timorese people, are Indonesian citizens and are proud of our responsibilities and equal rights, which we share with our compatriots from the other 26 Indonesian provinces, from Sabang to Merauke, under the red and white flag of Indonesia.

14th August 1993, in East Timor, 27th Province of the Republic of Indonesia.”

Signed: José Hermenegildo da Costa, Julio Cesar Sequeira, Candido da Costa, Candido Vicente, Salvador de Araujo, Francisco X. Tavares da Silva, Fernando de Araujo, Saturnino Nunes Clau, Guilherme Gonçalves, Joaquim dos Santos, Joaquim Babo,

Carlos da Costa, Gaspar Tilman, José Tilman, Artur Araujo, Teotonio Magno, Francisco Lopes do Carvalho, João de Araujo, Sertorio de Sa Benevides, Celestino da Costa Bras, Tomas Mendonca, Joselino dos Reis, Luis Menezes, Filipe Ximenes, Mauricio Freitas, Joaquim Trindade, Hipolito de Carvalho, Vidal Sarmiento, Marcos da Cunha, Andre A. de Sousa, Verissimo Dias Quintas, Duarte Noronha, Adelino Ximenes, Antonio Pinto Baptista.

THE CLOCK CANNOT BE PUT BACK

Publico, 12 November 1993. By Francisco Lopes da Cruz (itinerant ambassador & adviser to Pres. Suharto). Translated from Portuguese

The Portuguese Government's efforts over the past 18 years, at various international levels, have achieved nothing from the international community for the Timor cause.

The Timorese people regrets that unfounded anti-Indonesia feelings have been stirred up in Portugal, when all Indonesians and, needless to say, all Timorese feel a lot of admiration and brotherhood towards the Portuguese nation. The Timorese people themselves fell victims to the sad performance of the Portuguese Government at that time, and is shocked because, being the silent majority, it was never asked about the drama of being abandoned.

I support the view that only a realistic view of past and present situations would help Portugal to understand the Timorese better. The Timorese are fed up of seeing their name used in plans and dreams to stop them being what they are in the Indonesian world: a people reunited with its brothers, from whom it had been separated during the Dutch and Portuguese colonisation.

I believe the Portuguese Government must be discerning and courageous enough not to go along with unrealistic projects, which may bring back martyrdom and anguish for our people. We do not want Timor to be like Angola, which in the 1960s became the "flesh and blood of our people" for the Portuguese, and is today a drama of unnecessary bitter suffering.

Needless to say, the continuation of diplomatic relations means daily formal or informal talks, which can only contribute, in a correct and decisive way, towards the settlement of the case. Timor is a bone of contention between Portugal and Indonesia, but this does not make us enemies.

The Timorese people would be better understood from Jakarta, just as the Portuguese people would get to know Indonesia

better by having an Indonesian embassy in Lisbon.

The continuation of diplomatic relations opens up vast perspectives for Portugal's continuity in Asia where, sometime in the uncertain future, the Portuguese will be able to repeat its gripping performance of 1500.

The question raised by *Publico* (regarding the need for consultation according to the terms of the UN Charter, or its substitution by an agreement between the two governments, with personalities from the various tendencies given the opportunity to speak), offers two vertices: one, under the prism of the UN, admissible as long as current international order is respected; the other would be a feasible policy involving Portugal and Indonesia.

With regard to the first, it would be absolutely fair, had the Portuguese authorities not abandoned Timor, submerging it in civil war, and imposing a decolonisation process upon the Timorese which, according to international law, was not to be recommended.

Concerning the second, your alternative is the most logical, coherent, and admissible, because it includes the three main angles involved, in the UN's interpretation: the Governments of Portugal and Indonesia, and the Timorese themselves - in other words, those who are responsible, and those who have to work out their future.

However, no one is able to speed up History, and the clock cannot be put back to 1974. Consulting the people today would make the Timorese out to be irresponsible, because in 1976 they agreed to be Indonesian citizens.

I sincerely believe that Portugal ought to make the most of the talks with Indonesia, under UN auspices. Otherwise, the traditional Portuguese proverbs, "better late than never," and "it is a wise man who changes his mind" will no longer be valid.

MARIO SOARES VISITS JAPAN

TIMOR IN SOARES-HOSOKAWA TALKS

Press Release (Abridged), Oct. 15, 1993

Diet Members Petition Prime Minister Hosokawa to Back Up East Timor Peace Talks!

(In Summit Meeting with Portugal's Soares)

Members of the Japanese Diet today asked Prime Minister Hosokawa to use the occasion of Portuguese President Mario Soares' state visit next week to express

support for efforts to seek a UN-mediated solution to the East Timor conflict.

Parliamentarians from all parties except the Communist Party signed a petition to the Prime Minister presented to Vice-Cabinet Secretary Hatoyama by Lower House member Okazaki Tomiko (JSP) and three other members of the suprapartisan Diet Members Forum on East Timor.

In the petition, the parliamentarians cited the prime minister's recent statement before the UN General Assembly in which Hosokawa affirmed the central position of human rights in Japanese policy. The parliamentarians urged Hosokawa to express support for Portugal's diplomatic efforts and Japan's hope that the issue of self-determination will be included in the talks being held between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary-general.

The Diet members would also like to see the Hosokawa Government press Indonesia to allow greater access to East Timor by international medical and other health workers, technicians, development organizations and human rights organizations. Last month Indonesia agreed in principle to allow greater access. Encouraged by the Indonesian move, the parliamentarians want the Hosokawa Government to help ensure that it is carried out in practice.

Okada Katsuya (Shinseitō), one of the Diet Forum members who met with Hatoyama, told the vice-cabinet secretary that the change of government offered a good opportunity for Japan to take positive measures to help resolve the East Timor issue. Hatoyama, who will convey the petition to the prime minister, expressed the view that the parliamentarians' position was an appropriate one for discussion with President Soares next week when the issue of East Timor is raised.

Representative Okazaki and other Diet Forum members will also meet with President Soares in Tokyo on Oct. 20.

HOSOKAWA, SOARES SHARE HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERN IN EAST TIMOR

Kyodo News Service, Tokyo, Japan. Oct. 18, 1993. By Mutsuo Fukushima, Slightly abridged

Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa is under suprapartisan parliamentary calls to throw Japan's moral weight behind Portugal's call for defense of human rights in its former colony of East Timor, now under Indonesian rule.

The appeal by 12 legislators from seven parties comes just before his talks on Tuesday with Portuguese President Mario

Soares, a critic of Jakarta's reported repression of East Timorese rights.

The appeal calls for expressing Japanese readiness to urge Jakarta to put less restrictions on foreign doctors and human rights groups who enter East Timor. It also backs a Portuguese call to allow the people of East Timor to call a referendum on independence.

In addition, it calls on Hosokawa to support Portugal's position in foreign ministerial talks with Indonesia that have been held under the auspices of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The Japanese parliamentarians are from seven parties, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, Shinseito, the Japan New Party, Sekigake, Komeito and the Democratic Socialist Party.

Portuguese expectations are also running high, with a senior diplomat noting Hosokawa's record as a signatory to last year's petition by 289 Japanese and U.S. legislators asking Boutros-Ghali to mitigate the islanders' agony.

"Mr. Hosokawa has a good record of giving his signature to a petition in 1992 from Japanese and U.S. lawmakers asking the United Nations to protect East Timorese rights," said José Pereira, the Portuguese embassy's first secretary.

The petition, cosigned by 152 U.S. lawmakers and 142 Japanese legislators, urged an investigation of the reported executions, torture, arbitrary arrests and suppression of freedom of speech.

"The world will see whether Japan will live up to the principle of human rights Hosokawa vowed to pursue at the U.N. General Assembly, where he expressed Japan's determination to speak up for human rights," said Tomiko Okazaki, a Social Democratic Party legislator, one of the 12 legislators who appealed to Hosokawa.

Japan is Indonesia's largest aid donor, with its 1991 aid amounting to 235 billion yen. Following the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Japan imported a greater amount of Indonesian oil in view of the need to diversify the sources of oil imports.

"Our view is that human rights suppression by Indonesia took place in East Timor," a Foreign Ministry official told Kyodo News Service. "Japan will insist on what it should insist on in regards to the issue of human rights, as one's readiness to speak up for human rights is a measure of the maturity of an industrial democracy."

SOARES APPEALS TO JAPAN

Portuguese president calls for more investment and support on East Timor

TOKYO (UPI, Oct. 19) – Portuguese President Mario Soares called Tuesday for

more Japanese investment in his homeland and said Portugal wants to deepen dialogue on political matters as well.

Soares, on a 10-day visit, made the call during an hour-long meeting with Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa.

Hosokawa said the amount of Japan's investment in Portugal ranks 10th among its investments in European Community countries and he hopes Soares' visit will be a good opportunity to expand economic relations.

Soares also touched on human rights problems concerning the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Foreign Ministry officials quoted Soares as saying Portugal's position is clear – the government wants Indonesia to abide by international laws and a U.N. resolution.

Calls have also come from Japanese lawmakers urging Hosokawa to throw Japan's moral weight behind Portugal call's for defense of human rights in its former colony, now under Indonesian rule.

Soares told Hosokawa he hopes foreign ministerial talks between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the U.N. will be an opportunity for Indonesia to abide by the laws, Foreign Ministry officials said.

Indonesia invaded East Timor shortly after the Portuguese colonial administration left in 1975. Jakarta annexed the territory in 1976. The U.N. still recognizes Portugal as East Timor's legitimate administrators.

The U.N. Security Council has adopted resolutions twice calling on Indonesia to soften its reported repression in East Timor.

Hosokawa told Soares Japan supports U.N. efforts on the issue.

Twelve lawmakers from seven parties have called on Hosokawa to express Japanese readiness to urge Jakarta to put fewer restrictions on foreign doctors and human rights groups who enter East Timor. They also back a Portuguese call to allow the people of East Timor to call a referendum on independence.

Hosokawa was a signatory to last year's petition by 289 Japanese-U.S. lawmakers asking U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to mitigate the islanders' plight. The petition urged an investigation of reported executions, torture, arbitrary arrests and suppression of freedom of speech.

It also cited a videotaped incident in Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timorese capital of Dili in 1991 in which Indonesian troops fired into crowds of mourners at a funeral for a pro-independence student activist. Jakarta says 50 civilians were killed, but others claim the number was much higher.

SOARES URGES JAPAN TO PUT PRESSURE ON INDONESIA

Reuter World Service, October 20, 1993. Abridged

(Tokyo) Portuguese President Mario Soares urged Japan on Wednesday to watch Indonesia's human rights record in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor before extending official government aid to Jakarta.

"Assisting the development of another country cannot be considered separately from respect for human rights in that country," Soares told a luncheon held by Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa.

"This puts your country in a very good position to appreciate our plea that the human rights of the East Timorese should be respected in order to satisfy the demands of international justice," the Kyodo news agency quoted Soares as saying in the speech.

Soares said Indonesia should also allow journalists and the human rights group Amnesty International to check reports of abuses in East Timor.

Japan is Indonesia's largest aid donor. Its stated policy is to withdraw official government aid from governments building up huge armies or violating human rights, but it has seldom invoked the principle.

"It is a true sign of a dictatorship if it fears Amnesty International," Soares, long imprisoned by Portugal's right wing government in the 1960s and 70s, told a news conference later in the day.

The Portuguese leader arrived on Monday for a week-long visit to commemorate the 450th anniversary of ties with Japan.

In 1543, three Portuguese shipwrecked sailors were washed ashore on Tanegashima, becoming the first Europeans to set foot in Japan.

JAPAN ASSURES SOARES OF SOLIDARITY WITH TIMOR

Diario de Noticias, 20 October 1993. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

The question of Timor was obviously present at the meeting the President of the Republic held, at his official residence in Tokyo, with the leader of the Japanese Government.

Hosokawa confirmed, to Mario Soares and Foreign Minister Durão Barroso, that Japan's positions regarding the issue had evolved (in line with UN decisions), and expressed Tokyo's agreement on the need for respect for human rights in the territory and on the principle of self-determination.

Hosokawa (who was updated on the Lisbon-Jakarta talks by the Foreign Minister)

favoured a peaceful settlement to the problem.

SOARES: DEVELOPMENT AID CANNOT BE DISASSOCIATED FROM HUMAN RIGHTS

Diario de Noticias, 21 October 1993. By J. Fragoso Mendes. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

(Tokyo) Yesterday, Timor was still dominating the President of the Republic's political speech in Japan. First, he received a delegation from the Parliamentary Forum on East Timor. Later, at lunch with Prime Minister Hosokawa, he again referred at length to the issue. Finally, at the press conference attended by the Japanese media, the subject of Timor took up a substantial amount of time.

On each occasion the President diplomatically referred to Japan's responsibilities as a democratic country, defender of human rights, an economic power with regard to a dictatorship, and violator of fundamental rights and freedoms. But, and this should be taken into consideration, Indonesia is one of Japan's main trading partners, suppliers of raw materials, and privileged target of Japanese investment.

He reminded the Prime Minister that "development aid cannot be disassociated from human rights and from the principle of democracy," adding that he knew "Japan shared these concerns."

"Because of this," he said, "I wish to appeal for the defence of the rights of the Timorese people, who live under Indonesian occupation and have been the victims of the violation of the most basic rules of international law. The condemnation of Indonesia at the UN Human Rights Commission has signified the international community's repudiation of that systematic violation."

He added that "Japan, whose policy is one of respect for international law and for UN decisions, is well able to understand our appeal for international legality and that people's rights to be respected in East Timor."

To the Parliamentary Forum on East Timor, an organisation of deputies from both chambers of the Diet which has supported the Timorese cause for many years, the President once again recalled that Portugal had no designs on the territory and that the issue was one of international law.

"Portugal just wants respect for international law and for human rights, and wants the Timorese people's right to self-determination recognised," he said during a meeting at his official residence, open to the Portuguese press. He added that "Portugal will never transgress those principles."

The President told the Japanese MPs (including Satusuki Eda, currently Minister of State, who took part in the meeting entitled "Activist for Timor") that the situation was changing, especially in the US, and that, under pressure from the press, changes in behaviour were being noticed everywhere.

The Forum delegation gave assurances of its continuing efforts, both in Japan and abroad, to find a solution.

Durão Barroso suggested that the Forum ask the Indonesian Government whether it is complying with what was agreed at the last meeting held at the UN, namely to allow independent organisations access to the territory.

Speaking in his individual capacity, Satusuki Eda said that there was a "step by step" evolution in Tokyo's position: "Now, under the present government, things are improving. The Prime Minister, by condemning (according to the principles we defend) human rights violations, has given a clear indication of evolution in the official positions," he said, adding that Japan was aware that any gesture from Tokyo on the issue could influence Indonesia's attitude.

Later, at the press conference, in response to a question on Timor, the President of the Republic condemned Jakarta, outlined the process, and reaffirmed that Portugal had no designs on the territory.

On the eve of the President's visit, the Parliamentary Forum delivered a petition to the Prime Minister, in which Hosokawa was asked to make a clear statement of support for Portugal's diplomatic efforts. They also asked that the government put pressure on Jakarta to allow international aid organisations access to the territory, in accordance with the principles established between Portugal and Indonesia in New York.

APPEAL FOR EAST TIMOR TO SEATTLE BOUND PM HOSOKAWA

Press Release from the Free East Timor Japan Coalition, November 16, 1993

A citizen's group today delivered a letter to the Diet office of Prime Minister Hosokawa, asking the premier to use the occasion of the upcoming summit meeting in Seattle to express Japan's concern over the East Timor issue to President Suharto of Indonesia. Both Suharto and Hosokawa are scheduled to attend the APEC meeting.

The group, Free East Timor! Japan Coalition, consists of eleven organizations campaigning in Japan for a just solution to the East Timor issue. East Timor, formerly a Portuguese colony, was invaded by Indonesian troops in 1975, and Jakarta's 18 year long attempt to subjugate the population

has resulted in the deaths of 200,000 people, one-third the population.

Under past governments, Japan turned a blind eye to the plight of the East Timorese and voted against UN resolutions supporting their right to self determination. Furthermore, it has never applied its declared "ODA guidelines" linking economic aid to human rights to Indonesia, which receives the largest amount of Japanese ODA of any country in the world.

The letter recalls that Prime Minister Hosokawa, in a recent speech before the UN General Assembly, reaffirmed the ODA guidelines, and calls on him to make diplomatic efforts with respect to the issue of East Timor that are in keeping with the spirit of these guidelines.

Coalition representative KIJIMA Masamichi delivered the letter to the Prime Minister's secretary, Mr. Yatsuka. The letter asks Mr. Hosokawa to encourage the Indonesian president to abide by the "consensus statement" it agreed to at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in 1992, to permit greater access to East Timor for UN, human rights, and other humanitarian organizations. The premier is also asked to encourage Suharto to demilitarize East Timor, negotiate a peaceful settlement of the East Timor issue in UN sponsored talks that include the representatives of the East Timorese people, and discuss in the context of those talks a concrete framework for realizing an act of self-determination in the territory.

Recalling that Japanese troops occupied East Timor during the Pacific War, the letter says that Japan is "urgently obliged," to make amends for this past by "contributing to the realization of self determination for the people of East Timor."

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

KEATING FAILS TO CONVINCE CLINTON

The following is an item from the first page of October Matebian News. Other items contained in this issue are "James Dunn's letter to Senator Claiborne Pell of US Foreign Affairs Committee," "A Poem for Xanana," "The Australian Press On East Timor - A Brief Overview" and "Latest From the UN."

Matebian News/East Timor Information & Documentation Centre is a project of the East Timor Relief Association. It can be obtained via ETRA's email address. An annual subscription is \$20 including postage.

Paul Keating : Lobby for Indonesian generals but failed to convince Clinton

During his tour to USA, UK and Ireland, Paul Keating echoed his government's hypocrisy on Human Rights and, desperately, tried to portray his stand as the most mature and realistic approach. He advised Clinton to take a softer line on Human Rights, particularly towards China and Indonesia. The logic of Paul Keating is that appeasing dictators is consistent with real politik because it is the best way to reap the economic advantage these two future giant markets offer to the industrialised countries.

Prime Minister Paul Keating's advise to President Clinton came at a time where the Government of USA is increasingly consistent in its willingness to implement the very basic principle of democracy - human rights - regardless of colour, race, religion, sex or national borders. In this context, the US Administration is gradually locking itself into punishing Indonesia towards the respect of fundamental human rights of the Timorese People. In Indonesia itself, according to the views of President Clinton and the Democrats the Indonesian workers must be allowed to freely organise their unions. And, as far as China goes, the equally appalling record on Human Rights must be emphasised as a barrier for a healthy international relations. It seems that the blood of those killed in, both, the Tianamen Square massacre and the massacre of Sta. Cruz (Nov. 1991) is now haunting these two dictatorships.

Nevertheless, Paul Keating still tries very hard to defend the generals of Indonesia. He is doing it in spite of an increasingly strong condemnation of the generals Junta in Jakarta because of their illegal occupation of East Timor. The International Community is now aware that this occupation is nothing

but a violation of fundamental human rights of the Timorese people. The argument of the governments of Indonesia and China that human rights must be seen within cultural boundaries was defeated in the last International Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. The governments of Indonesia and China, however, continue to persist with their views that the concept of human rights is a "disease" of the western culture.

In his first visit to Indonesia, April last year, Paul Keating advised Suharto's regime to use the most effective way to defeat the Timorese nationalism: development coupled with reconciliation. Paul Keating and his Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, argue that the best way to help the Timorese is to support Indonesian occupation of East Timor, although, according to Gareth Evans, the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia is "indefensible." One can ask then, if the invasion is indefensible, how can this illegal occupation be defensible.

Another element of hypocrisy of Paul Keating can be seen in his recent interview given to a prominent Irish journalist, Olivia O'Leary, on a prime time TV. When he was asked about his stand on East Timor, PM Paul Keating replied: "to argue against incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia would be absolutely fruitless - but what one should argue is that those people is properly treated and opportunities made available to them and that the Indonesian authorities change their tune in relation to human rights, especially for Timor."

Notwithstanding Paul Keating's insulting and paternalistic attitude towards the people of East Timor, what he refuses to see is that his argument is fruitless. The illegal occupation Appeasing the generals of Indonesia did not stop the massacre of Sta. Cruz in 12 Nov. 1991; appeasing the Indonesian Junta in Jakarta did not stop the Indonesian generals boycotting the International Red Cross operating in East Timor; appeasing the Indonesian generals has not stop them from torturing the people of East Timor, let alone the number of young people that disappeared until today. On the contrary, if any change have occurred recently in terms of the Indonesian generals behaviour in East Timor, it has been the direct effect of the international pressure rather than Paul Keating's appeasement.

Furthermore, Paul Keating's stand on the republicanism seems to be based on the fact that only with a full political independence from Mother- England that Australia, as a nation, can be fully developed and integrated in the Asian-Pacific region. If this is true, defending the view that the Timorese people can be best served only if they are integrated into Indonesia is utter hypocrisy. The Keating logic is obviously indefensible. The

fact that he is still pushing this line owes entirely on the rationale that, internationally, Australia must work as part of this region. If asianisation of Australia means necessarily avoiding taking a stand on the fundamental issues of human values as stated in the UN Charter and, in the case of East Timor, in the ten resolutions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council, this asianisation must be rejected by all Australians because, ultimately, it will serves no people of this region at all; if anything, it will always serve the interests of a small click of dictators of the Asian-Pacific region; the likes of generals Suharto, Moerdani and Try Sutrisno.

After all, following this kowtowing logic of Paul Keating and Gareth Evans - that appeasement of dictators is the best way to improve human rights - should not it be China (rather than Australia) to be awarded the Olympic Games of the year 2000?

SENATOR JULIAN MCGAURAN RAISES TIMOR IN AUSTRALIA

Oct. 14 report from Martin Wesley-Smith

Senator Julian McGauran (Australian Senator (National Party) from Victoria) is "raising the matter of human rights violations in East Timor within the coalition policy bodies" and intends "to begin a campaign in key places to raise awareness of the issue" - as he explains in a letter to me and many others dated Oct. 11 1993.

"I believe that the old argument that East Timor is potentially a 'little Cuba' is no longer a sufficient justification for the Indonesian annexation," he writes, adding that he would be pleased to receive any material relating to the issue.

Senator McGauran's address is:

Suite 17, Collins Place
45 Collins Street
Melbourne
Victoria 3000, Australia
Tel: [61-3] 650 3622; fax: [61-3] 650 3565

Or The Senate
Parliament House
Canberra, ACT 2600, Australia
Tel: [61-6] 277 3664, fax: [61-6] 277 3225

On September 30 1993, Senator McGauran made a "speech in the context of an Adjournment" in the Senate. He spoke about recent comments made by the Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, and expressed opposition to Keating's rampant hypocrisy. For example:

"Mr. Keating said in an interview that the debate on the invasion of Timor was over. He said:

"I think to be arguing against the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia would be absolutely fruitless"

"Strikingly, these words followed Mr. Keating's comments in Washington to the President of the United States, Mr. Bill Clinton, regarding human rights generally in the Asian region, where he said:

"More balance is required between the question of trade and human rights"

"In diplomatic language this was taken as a signal to place the question of human rights second to that of trade negotiations. A very softly, softly approach to human rights in Asia was Mr. Keating's prescription for the conduct of foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific region. With this attitude, Mr. Keating would have been the worst advocate for Australia in its Olympic bid. It was precisely those Europeans who vigilantly protested against the Chinese violations of human rights, and the Tiananmen Square massacre in particular, who helped to turn the votes to Sydney's favour in the final count"

Senator McGauran concluded his lengthy speech with:

"I wonder how ... human rights violations in East Timor weigh on the Catholic conscience of the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, who was quoted in the media as saying, 'We possess each an innate human dignity.'

"Mr. Keating claims that it is his Catholic conscience which prompts him to call for a republic and this equates with the defence of human dignity. I would have thought that a more serious and deeper analysis of his Catholic conscience would have led him to a stronger defence of human rights in countries such as East Timor. Now Australia stands alone in regard to the East Timor situation and what was justified by policy in the past is no longer as world history has ended and begun again. It is therefore crucial that Australia reassesses its foreign policy towards East Timor."

The National Party is a right-wing party not normally noted for its concern for human rights, and it may be that Senator McGauran is alone in his party in expressing these views. He must, in my opinion, be encouraged and supported.

EAST TIMOR RALLY IN SYDNEY

From Martin Wesley Smith, Oct. 16.

There was a rally in Sydney Town Hall Square this morning to commemorate the deaths, eighteen years ago today, of five journalists working for Australian news

media who were reporting on events in Balibo, East Timor, in 1975 (they were Gary Cunningham, Brian Peters, Malcolm Rennie, Greg Shackleton & Tony Stewart).

Speakers included James Dunn (former Australian Consul in East Timor, former Foreign Affairs Advisor to the Federal Government, and author on East Timor), Ted Mack (Federal Member for North Sydney), and the Xanana Gusmão's daughter. Paul Stewart (lead singer of Melbourne band Painters & Dockers, and brother of murdered journalist Tony Stewart) sang a song he had written after having visited Balibo. In his speech he said that he was somewhat embarrassed at the fuss still being made about five journalists losing their lives when there is not enough fuss made about the lost lives of 200,000 or more East Timorese.

The rally was organised by the Australian East Timor Association (AETA), PO Box 229 Darlinghurst NSW 2010 Australia; tel: [61-2] 716 6354; fax: [61-2] 716 8266.

"Balibo," an audio-visual composition for flute, tape and transparencies (music: Martin Wesley-Smith; computer graphics: Kia Mistilis) will be performed by Geoffrey Collins (flute) at a concert presented by the audio-visual & computer music group watt at 8pm on Sat Oct. 23 in the Domain Theatre, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney [\$15, \$10].

CHRISTIANS IN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR

From Pat Walsh, Oct. 19.

The visit to Australia by Bishop Belo is to coincide with the revamping of Christians in Solidarity with East Timor (CISSET). CISSET was formed in 1982 as an ecumenical group which was given further momentum in 1989 with the Pope's visit to the territory, when regular meetings occurred involving the Catholic Social Justice Council, the Australian Council of Churches, the Australian Conference of Leaders of Religious Institutes, Pax Christi, the Uniting Church and Uniya.

Only this year a project officer, Sister Kathleen O'Connor, has been employed to undertake a CISSET project which aims to:

1. design and implement strategies for support within the churches in Australia for a negotiated and just settlement of the conflict in East Timor under UN auspices;
2. establish opportunities for dialogue and interaction between churches in Australia and East Timor and their pastoral, welfare and development agencies;
3. assist with the promotion and protection of human rights in East Timor;

4. dialogue with the East Timorese community in Australia about their pastoral needs and aspirations and explore ways in which the churches might respond further.

CISSET encourages:

1. the call for a negotiated, just settlement, recognising the aspirations of the East Timorese;
2. increased awareness of history, language and culture of our close northern neighbour;
3. the call for free and open access to East Timor;
4. the call to dismantle military control of East Timor;
5. support for East Timorese communities in Australia;
6. practical support for the church and people of East Timor
7. the call for Australian politicians to actively support the above.

For more info on CISSET call tel. (02) 356 3888; fax. (02) 356 3021 Uniya 24 Roslyn Street, Kings Cross, NSW 2011

PEACE ACTIVISTS IN RUBBER DINGIES AND KAYAKS CHALLENGE INDON WARSHIPS...

From Matebian News, 24 Oct. 1993

Today, Sunday 24 October, Peace Squadron, a Sydney-based peace group, combined effort with Timorese activists to protest against the presence of three Indonesian warships in the port of Sydney. These warships came to Sydney as part of a combined navy exercise to take place between the Royal Australian Navy and the Indonesian navy.

The Peace Squadron has been active in the past three days. They painted six crosses on the ships. The six crosses represented the six Australian journalists killed by the Indonesian army while they were fulfilling their duties as journalists covering international affairs. Peace Squadron also put banners in one of the ships to highlight the killing of the Timorese by the Indonesian military.

Today's protest was the climax of all these actions. The action was covered by 18 colourful "kayaks," 4 rubber dingies with East Timor colourful flag, Xanana's poster and banners highlighting the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, demanding the release of all Timorese prisoners and "Indonesia Out of East Timor -NOW!!!"

The event was covered by both the Australian and Portuguese media and witnessed by hundreds of onlookers.

Eight hundred pamphlets "Free Xanana, Free East Timor" were distributed and many thrown into the ships.

Many Timorese and Aussie supporters gave moral support ashore, distributed pamphlets to the tourists and spoke to the public about East Timor.

The event certainly had a powerful impact to the Indonesian sailors. It made them aware about the strong support East Timorese people and Xanana have in Sydney. Probably, the Indonesian sailors might have asked today why the protesters were not arrested or even shot? - This could be something useful for them to take home!

The goal in doing this kind of campaign is to foster the process of raising consciousness of the Indonesian people about the plight of the Timorese people. It did have a positive effect.

FLARE FIRED AT INDONESIAN WARSHIP IN AUSTRALIA

Reuter and AP, 24 October 1993. Abridged

(Sydney) An Australian was arrested on Sunday after a flare was fired onto the deck of a visiting Indonesian warship, the third in a series of protests against the visit by peace activists.

Police charged the 33-year old man after a flare struck the deck of the Kri Arun, one of three Indonesian warships berthed in Sydney harbour on Saturday night. He was arrested on swimming ashore in the early hours of Sunday. There was no damage aboard the vessel.

Activists protesting Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor placed a Timorese rebel flag on the side of one of the ships.

Six blood-red crosses were painted on the side of the ships on Thursday, in memory of six Australian journalists killed in 1975.

The protest sparked a full-scale security scare Sunday. The swimming protester was chased by an Indonesian patrol boat and Australian naval and civilian police swung into action, but the protester managed to elude them in the water for more than an hour before being arrested on nearby shores. He was charged and released on bail to appear in court on Monday.

In subsequent interviews, he said he was protesting against human rights violations in East Timor.

Police said the Indonesian patrol boat from the naval vessel Kri Arun was patrolling three Indonesian naval ships on a goodwill mission when they saw a man in the water around 1am. A flare was fired and it

landed on the ship's deck where it was extinguished by sailors.

INDONESIA - SEEING NO EVIL

The Australian, 9 November 1993, By Michael Wagner, Chairperson East Timor Foundation Canberra

The accusation of racism and prejudice leveled against human rights and East Timor support groups and their description as "anti - Indonesia lobby" by Mr. Richard Woolcott are malicious and offensive.

In nearly 20 years of involvement with the Australian coalition for East Timor and East Timor Foundation I have not seen one "racist" statement or heard one "anti-Indonesian" argument by any group or individual activist.

On the contrary, dialogue with democratically-minded Indonesians has always had an important place in the East Timor support movement which traces its fundamental arguments back to Australian support of the Indonesian struggle for independence in the 1940s.

Denouncing Indonesia's military invasion and occupation of East Timor as expansionist and brutal and aiming to nurture the conditions for a political solution of the East Timor conflict is neither crude nor prejudiced.

The crudity is firmly on the side of officials like Mr. Woolcott who pretended in 1975 that East Timor was not invaded by the Indonesian armed forces (but by "volunteers" without insignia on their uniforms); who pretended to know nothing when five Australian journalists were murdered in Balibo (despite listening to Indonesian field communications in Darwin); who pretended in the 1980s to know nothing about the campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation" when 200,000 East Timorese disappeared from the census figures; and who applauded loudly in 1992 when an Indonesian government inquiry blamed the unarmed East Timorese protesters for the Dili massacre and reprimanded a couple of responsible senior Indonesian officers for failing to maintain discipline.

In his position as ambassador to Indonesia, Mr. Woolcott failed to access accurately the political situation in East Timor and to advice the government that a brutal military subjugation of East Timor would become a long-term obstacle to establishing good neighbourly relations between Australian and Indonesian.

There is little public evidence that Mr. Woolcott ever tried to seek out and nurture the democratic forces in Indonesian politics, forces which may well be prepared to solve

the East Timor problem with means other than jackboots and machine guns.

Is it not indeed racist to advocate for our East Timorese neighbours a military regime which - with its appalling human rights record - would certainly not be acceptable to Australians including, I am sure, Mr. Woolcott?

UREN RECALLS WARTIME DEBT TO EAST TIMOR

The Australian 11th November 1993 By Jonathan Porter

Former ALP minister Mr. Tom Uren was as lucky as his mate Paddy Keneally when they were both serving on the island of Timor.

Tom, who was captured by the Japanese when they occupied the island, was serving in West Timor - where the indigenous people collaborated with the occupiers.

But Mr. Keneally was in East Timor, he fell back with the other members of Number 2 Independent Company into the hills and was succoured by the East Timorese, who help the company fight the Japanese for another year until Mr. Keneally was evacuated by destroyer.

Mr. Uren said yesterday the help Paddy and the men he fought with received from the islanders symbolised the debt Australia owed to the tiny nation.

"Every Australian has a moral obligation to the East Timorese people - and that includes politicians," he said.

Australians in East Timor during the war "could not have survived without the support of those people."

Mr. Uren, a critic of Australia's recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, was speaking at the launch of an exhibition of photographs of East Timorese in Sydney yesterday.

The photographs date back to the 1940s and chronicle the Indonesian annexation of the nation in 1975, up to the Dili massacre in 1991.

The exhibition includes images, captured by Elaine Brière, of the period of comparative peace in the 1970s.

One of Brière's photographs, taken in 1974 shows an East Timorese woman sleeping comfortably on a bamboo bed, her head cushioned near a pile of rocks.

The pictures range from an image of a grinning Xanana Gusmão, taken before the resistance leader was captured by Indonesian authorities, to a "sealed section" of the exhibition, with disturbing images of bodies of resistance fighters shockingly mistreated, some pocked with bullet holes.

Mr. Uren also criticised the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, for his han-

ding of the Government's stance on East Timor, saying that when he knew Senator Evans as a young Labour politician, his attitude to the issues involved was different.

"People are good in Opposition and courageous in Opposition but when it comes to being in government - even the people who become foreign ministers and governors-general - it seems to be a different story," he said.

PROBLEMS FOUND IN PUSH ON EAST TIMOR

The Age 12th November 1993 By Margaret Easterbrook

Support by some countries for separate statehood for East Timor as a means of tackling human rights abuses was "seriously counter-productive," the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, said yesterday.

He was speaking after launching a human rights manual, the first of its kind, explaining where and how human rights fit into the conduct of Australian foreign policy.

Senator Evans said the calls for a separate state by European and other countries were unrealistic and were not going to persuade the Indonesian Government to display greater sensitivity to the former Portuguese colony it invaded in 1975.

Defending Australia's stance on human rights abuses against the East Timorese by Indonesian, Senator Evans said Australia had been one of the strongest and most persistent voices seeking of a reconciliation process.

"We can only go on repeating that message," he said. "I'll do it again."

Senator Evans said it had been obvious for many years that this issue would not be resolved by self-determination for East Timor.

"At the end of the day, all one can say is that it is better to be realistic than hopelessly unrealistic in the way in which one views these issues," he said.

"That's not so much a message to the East Timorese people. It's just (that) some of the European countries and others just keep on trying an issue of this in a way that is simple not going to be productive.

"In fact, I suspect it's being quite seriously counterproductive in terms of getting a willingness for this on the part of the Indonesian Government to be more sensitive."

In his speech he said that contrary to claims that Australia was no longer as active in making behind-the-scenes bilateral representations on human rights concerns, 502 had been made so far this year.

"This is a record even for us when compared to the 382 representations we made in

1989, the 460 in 1990, the 425 in 1991 and the 428 last year," he said.

SYDNEY SEMINAR ON EAST TIMOR

The FRETILIN Committee of NSW is organizing a seminar to highlight the 2nd anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre in Dili.

6 November 1993

Venue: Brian Wunsch Centre, Fairfield City Council, 128 Avoca Road, Wakeley

Time: 5.00 pm - 8.00 pm

Speakers:

Rodney Lewis, member of the Executive of the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists. (Attended the trial of the East Timorese in Dili in 1992 as an observer.)

Andre Frankovitch, National Campaign Director of the Amnesty International.

East Timorese

SYDNEY SEMINAR SUCCESSFUL

The Seminar on East Timor was well attended by 60 people mainly the East Timorese living in Sydney. The panel was composed by Andre Frankovitch, Rodney Lewis, Estanislau da Silva and João Carrascalão.

It was opened by Estanislau da Silva, the Co-ordinator of FRETILIN Committee with a very brief review of the situation in East Timor in the last two year and the latest information received from the territory.

The seminar was covered by Portuguese TV which interview Andre Frankovitch and Rodney Lewis after. It was taped by Radio Laline and whoever wants a copy can be obtained from FRETILIN Committee of NSW, P.O. Box 74, BONNYRIGG, NSW 2177.

A letter written by the East Timorese political prisoners to the members of the Central Council of FRETILIN External Delegation, José Luis Guterres, Mari Alkatiri, Roque Rodrigues and Alfredo Borges Ferreira, supporting the resolutions recently adopted by the Council on restructuring and other matters last August in Quezuz, Lisbon-Portugal, was also distributed in the seminar. A translation of the letter and other documents are currently undertaken by the Committee.

RALLY IN SYDNEY ON 12 NOVEMBER

THE BRUTAL MASSACRE OF A PEACEFUL PEOPLE

On 12 November 1991, a Catholic mass was held at 6.00 am at Motael Church to mourn the death of Sebastiao Gomes Rangel, a pro-independence supporter killed by

Indonesian soldiers, two weeks earlier.

Approximately 4000 people attended the ceremony.

A UN delegate, Mr. Kooijmans (Special Rapporteur on Torture) was staying in Dili at the time, so a pro-independence demonstration was planned to start after the mass.

- once in the street, the concealed pro-independence banners were unfurled and T-shirts with slogans were displayed.

- With high spirits, the demonstrators marched towards Santa Cruz Cemetery. More people started joining the procession and by the time they got there, there were an estimated 6000 people.

- A young woman called the crowd to pray. Everybody joined her and they started praying with fervent.

-After laying down flowers on Sebastiao's grave, the demonstrators would continue to Bishop Belo's house and to Hotel Turismo where Mr. Kooijmans was staying.

- Meanwhile, the Indonesian soldiers were closing in. They positioned around one side of the Santa Cruz Cemetery and inside the Indonesian Cemetery (opposite the Santa Cruz Cemetery). The riot police lined up behind them.

- Suddenly, without warning, the Indonesian soldiers started firing directly into the crowd. The prayers were trapped! The closest route to escape was to run into the Santa Cruz Cemetery. People trampled on each other in the main entrance. Others headed north along the main road, but were shot from behind.

- The estimated death toll for that day and the following weeks was put, by Timorese sources, over 300 people. Kamal Bamadhaj, a great supporter of the East Timorese people, was also killed that day. A peaceful demonstration ending as a cold blood massacre.

Origin: NSW Fretilin Committee

12 NOVEMBER REMEMBRANCE IN DARWIN

From CNRM/NT, Nov. 13, 1993

Darwin East Timorese nationalists and their supporters celebrated the second anniversary of the November 12 Santa Cruz massacre with a mass at St Mary's Cathedral and a protest rally.

The well attended mass included Tetum hymns and East Timorese dancing as part of the beautiful liturgy. Participants then proceeded to the Indonesian Consulate where they lit candles and observed 2 minutes of silence for the victims of the massacre.

The November 12 protest rally began on the steps of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly. Heavy Police and plain-clothes Australian Secret Service personnel

were deployed around the Assembly and other key spots in the centre of the city. Once again, official concern with just and democratic protests against the repressive excesses of the Suharto dictatorship was evident. Local Police did, however, signal its understanding of the just motives of the protesters. Yet, both, Australian Federal and State and Territory Governments, so keen to nurture close relationships with Jakarta, try their utmost to discourage their freedom and justice supporting citizens from 'offending' the murderous Indonesian rulers.

Conspicuous among the crowd, despite his effort to dress down in casual clothes, was the Darwin-based Representative of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. His main concern was the protection of Indonesian property from possible damage, after Garuda Airlines' office had been painted red the previous day.

Sadly, the East Timor issue, despite festering for 18 years, has still not prompted Australian diplomacy to seek contributing to the search of a truly just and internationally acceptable solution.

Much to their shame, Australian foreign policy makers seem unable to realise that unless a democratic government respectful of human rights is in place in Jakarta, and East Timorese rights are observed, regional relations will continue to suffer. Shallow, hypocritical and opportunistic rhetoric emanating from Canberra or Darwin will not create the good neighbourly relations the people of Australia, Indonesia and East Timor aspire to see in this region.

In front of the Legislative Assembly, the crowd heard speeches by CNRM South East Asia Representative, José Gusmão; Rob Wesley-Smith and Dr. Andrew McNaughton of Australians for a Free East Timor, Goncalo Pinto of UDT, and LAFAEK members Dulce and Alice Casimiro.

A street theatre re-enactment of the Dili massacre was also staged.

The protesters then marched to the Indonesian Consulate, to call for freedom for East Timor. Underlining the shameful significance of November 12 for Indonesia, and its tarnished international image, the Consulate was closed. As a Consular spokesperson had previously stated, "these protests are too stressful for the staff."

No members of the grossly overstaffed and predominantly secret service Consular employees were visible. The only exception was someone, who feeling safe well behind the building's massive iron fence, busily took photographs and video recordings of the protesters. Australian media were able to record the ignoble scene on this day of shame for the Indonesian dictatorship. Even the 'merah putih' flag went up in flames -

illustrating the shame increasingly being brought to the nation by its discredited and brutal military leadership.

DARWIN PROTESTS ON ANNIVERSARY

The Age 13 November 1993

About 100 supporters of independence for East Timor rallied outside the Northern Territory Parliament in Darwin yesterday to mark the season anniversary of the Dili massacre.

While in Sydney, about 200 East Timorese expatriates gathered at Sydney Town Hall to mourn an estimated 180 compatriots who were dead or unaccounted for since Indonesian soldiers fired on 4000 funeral marchers in the Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timor capital.

In Darwin, a Resistance spokesman, Mr. José Gusmão, told the placard-waving crowd that although Australia did not support their fight it had the backing of the United Nations.

Mr. Gusmão said the fight was against the attempted genocide of the East Timorese people by the Indonesian military.

"This fight is recognised by the United Nations and the international community. It's a fight to live with dignity in a free country, East Timor," he said.

Another speaker, Mr. Goncalo Pinto of the Timor Democratic Union, told the crowd Australia's support for the integration of East Timor into Indonesia was driven by greed for oil spoils.

The rally moved from Parliament House to the Indonesian consulate, where a dramatic reenactment of the massacre was staged.

In Sydney a contingent of East Timorese marched on a makeshift model cemetery outside the town hall, and were subjected to a mock attack by men dressed in Indonesian army fatigues.

The crowd was then addressed by speakers, including ALP backbencher and convener of the Parliamentarians for East Timor group Laurie Ferguson.

There were no incidents at the rally, which was preceded by a mass at St Mary's Cathedral.

FORWARD LOOKING BISHOP PREACHES RECONCILIATION IN EAST TIMOR

The Australian, Monday Nov. 15, 1993.
interviewer James Murray, religious affairs writer

Comment: Bishop Belo's visit includes Melbourne, Sydney, Perth & Darwin and finishes on Nov. 29. In a radio interview of Saturday he said that he 3 aims - to visit Timorese people in Australia, to meet Catholic church leaders and to raise funds to expand his seminary in Dili, which he described as being not just for the training of East Timorese priests but also for other young East Timorese, especially those who might reach positions of leadership.

Reconciliation, not confrontation, is the message the Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Monsignor Belo, has brought to Australia only 2 years after the Dili massacre. Bishop Belo, who arrived on Friday to lead a commemoration of the massacre, told a packed St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne it was important to turn to the future.

'I do not want to celebrate the dead,' he said, 'or to remember the past.'

'We try to live the Catholic faith in a good spirit,' he told *The Australian*.

Reluctant to make statements that might be misconstrued, he nonetheless said: 'If it is necessary to speak out, I speak.'

In 1989, Bishop Belo called on the UN to grant self-determination to East Timor but was deeply disappointed by the lack of support from the Catholic Bishops. Last year Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas called East Timor 'a pebble in one's shoe.'

It seems likely to continue as a cause of irritation but Bishop Belo, a bishop in a bind, is unlikely to be the cause.

He denies reports of army intimidation of Timorese wishing to attend to Mass but there has been what he calls 'discouragement' at times.

His concern for the young people of East Timor is patent.

'I'm anxious not to underline the past but our young people need to be educated in questions of social justice,' he said.

His greatest fear is that they might take the law into their own hands. The young, in spite of a systematic Indonesian education, are restive. They face widespread unemployment and a lack of any say in the country's future.

Business is dominated by Indonesians from other islands. The policy of integration is being pursued forcefully and has the support of the Apodeti party which the Governor, Mr. Abilio Soares, helped to found.

Dislocation is also caused by new housing projects. Many East Timorese have no option, but to move from their communities and are often forced off their traditional lands.

Observers report that the army's presence is very visible and although much-needed schools and clinics, roads and bridges have been built by the Indonesian authorities, most East Timorese still resent the Indonesian takeover.

The bishop's diplomacy is sometimes misunderstood but it is well known that he is not afraid to protest when he thinks that it is necessary.

But his message is now reconciliation and not confrontation. To his people he remains a hero but he is probably too young to be a martyr yet. In any case the East Timorese still need his voice.

'We have about 600,000 Catholics in East Timor. They add up to 80% of the population and with 29 parishes and 72 priests we can make our own way,' he said.

His own hopes are that the Australian church will help him build the institutions necessary to maintain a Catholic majority in the country.

Of the expansion of Islam, he reports that 'there are now about 50,000 Muslims and one or two large new mosques are being built with many small mosques spread throughout the country.'

There are Buddhists and Hindus as well. But inter-faith relations hardly exist.

'We observe Idul Fitri, the end of the Muslim fast of Ramadan, and Christmas,' he said. 'Otherwise there are no relations between us.'

Bishop Belo is unique in the world – he is the only person who is freer to speak his mind inside East Timor than outside. In his interview with the Swedish Parliamentary Delegation in Dili in September 1993, he had very different things to say. It is hard to imagine that the situation inside East Timor, or the Bishop's views, have changed that much in such a short time. Publico's article on the Bishop's comments is reprinted in East Timor Documents #24.

- Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

ABC RADIO INTERVIEWS BISHOP BELO

Australian Radio National, PROGRAM: Indian Pacific. 15 November 1993. The following is a transcript of a radio interview.

Introduction: November 12 marks the 2nd anniversary of the Dili massacre in East Timor. To mark the occasion Bishop Carlos Belo of Dili came to Australia to celebrate a mass at St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne. I manage to speak to Bishop Belo on Friday just before he celebrated the mass.

I asked the Bishop, why he decided to come to Australia.

Belo: Well, I received many times invitation from the Bishops, from Monsignor Deakin, Monsignor Brennan of Wagga Wagga and then from Bishop of Darwin, so, I responded and I came mainly to establish relationship between our local church and Australian dioceses. And secondly to visit East Timor community here in Australia.

Q: Bishop Belo, what are the most urgent needs of the people in East Timor today?

Belo: First place, we need peace, peace to live and to work and our young people to study and to get jobs. And then development - cultural, spiritual development of the people.

Q: In 1989 you wrote to the United Nations suggesting that the UN should hold a referendum in East Timor and self-determination. Is that a view you still hold that there should be a referendum on East Timor's future?

Belo: The problem is that, I speak alone. Only one voice, like one voice in the desert. So now the problem is the international forum. We know also that there are conversation between Ministers Alatas and Barroso, so yes, we wait for the result of these conversations.

Q: And in the meantime how does the church, how do you Bishop attempt to meet the needs of the people of East Timor?

Belo: First of all, we try to be with the people and to the voice of voiceless people. And how to help them in the field of justice, of peace, reconciliation; and according to our possibilities, to make schools, agriculture, technical schools, preparing the new generation. And in this field we also are intending to build a new seminary for the new generation, not only for the priesthood, but also for the lay people - politicians, speakers, chief of districts. We like to prepare the people in our new minor seminary.

Q: And I think you hope to raise funds for that seminary while you are here in Australia.

Belo: Yes, also one objective of my trip to Australia is this.

Q: Is the role of the church changing in East Timor?

Belo: I don't think that it changed. Its pastoral, its ecclesiastical point of view is the same: to serve the people and to be close to the people.

Q: I guess what I mean is - are the East Timorese people becoming closer and closer to the church. Is the church becoming

ing even more important in the people's lives?

Belo: We try to be - to read the situation at times if it is necessary to speak about the human rights, disasters and peace. We speak and, maybe, because of this they admire the church.

Q: Bishop Belo two years since the killings in East Timor two years ago. Are you satisfied with the action that was taken following those killings in Santa Cruz in East Timor. Are you satisfied with the disciplinary of the armed forces that took place?

Belo: Not totally, because you know the bodies we don't know where they are. Many families still waiting for the return of their boys. So this is one aspect. Another aspect is the justice is not really (how do you say) managed well. Because the boys that were shot down, the military only get one or 18 or 12 months of prison, only that. It should be a concrete step in how to manage with justice in East Timor.

Q: Bishop Belo do you see any positive signs in East Timor at the moment. Do you see a trend for the better or is it just uncertainty in the future?

Belo: I think that it is a good thing that Portugal and Indonesia they could have these conversation to reach a peaceful and honourable solution for East Timor. So, it is necessary that the two Ministers of the two Governments speak about that.

Q: So that's the positive sign at the moment that Indonesia and Portugal are talking, at least, about the status and future of East Timor.

Belo: Yes, yes, yes. A good thing, yes!

A FIGURE OF COURAGE IN THE MIDST OF EAST TIMOR'S AGONY

The Age (Melbourne), 17 November 1993. By Mark Baker

Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximens Belo was sitting on the veranda of his whitewashed villa beside Dili harbour in a flowing white cassock. It was a balmy afternoon in February 1990, but there was a chilling prescience in his words: "The young people are becoming much more militant that politically active. There will be a big confrontation soon and people will be killed."

It was to be another 20 months before the big confrontation came but when it did the brutality of the Dili massacre, in which at least 100 and perhaps 200 mostly young Timorese were shot, stabbed or stoned to death by Indonesian troops, was to shock even the stoical leader of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor.

Last Friday, on the second anniversary of the massacre, Bishop Belo took part in a special Mass at Melbourne's ST Patrick's Cathedral. In a brief, careful homily to the large, mostly Timorese congregation, he urged reconciliation: "Think of the future and how to build a new generation - a future based on peace and justice and reconciliation."

His remarks disappointed many in the congregation who came expecting fighting words from a man who has been a figure of strength and comfort for many Timorese, both inside and outside the Territory, since his appointment as apostolic administrator of Dili a decade ago.

"The Timorese, they tell me, 'Bishop, it is very difficult to forgive those who killed my father, my son, my husband,' but above all we are Christians," he says. "I respect the dead and I pray for them and we pray for this event will not happen again. But for me it is more important to put in the hearts of the young people that we must live in hope to become a new society."

To interpret such words as a sign of weakness or compliance is to make a dangerous presumption.

Over the years, Bishop Belo has put his job, and perhaps his life on the line in taking a stand against the killing and systematic repression that has continued since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975. He has spoken out repeatedly to expose torture and other abuses by Indonesian military, he has opened his house as a sanctuary for fearful young Timorese and he has campaigned tirelessly for an end to the violence.

In June 1989, shortly before the Pope's visit to Dili, Bishop Belo wrote to a brother Bishop in Portugal describing as "absolutely unthinkable" the level of persecution and torture in the territory. He said the Timorese people and their Bishop were profoundly isolated and confided a fear that he would suffer the same fate as El Salvador's Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, who was assassinated in 1980.

Bishop Belo's courage has earned the wrath not only of the Indonesian authorities, but also, at times, of the Indonesian Bishops and the Vatican. More than once there have been concerted efforts to silence or remove him.

It is clear that on this, one of his few visits abroad, Bishop Belo does not feel free to speak his mind. The Timorese-born bishop travels on an Indonesian passport and he is believed to have been threatened with expulsion from Dili after speaking out during an earlier visit to Canada. But while choosing his words with great care, he speaks none the less. And what he says leaves no doubt that the situation in East Timor remains grim and volatile.

Last week, as Indonesian authorities tightened security in Dili before the anniversary of the massacre, the Governor of East Timor, Mr. Abilio Soares, claimed that the Timorese had accepted the territory's incorporation into Indonesia and no longer wanted a referendum on self-determination. "Those who took part in the 1991 demonstration have realised they were wrong," said Mr. Soares.

Bishop Belo paints a quite different picture. He says the young Timorese remain militantly opposed to the status quo in the territory and continue to demand "immediate, concrete and political solutions to the problems."

"In Timor, every time I go to the parishes, the young people present a number of declamations, poetry and songs and in their songs they underline that we are suffering, we are dying," he says. "It seems to me that there is no hope in the young people."

He says the young are pessimistic about the past and future and are frustrated by the lack of jobs and what he refers to as "the political dimension of our daily life," Timorese

Culture, he says, is being stifled: the Timorese language is not taught in schools, Islam is being actively promoted and there is a growing influx of Indonesian settlers under the policies of "Indonesiation."

Bishop Belo says the problems are compounded by continuing conflict between rival Timorese political factions. But his efforts to promote unity seem not necessary to be a call for acceptance of East Timor's incorporation. "For me, this is important because we are already divided from the past and at the present and then there are external elements who seek to divide us, so let's be united, at least as a people. We are already a small people, why do we live in division?"

His attempts to promote negotiation with the local authorities have been a dismal failure. "I told the governor, I told the commander, please give the opportunity to have a dialogue. But we know already that when they have a dialogue is conducted in another perspective. Many times it is not a dialogue but only a monologue: they invite the young generation to accept the status quo."

As we are leaving, I ask Bishop Belo about the repeated claims by Jakarta that its military presence in East Timor is being scaled back and that tensions are easing in the territory. He smiles broadly. "You believe that?" he asks. "Myself, I like to see first, to check."

During this supposedly private visit to Australia, Bishop Belo will also travel to Sydney, Perth and Darwin, preaching and seeking donations for a new seminary in Dili

to accommodate the increasing numbers of young Timorese seeking to enter the church.

He will not be meeting with any government officials. It's a pity - they might learn a lot.

REPORT ON AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA

Press Release from the Australian Coalition for a Free East Timor. Darwin, Nov. 16.

This release commented on the recently published report by the 'Joint Standing Committee for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade' of the Australian Parliament, on relations between Australia and Indonesia.

"Joint Parliamentary Enquiry and Response Tinkering at the Edges."

No frank and honest enquiry into relations between Australia and Indonesia can possibly avoid the issue that Indonesia brutally invaded East Timor in 1975 to only muted protests from Australia, and that it continues a brutal occupation and genocide to no protests by Australia, only some murmurings about the need to "normalise..."

....Since the start of the Enquiry there has been a federal election in Australia, enabling a degree of hijacking of the Committee. Nothing can be allowed to dampen Prime Minister Keating's ambitions with Suharto. He should take more notice of Nude Sukarno's statement: "There are certain people in this country [Indonesia] who are privatising this country. There is nothing they don't own." (15 Nov.)

In case anyone is unsure what this means, it is that Suharto and family and a close circle of Generals are hijacking the wealth of Indonesia. Why do we Australians try to enhance every aspect of this murderous man? (answer: honesty is too hard!).....

When the Enquiry came to Darwin in June 1992, its presence was almost entirely ignored by the media, and the NT Government gave a lot of its submission IN SECRET. I was the only one who protested at this. Given the alleged interests of Indonesia here and its role in our future, the general response to the inquiry's presence was pathetic.

We can already see the same sort of response to the report, where some small cover of peripheral issues is given by news services, but current affairs programs will give it a big miss.

The Enquiry's statements that there are improvements in human rights in East Timor, and that the violations are individual acts not structural or policy based, are an outrageous abrogation of truth.

The East Timorese since the Dili Massacre have been screwed into the ground as an

act of policy, never with less rights. Just because massacres have not been seen on TV lately does not mean that things have improved.

There is no public investigative reporting by the media on this. I challenge the media, or the Enquiry people or Keating/Evans to prove that things have improved in the last 2 years. I doubt they will even try.

Even the response by most media to the second anniversary of the Dili Massacre has been so very poor. Another test will be tomorrow's first anniversary of the capture of East Timor's revered Leader Xanana Gusmão. After torture and a farcical trial, he languishes isolated in gaol.

Rob Wesley-Smith. NT Rep of
A.C.F.E.T. Ph/fx +61 89 832 113

DECEMBER 7 DEMONSTRATION IN CANBERRA

A protest to mark the 18th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor by Indonesian troops, on 7 December 1975

We need your support: join us to mourn those who died for the liberation of our country

Join us to protest against the invasion and occupation of East Timor by Indonesian troops.

Venue: Parliament House - Canberra
Time: 11.00 am, 6 December 1993

(Monday)

1.30 pm march to Indonesian embassy
Organised by Fretilin and UDT, and supported by East Timor Cultural Centre inc.

For more information contact Filomena De Almeida on (02) 609 1269, Brian Da Luz on 601 7696 or 015 204 557, Carlos Costa on 601 1347 and Meno Sarmento on 688 38 43

From: Fretilin Committee Of NSW, p.o. Box 74, Bonnyrigg, NSW 2177. Ph/fax (02) 823 2769

REPORT FROM FRETILIN COMMITTEE OF NSW, DEC. 8

About 150 East Timorese, mainly young people, and Australians have attended a demonstration in Canberra yesterday, 6 December 1993 to mark the 18th Anniversary of the invasion and occupation of East Timor by Indonesia. The East Timorese from Melbourne and Sydney gathered in front of the Australian Federal Parliament and then marched to the Indonesian Embassy. The rally was organized by FRETILIN and UDT Committees of NSW.

The rally was addressed by Senator Julian McGauran of the National Party and

Senator Vicky Bourne of the Democratic Party. Senator Margaret Reynolds of the Labor Party was unable to attend the rally because she was stranded at Sydney Airport. However, she sent a message of support which was read to the crowd. Kevin Andrews, MP of the Liberal Party and Shadow Minister for Schools, Vocational Education and Training also sent a message of support.

A message from FRETILIN and UDT was also read at the beginning of the rally.

The East Timorese has written a letter the Prime Minister of Australia Mr. Paul Keating. The letter will be delivered to Prime Minister by Senator Margaret Reynolds' Office in the Parliament House. A Copy of the letter was also circulated to the Senate by Democratic Party.

The rally was covered by SBS TV, Portuguese TV, Portuguese Radio, Canberra's TV, Radio 2UE, 2GB and local Newspapers.

TIMORESE WRITE TO AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER

Canberra
6 December 1993

The Excellency Hon. Paul Keating
Prime Minister of Australia
Excellency,

The East Timorese Community in Australia has in many occasions acknowledged the Federal Government of Australia's stance on human rights issues.

We admire the commitment of Australian Government in imposing sanctions against apartheid in South Africa and recent Golf Conflict.

We also highly appreciate the efforts and commitments your Government have made in mediating and settling the issue in Cambodia.

In regard to East Timor we also like to acknowledge the Government of Australia's condemnation of human rights violations in the territory by Indonesian troops.

However, we are of the opinion that human rights violations in East Timor are due to the result of Indonesia's continual military occupation. Therefore, we would like to request your Excellency, by using your good relations with Indonesia, to influence Jakarta to:

1. Release Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno and all political prisoners;
2. Negotiate with East Timorese representatives, namely FRETILIN and UDT;
3. Comply with the United Nations resolutions on East Timor by withdrawing all its troops from the territory;
4. Implement UN human rights resolutions in East Timor;

5. Allow access to East Timor by independent observers, Human Rights organizations, Church groups and NGOs.

We also like to request your Excellency attention to the fact that East Timor is classified by the UN as non-self government territory and therefore, we demand the Australian Government to :

1. Comply with UN resolution on East Timor by supporting the UN General Secretary to mediate the conflict between Portugal, Indonesia and the East Timorese Resistance.

2. Comply with International Conventions, which were ratified by Australian Governments, by suspending the Timor Gap Treaty with Indonesia.

Deepest respect for your Excellency
Yours sincerely,

Estanislaou da Silva
On behalf of East Timorese in Sydney
and Melbourne

DARWIN PROTESTERS BURN INDONESIAN FLAG

*Northern Territory News, 8 Dec. 1993. By
Gordon Feeney of AAP. unabridged.*

Angry supporters of East Timorese independence burnt an Indonesian flag outside the Darwin Indonesian consulate yesterday after consular staff refused to allow an East Timorese into the consulate.

About 30 protesters, chanting anti-Indonesian slogans, rallied outside the consulate's iron fence to mark the 18th anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of the former Portuguese colony.

Activist Robert Wesley-Smith said consular staff had offered -through a police intermediary- to receive a letter, addressed to Indonesian President Suharto, from a non-Timorese person. But the protesters refuse the offer, insisting that an East Timorese person must be allowed to deliver the letter.

WITHDRAW

After about an hour, the protesters expressed their anger at the refusal by burning the Indonesian flag, then trampling on the ashes. The protesters eventually put the letter through the iron fence. The letter said the invasion and occupation of East Timor by Indonesian forces was "illegal and immoral" and called on President Suharto to withdraw his forces.

Indonesia's invasion and subsequent annexation of East Timor has not been recognised by the United Nations, but has been recognised by the Australian Government. One independence supporter, Dr. Andrew McNaughton, who visited East Timor earlier this year, told the protesters the territory was "just like a prison camp."

REPRESSION

"After 18 years, the population is still subject to constant fear and repression," he said. "The (1991) Dili massacre was captured on film, so it attracted international condemnation. There has been film like that for a couple of years, but abuses are continuing.

"It's being done in a more hidden way."

Another speaker, José Gusmão, said Indonesia was attempting to carry out the genocide of the East Timorese people. "President Suharto must withdraw the troops from East Timor. We want a peaceful and just solution for East Timor," he said.

THE LONG, HARD ROAD TO HOPE

The Age (Melbourne)- The Accent section, 8 December 1993

Shirley Shackleton talks to Katherine Kizilos about her 18-year struggle for justice in East Timor

By Katherine Kizilos, Unabridged

NB: The story comes with a close-up picture of Shirley Shackleton with caption - Shirley Shackleton: working on a novel based on the recent history of East Timor.

Yesterday was the 18th anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. Over almost two decades, while Australia has minded its own business, up to one in three East Timorese have died resisting the occupation of their homeland. And all the while a Melbourne woman has been shouting on the sidelines that we are not doing enough to help the beleaguered Timorese.

Shirley Shackleton's husband Greg was one of five Australian newsmen to die in East Timor in the weeks before the invasion. He had been reporting for Channel 7 news. The Australian Government held no inquiry into his death, or the deaths of his colleagues. Shirley Shackleton has never received an official explanation of how her husband came to die.

Confronted with a great loss she became an advocate for the East Timorese and a critic of Australia's foreign policy. She is a merry, talkative woman but an insistent one; her outraged sense of justice keeps her going and going. She just won't avert her eyes.

Since 1975 Shirley Shackleton has devoted herself to saying uncomfortable things about Timor. She says her involvement in the issue has been "a mentally healing thing" but she has paid a high price for it. The more she has learned about Timor, the less able she has become to let the issue go. "I have never really come to terms with (Greg's) death." "I have never really dealt

with it. Sometimes I still wake up at night numb with horror thinking of the fear Greg must have gone through."

She says her son Evan, who was eight when his father died, has also found her involvement with the Timorese cause "a bit confronting." He is now 26 and has a son of his own; he lives in Perth where is studying law.

Before Greg Shackleton went to Timor, his wife was a weaver who lectured at Prahlan college. She had worked in PR, and a craft segment on TV and had indulged her taste for adventure by travelling with the nomadic people in Iran, collecting their work and learning how they weave. The walls and floors of her ramshackle house are filled with the glowing colors of her beautiful weavings.

"From the day Greg died I have not woven anything," she says. "It's not a psychological thing in any way. Weaving is so labor intensive...And I had to make a living."

For 18 years she has used her PR skills to write articles and letters to newspapers and bureaucrats to keep us remembering the Indonesian invasion. In 1989 she visited East Timor during the Pope's visit and she also confronted the Indonesian General Benny Murdani, the man who commanded Indonesia's invasion and whom she believes gave the orders that led to her husband's death.

"When I spoke to Murdani I saw he was a human being. I saw what our ambassadors see - a man who is strong, charming, good mannered." He smilingly told her that he did not know how Greg Shackleton had died because he claimed the Indonesians had not been in Timor at the time of his death.

Uncovering what has really gone on in Timor has been a long, hard job for Shirley Shackleton. Two weeks after her husband died, she told a reporter that what was hardest to bear was "the unreality of everything. I feel as though I am in a terrible play and playing my part equally badly."

That sense of unreality continues. For 18 years Shirley Shackleton has received information over the telephone, from Timorese who had fled to Bali, about executions, atrocities and massacres. But Australian journalists sometimes remained unconvinced. How do you know this is really true, they asked. Give us proof.

Now the Timorese send her written evidence. One recent report, signed by six East Timorese prisoners (who, she says, have endangered their lives by putting their names on the document) tells of a man's crucifixion by Indonesian police.

Their six-page account, which has been translated from Portuguese, says in part: "Alcino Belo, 25 years old, was barbarously assassinated by security forces in response

to the assault by nationalist freedom fighters in Baucau on October 4, 1993. After being wounded, he was heavily interrogated...As he remained silent...he was cruelly tortured and then crucified on a cross in imitation of the Christ at Calvary." He died on the night of 6 October.

Another document, written by an Indonesian academic, gives an overview of the impact of Indonesian academic, gives an overview of the impact of Indonesia's occupation. It says estimates that 200,000 people have died in East Timor since 1975 are too low. "During the first three years of the war, the population in the territory fell from 688,771 in 1974 to 329,271 in October 1978. What happen to the 359,500 people?

Some went into exile, and many fled to the forests and joined Fretilin, anecdotal accounts point to a high death toll. According to an Indonesian Jesuits priest who was in East Timor in March 1979, the Maubisse village in the district of Ainaro had lost 5021 inhabitants - more than half the village. "The priest sometimes had to bury four people in a single day," the academic paper said.

This paper also document the fall in the food production since the invasion; the culture of violence in which the Timorese inform on their compatriots; the rape of local women; and the lack of education among the young.

Finally, the paper notes the monopolisation of East Timor's main industries: coffee, sandalwood-oil and marble quarrying. It says each industries is run by a single company. And each company is a subsidiary of the PT Batara Indra Group, which was set up by three military officials, one of them General Murdani, who commanded the invasion of East Timor.

Shirley Shackleton, says the Timorese are victims of cultural and economic genocide, similar to that facing the people of Tibet," except the Timorese don't have the Dalai Lama."

Yet their struggle for international recognition has had some success. A Turning point was the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991, witnessed by western journalists, in which between 100 to 200 Timorese were shot.

The present of one journalist, the photographer Max Stahl from Yorkshire Television's documentary unit, was due in part to Shirley Shackleton. On a trip to England she talked about East Timor on BBC radio, and was approached by a journalist from Yorkshire Television who had never heard of Timor, but smelled a good story.

"I cancelled my trip back to Australia just to stop and talk with him. I thought the likelihood of Yorkshire TV sending someone to Timor was remote. I told myself they probably won't interested, but if they are not, it won't be because of me..."

Coverage of the massacre has "made a decisive difference" she says, although the Australian Government continues to be silent. She went to Ireland recently at the invitation of Tom Hyland, a former bus driver who became a passionate campaigner for the East Timorese after seeing the documentary made by the Yorkshire television crew. Hyland, on behalf of Ireland Solidarity for East Timor, invited her to help drum up media interest in the issue during Prime Minister Paul Keating's Irish visit. "When he asked me I thought," yes, Ireland's the perfect metaphor."

Being with the Irish confirmed for her the choices she has made in battling for the East Timorese. "I never feel like I am wasting my time and I never feel like we are not going to win," she says.

She is now working on a novel based on the recent history of East Timor. It is a creative outlet also a way of synthesising the masses of material she accumulated; of writing the stories journalists have not.

On the front door of her house is a Fretilin Free Timor sticker. It was put there by her son when he was 16; she had asked him to attend a church service to mark the anniversary of Indonesian's invasion. She was in Sydney and could not attend. When she returned, the house was festooned by Timorese posters and stickers. It was his way of telling his mother that yes, she was right to keep fighting.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

EURO MPS AND ACP SEEK TO PUT PRESSURE ON INDONESIA

Brussels, Oct. 8 (ips) - European parliamentarians and delegates from the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) grouping Friday urged the international community to use diplomatic pressure to force Indonesia to allow the East Timorese to go their own way.

The call came in the form of a resolution adopted on the final day of the biannual ACP-EEC joint assembly held this week in Brussels, the headquarters of the European community (EC).

But while the wording of the resolution is quite strong, it is EC council of ministers who would have to okay such measures, and at the moment this seems unlikely since earlier this week one senior EC official threw cold water on a suggestion concerning the implementation of an arms embargo on Indonesia.

Besides calling for the "diplomatic isolation of Indonesia," the resolution seeks "a total" arms embargo on Jakarta "until clear signals are given that the Indonesian government is prepared to create conditions allowing the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination and independence."

A former Portuguese colony, East Timor claimed independence in December, 1975 when Lisbon - under pressure from independent movements within the country - withdrew, although without giving official recognition. The following week Indonesia invaded East Timor and officially annexed it as its 27th province one year later.

Ever since then, resistance movements operating in and outside East Timor have been calling on the international community to put pressure on the Indonesian government to withdraw from East Timor.

This pressure grew in November 1991 after the Indonesian army opened fire on peaceful demonstrators during the funeral ceremony in the East Timor capital of Dili. More than 150 East Timorese are reportedly to have been killed at the ceremony which had been held for a young East Timor man who had also been gunned down by Indonesian government forces.

Immediately after this incident, Portugal urged the EC to break trading relations with Jakarta. And again this week, it was Portugal, along with Spain and France, that brought the issue to the floor of the joint assembly - the resolution having been put forward by Euro-parliamentarians José Mendes Bota of Spain, Louise Cayet of France, and Portuguese Joaquim Miranda.

In the resolution the ACP and Euro-parliamentarians said they regretted "that Indonesia continues to violate the human rights of the east-Timorese people."

According to reports by Amnesty International and other independent humanitarian groups, the invasion and annexation of the former Portuguese colony in the archipelago of Java has resulted in the genocide of 210,000 East Timorese out of a population estimated at 600,000 in 1975.

The resolution also calls for "the immediate release of the east-Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão and the other representatives of the East Timorese opposition in detention."

Gusmão, 45, was captured last November and condemned to a life-long prison sentence because of what Jakarta termed "subversive activities." A poet and journalist, Gusmão also heads East Timor's national resistance council and has been spearheading the anti-Jakarta guerrilla movement.

It is against this background that the joint assembly Friday "instructed" its co-presidents to put the resolution before the

ACP-EEC council of ministers, the European commission, the Indonesian government and the U.N. security council.

But earlier, EC commissioner Manuel Marin, in charge of development aid, had said the commission had no plans to present a proposal to EC countries as far as an arms embargo is concerned.

According to Miranda, at least one EC member state has sold arms to Indonesia in recent times and although he did not call any names, it is known that last year Germany delivered 16 warships from the former East German navy, to Indonesia.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

Nov. 1, 1993

The I.P.B. passed the following resolution at its 101st annual assembly in October in London. The resolution was moved by Mavis Robertson of the Australian Coalition for Disarmament and Peace and Katie Boanas-Dewes of Peace Movement Aotearoa (New Zealand).

"This 1993 conference of the International Peace Bureau reaffirms its support for the right of all nations to self-determination. In this context it

Reaffirms its support for the independent movement of East Timor, calls for the withdrawal of Indonesian occupying forces and the immediate release of the leaders and members of FRETILIN now serving sentences in Indonesian prisons.

Support for East Timor can also be built by demanding that our national governments do not trade in arms with Indonesia and do not assist its army in any way while the occupation of East Timor continues."

The Geneva-based I.P.B. is the world's major umbrella for peace and disarmament organizations. For more information, see the conference ipb.news.

SWEDEN TO END ARMS EXPORTS TO INDONESIA

Jakarta Post, 16 November 1993. Slightly abridged

The Swedish government will stop arms sales to Indonesia in protest against alleged human rights violations in East Timor, according to human rights campaigner, H.A.J. Princen.

The Swedish government's plan was leaked by the Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights (INFIGHT), an organisation chaired by Princen who is visiting Stockholm.

The statement, signed by Sale Abdullah, said Princen was informed of the plan by Pierre Store, deputy chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Swedish Parliament and member of the opposition party, the Social Democrats, in a meeting with Princen last Thursday.

Armed Forces spokesman Brig.Gen Syarwan Hamid was not available for comment yesterday. An officer on duty told Jakarta Post he was not aware of the Stockholm plan. A staff member of the Swedish embassy in Jakarta also refused to give any comment, saying that "the person in charge is away from the office."

Store said the decision was reached after the Social Democratic Party and the Centre Party pressured the Swedish government to stop further arms sales to Indonesia, according to Sale.

There is no possibility of any new deal, said Store, who is also the foreign affairs spokesperson of the Social Democratic Party, as quoted in the press release.

S. Indro Tjahyono also of INFIGHT told the Post that the embargo would not affect contracts already signed between Indonesia and Sweden.

Last September, a Swedish parliamentary delegation threatened to campaign for an arms embargo after visiting East Timor. The parliamentarians, to the displeasure of Indonesian officials, also threatened to campaign for a referendum on the status of East Timor, withdrawal of troops and the release of political prisoners, in protest at the continued alleged abuse of human rights.

AN INDONESIAN SEMINAR FOCUSED ON EAST TIMOR AND WEST PAPUA

Press Release from Tanah Air, PO Box 11545, 1001 GM Amsterdam, the Netherlands, November 28, 1993.

A number of prominent scientists and activists have called on the Indonesian public to respect the rights of the indigenous people in the area now called Indonesia. Special attention was paid to the problems of East Timor and West Papua.

Speaking before a mainly Indonesian audience in a seminar on 'the problems of state, nation and ethnic groups in Indonesia,' in Amsterdam on November, 28th, 1993, Dr. Peter Carey, a historian at Trinity College, Oxford, reminded the public of the atrocities by the Indonesian army in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. On the conditions of the Papuans, Victor Kaisiepo of the West Papua Liberation Front, expressed his concerns about similar trends of genocide and economic exploitation. Other speakers at the seminar were

Munandar, an Indonesian exile and former lecturer on social sciences in Jakarta and Dr. George Junus Aditjondro, a scholar at Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga.

The seminar was organized by the Amsterdam based Indonesian journal Tanah Air and intended for a special issue on the problems of the Indonesian nation-state to be published next year. The journal has been published since 1986 in Holland and widely distributed in Indonesia.

The first speaker Munandar pointed out that the Indonesian state was born out of the Dutch East Indies and, under the New Order, used its physical strength to maintain the unitary state. Only a state founded on voluntary bases, not on weapons, could maintain its integrity. The freedom to choose its own future, he concludes, should therefore be given to ethnic groups should they wish to do so. According to Victor Kaisiepo, Indonesia has taken over a (Dutch) colonial heritage without fundamental corrections and at the expense of the West Papuans and other ethnic groups and their rich natural resources. The oppression in East Timor, meanwhile, went far beyond that, especially in terms of human lives. The brutal invasion, the secret war and the military occupation, now almost two decades, have resulted in a process of genocide. According to Dr. Peter Carey, who also led the humanitarian organization Cambodia Trust, the case of East Timor is perhaps "more extreme than Cambodia" under Pot Pot's Khmer Rouge in the late seventies.

Reviewing the previous speakers, Dr. G.J. Aditjondro argued that present day and future generations of Indonesians would do better to be aware of the expansion of what he called 'postwar, orthodox nationalisms,' and to fully respect the coming of age of 'authentic nationalisms' in many parts of the archipelago. Southeast Asia, he said, could become an arena of dynamic struggles between the so-called 'mega-nationalisms' of the existing nation-states (Indonesia, Thailand, Brunei, the Philippines) versus 'micro or authentic nationalisms' ranging from Aceh, Patani, Brunei and Moro in the Malay region, to the Maubere (East Timor), Papuan and other nationalisms in the Melanesian region.

Given the Indonesian state doctrine and the education system so far, the idea of diversity of nations and nationalisms within the Indonesian nation-state is for most Indonesians a strange idea, an anathema, if not subversive. This is wrong - Aditjondro said referring to another Indonesian scholar Dr. Th. Sumartana - because the principal aims of the Indonesian national independent struggle were not to build a glorious and encompassing great state of Indonesia, but implied two essential themes, i.e. emancipa-

tion of its people and democratization of its society.

As to the recent development in East Timor. Dr. Aditjondro reported a significant shift in the attempts of the authorities in Dili to tighten control of East Timorese students studying in Java and Bali. As many as 123 Timorese students in Java have recently lost their scholarships and at the same time many of them were -mistakenly- accused of planning to return to East Timor to incite a demonstration to commemorate the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12 1991. A new regulation has been issued instructing that the leadership of all Timorese student associations in Java and Bali should be approved by the authorities in Dili. Asked about the resistance in East Timor, Aditjondro said in an earlier interview he had the impression that the clandestine resistance networks are stable if not growing. He agreed with Dr. P. Carey who, quoting the imprisoned East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, argued that the future of East Timor lies principally in the young generation who should fight their cause in the political arena. However Aditjondro warned that the prominent role of the Fretilin/Falintil army and the Catholic church of East Timor in the independence struggle should not lead one to glorify them unproportionately. An independent East Timor should be a democratic country, religiously pluralistic, not ruled under a dominant force and certainly not repeat the mistakes of the Indonesian army who, having performed a heroic role in the anti colonial struggle, established a monstrous dictatorial practice called Dwi Fungsi (the Dual Role for the military). Such issues were also discussed among East Timorese students in Java.

The discussions at the Amsterdam seminar, especially among some Indonesians and Papuans, were sometimes emotional. Given the New Order's gross human rights violations, many Indonesians - certainly after the Santa Cruz massacre - have little problem with the idea of the former Portuguese colony dissociating itself from the Indonesian nation-state, but they seem much less inclined to be open vis a vis similar aspirations in West Papua and Aceh.

The seminar on state, nation and ethnic groups in Indonesia was the first of its kind. Public interest in Holland seems wide. It is expected to be followed by more dialogue among Indonesians and between them and East Timorese and Papuans.

EVENTS IN BRITAIN

CHRIS COLE ON TRIAL FOR BAE PLOWSHARES ACTION

TAPOL report, 6 October 1993

The first hearing of the trial of Chris Cole, the Christian peace activist who smashed up bits of Hawk aircraft in a British Aerospace factory in Stevenage, was adjourned today, after an announcement that the case will be heard by a high court judge, not a circuit judge as originally intended.

Chris Cole undertook his action on 6 January this year, Epiphany Day, to register his disapproval of the manufacture and export of Hawk aircraft in general and the sale of these warplanes to Indonesia in particular, drawing attention to Indonesia's illegal invasion and occupation of East Timor.

Chris Cole faces charges that could result in a sentence of up to ten years.

After being postponed for three days running at Luton Crown Court, Judge Rodwell opened the hearing today at 2pm and immediately announced an adjournment till Thursday, 7 October. He said that he would not be trying the case, in view of its importance. The case will now be tried at the same court by Mr. Justice Sedley, a high court judge. The solicitor advising Chris Cole was later informed that the decision to have a more senior judge hear the case was made in view of "the complex legal questions it raises and the considerable public interest in the case."

Chris Cole will plead not guilty to charges of inflicting criminal damage on the basis of early English law and Christian moral principles. He is handling his own defence.

Two expert witnesses will appear on his behalf. They are Dr. Peter Carey, senior historian in 19th century Indonesian history at Trinity College, Oxford, a well-known activist for East Timor, and Professor Paul Rogers of the Bradford School of Peace Studies.

BAE CASE GOES FOR RE-TRIAL

TAPOL Report, 13 October 1993

TAPOL wishes to thank Dr. Peter Carey for his assistance in preparing this report.

The trial of Chris Cole, the peace activist accused of causing damage to British Aerospace property as a sign of protest against the company's export of warplanes to Indonesia, had to be abandoned after the jury failed to agree a verdict. This is being seen as a significant vindication for direct action

against arms exporters on grounds of conscience.

After the jury yesterday failed to agree a verdict, the court ordered a re-trial.

The judge, Mr. Justice Sedley, had ordered the jury to return a unanimous verdict but after several hours of deliberation, the jury announced that three members wanted to return a non-guilty verdict. As the judge was not willing to accept a 9 to 3 decision, he abandoned the trial and the prosecution demanded a re-trial. The re-trial is likely to take place soon at Luton Crown Court although it is unlikely that it will be heard before the same judge.

The trial was heard before a high court judge because of the highly unusual nature of the case, on two counts. First, the defendant insisted on handling his own defence which is almost unheard of in a criminal case, and second, he argued that he had committed the action against British Aerospace because of deeply held beliefs about the criminal nature of BAe sales of war equipment, in particular to Indonesia.

The circuit judge, Judge Rodwell, known for the severity of his sentencing, announced at the commencement of the trial that he felt incompetent to handle the case because of the complex legal questions involved and the case was therefore handed over to a high court judge, Mr. Justice Sedley.

Chris Cole presented a strong defence statement and was allowed by the judge to argue his case on the basis of knowingly committing a crime to prevent a worse crime being prevented.

The crown prosecutor sought to undermine Cole's credibility by questioning him about previous direct actions which had resulted in earlier convictions. One was for having sprayed a 'warmongers' graffiti outside the offices of British Aerospace in London, and another for having penetrated an air force base in July 1992 and spraying anti-war slogans on the bomb-bay doors of B-52s before they set off on bombing missions to Iraq. He also cross-examined Chris on how he could have known that the Hawk nose-cones he had damaged were indeed destined for export to Indonesia.

In his summing up, Mr. Justice Sedley presented a compelling case for the right of ordinary citizens to speak out on matters of moral concern. He stated that 'the history of this century is littered with examples of what happens when ordinary citizens keep silent in the face of evil' and argued that it was the duty of citizens in a free society to speak out. He also agreed that BAe had been selling arms to pretty unsavory regimes, including Indonesia, whose actions in East Timor were tantamount to genocide, which, he said, 'is a crime both in our law and in international law.' The judge also accepted

the validity of Chris's statement of conscience and his state of mind at the time he entered BAe property and destroyed equipment, and commended the truth and honesty with which he had presented his evidence.

He directed the jury to balance these 'duties of a citizen' to speak out and _act_ on questions of conscience in a free society against the actual damage caused to BAe property, stating that 'large corporations too need to be able to go about their business in an unhindered way.' He also ordered the jury to consider whether the damage inflicted was commensurate with the point Chris wanted to make and the way he argued his case on the principle that one can commit a crime to prevent a greater crime being committed.

It is likely that Chris's defence statement, the summing up of the judge and the failure of the jury to convict Chris will set a precedent in English legal history, around the right of citizens to commit a crime on grounds of conscience and to prevent greater crimes.

After the court ordered a retrial, the defence proposed and it was agreed that a transcript of the judge's summing up would be used as the departure for the re-trial because of its presentation of questions of law vital to the case against Chris.

HUNG JURY FOR "BRITISH AEROSPACE PLOUGHSHARES" PEACE ACTIVIST

October 14 report:

On 7th October, at Luton (UK) Crown Court Chris Cole finally went on trial before the High Court Judge, Lord Justice Sedley, charged with causing 100,000 pounds (UK) worth of criminal damage to weaponry at a British Aerospace (BAe) factory earlier this year. After 4 days of the trial (Tues.

12/10/93) the jury was finally sent out to reach a verdict. They spent nearly 5 hours deliberating but were unable to reach the required majority of 10 out of 12 people in agreement. The judge therefore dismissed the jury and declared Chris as "neither acquitted nor convicted." There will be a re-trial in the near future.

On 6th Jan 93, Chris Cole (a Christian peace activist) entered a British Aerospace (BAe) weapons factory in Stevenage, UK, and used household hammers to disarm nosecones for the Eurofighter 2000, for Hawk strike attack aircraft and other military equipment. BAe has agreed to sell 24 Hawk aircraft to Indonesia for use against the people of East Timor.

Chris has, from the outset, claimed total responsibility for his action and entered the BAe factory with a Statement of Conscience

which explained why he was doing his act of disarmament. He has pleaded "not guilty" claiming throughout his defence that he was within the law. He quoted Section 3 of the Criminal Law Act (1967) which states that "a person may use such force as is reasonable in the circumstances in the prevention of crime." Chris went on to explain that the crime which he was preventing was that of murder, which would otherwise be brought about by the use of these weapons. In particular, he explained that the BAe-manufactured Hawk aircraft are being sold to Indonesia and used by Indonesia in the genocide of East Timor.

The Judge noted that there was no question over the fact that Chris had entered a BAe factory and "disarmed" several nosecones and other military equipment. The Judge instructed the jury that their task was to determine whether Chris had used "reasonable force" in order to prevent a crime.

The fact that, at the very least, 3 jurors (which is 1 in 4 people) believed Chris was justified in his actions is an important milestone for the peace movement. As Chris said:

"I'm overjoyed that some people have realized that it wasn't me who's committed the crime but that British Aerospace are the true villains. However it is disappointing that I have to go through yet another trial to prove my innocence."

Messages of support should be sent to Chris c/o (UK) 0865 201687. (Email may be sent to bane@vtx.ma.man.ac.uk and will be forwarded.)

CHRISTIAN PEACE ACTIVIST GOES FREE.... FINALLY!

A eye witness account by Patricia Allen of the BAe Ploughshares Support Group, Oct. 22.

On Thursday 21st October, the retrial of Chris Cole at St. Albans Crown Court finally ended. The retrial lasted three days, and the jury took 3 and a half hours to reach their decision. A unanimous verdict of "guilty" was delivered, yet there was some confusion as to what the jury were referring to. The jury stated that, although they had reached a unanimous "guilty" verdict, they were divided on two issues, those being issues of

- (1) criminal damage caused (specifically to the walls, office furniture and doors) and
- (2) whether Chris had lawful excuse for his action.

This latter point was Chris Cole's defence for his action: that he was **not** guilty **because** he had lawful excuse according to Section 3 of the Criminal Law Act which states "such force as is reasonable in the circumstances in the prevention of crime" is allowable. It therefore follows that if the

jury were divided as to whether Chris had lawful excuse or not, they had not reached a unanimous decision of guilty.

Confusion prevailed.

As the Judge proceeded to address Chris about his guilt of criminal damage to military nosecones, several members of the jury shook their heads and looked misunderstood. However, the proceedings rolled on too quickly for clarification, and within minutes the judge was delivering the sentence.

Chris was given 8 months. However, he had already served 5.5 months on remand after his initial arrest. This meant that Chris had already completed his sentence.

Chris emerged from the court buildings at about 3:30pm, to a bottle of champagne, cheering supporters and crews of cameras and interviewers.

The only condition placed on Chris is that he "stays out of trouble" until Jan 6 1994.

SUPPORT

If you would like to show support for Chris' action, you can subscribe (by donation) to "The Blacksmith" which is a bulletin news-sheet about the progress of this ploughshares action. To subscribe please send a cheque (payable to "BAe Ploughshares") to British Aerospace Ploughshares, c/o NVRN, 162 Holloway Road, London UK. [The next issue of "The Blacksmith" will contain more details of the court case and, hopefully, photos of the action and of the vigils held outside the courts.]

Letters of support can be sent to Chris himself at 9, Chilswell Road, Oxford OX1, or telephone 0865 201687.

If you would like more information about the [UK] "Swords into Ploughshares" movement in general, you could write to the "Ploughshares Support Network," c/o Jigsaw Box, 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford, UK.

PEACE ACTIVIST 'DISARMED' BAE WARPLANES

The Guardian, 22 October 1993. By Vivek Chaudhary & Margaret Coles

A Christian peace activist who smashed military equipment with a hammer and splattered it with his own blood in protest at the armaments industry, was sentenced to eight month's imprisonment by Mr. Justice Sedley at St. Albans crown court yesterday.

But Chris Cole, aged 30, who denied criminal damage, was freed because he had already served five months on remand. A retrial had been ordered after the jury could not reach a unanimous verdict at his first trial.

Mr. Cole, from Oxford, broke into the British Aerospace factory in Stevenage, Hertfordshire in January and attacked mili-

tary equipment causing #90,000 damage in an attempt to "symbolically disarm" it. He said he acted on moral grounds to save lives.

Armed with tow hammers, a quantity of his own blood, red paint, a signed statement of conscience and photographs of friends' children, he smashed the nose cones on a Hawk 200 fighter plane, a Tornado fighter-bomber and a Merlin guided mortar system. He poured his blood on computers and painted messages around the building.

The court heard that Mr. Cole is a member of the "Swords into Ploughshares" campaign which believes in peaceful direct action against the armaments industry.

He attacked the site on the feast of the Epiphany, January 6. He left the message: "The Epiphany remembers when three men presented gifts to the infant Jesus. My gift of disarmament is for all infants who are threatened by BAe weapons, from Northern Ireland to East Timor."

Mr. Cole, who defended himself, said he attacked the Stevenage site because he was incensed at the planned sale of 24 Hawk aircraft to Indonesia, which occupied East Timor in defiance of UN resolutions, and because BAe is the largest manufacturer of arms in Europe.

"I believe very strongly that we are not allowed to kill. It's a very strong commandment but our whole culture here in Britain is based on killing. It says in the Bible that we must take responsibility for our sisters and brothers and my aim was to disarm BAe who are making huge profits from misery."

His action was the 50th of the movement's campaign. It draws its inspiration from the prophet Isaiah: "They shall beat their spears into pruning-knives, nation shall not lift sword against nation nor ever be trained for war."

CAMPAIGN: EAST TIMOR TOUR IN BRITAIN

From PeaceNews, Oct. 19, 1993

Two East Timorese, José Amorim and Maria Braz, are touring Britain in October and November. José recently fled East Timor and Indonesia after taking part in demonstrations following the Santa Cruz massacre. He is the European head of the Conselho Nacional de Resistencia Maubere (CNRM), the umbrella group representing the Timorese resistance. Maria is active within the Timorese women's movement.

- Wed 27 Oct. Reading International Festival 10:30am-4:00pm
- Sat 30 Oct. London Third World First conference, London School of Economics
- Mon 1 Nov. Bristol Transport House, Victoria St, 7:30pm

- Tue 2 Nov. Bath Baptist Church, Man-
vess St, 7:45pm
- Wed 3 Nov. Birmingham University
lunchtime meeting; Aston University:
Rm 146, Aston Triangle, 7pm
- Thu 4 Nov. Worksworth Memorial Hall,
St Johns St, 7:30pm
- Fri. 5 Nov. Derby University contact
Third World Studies Group
- Sat 6 Nov. Chester Bishop Lloyds Pal-
ace, Watergate St Row (City Centre)
8pm
- Sun 7 Nov. Lancaster Friends Meeting
House 7pm
- Mon 8 Nov. Lancaster University con-
tact Marilyn Milton Jones (0524 65201)
- Tue 9 Nov. Manchester Student Union,
Biko Building, 1pm; Manchester Town
Hall 7:30pm
- Thu 11 Nov. Oxford University Contact
Jennifer Smith
- Fri. 12 Nov. London Vigil to commemo-
rate the Santa Cruz massacre, 5:30-
6:45pm at St-Martin-in-the-Fields, Tra-
falgar Square; social at Caxton House, St
Johns Way (Archway stn) from 7:30pm
– music, food, stalls. Tickets GBP
4/GBP 2 concs.
- Sat 13 Nov. Bradford phone for details
- Sun 14 Nov. CND National Conference,
Bradford.

Portsmouth and St Andrews are also possible stops on the tour. Please phone Catherine (071 354 0883) or Anne (081 671 5143) for details on individual stops or on the tour in general.

THE FORGOTTEN WAR OF EAST TIMOR:

Women's Page, The Guardian, 10 November 1993. By: Margaret Coles

"Her husband was trying to protect her but he only had one bullet in his gun, so he said: 'If the Indonesians kill me, this bullet is for you.' He didn't want them to catch her because of the things they do to women. When the Indonesians surrounded their group, they all started running and she was in front of her husband. Suddenly she heard a shot, she turned and saw her husband's head explode, and her face was filled with his blood."

Maria Braz tells the story of Fatima, as Fatima told it to her. Braz, 25, is an East Timorese who fled to Portugal with her family in 1975, the year the Indonesians invaded, following the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship in Lisbon.

As other Timorese reach the safety of Portugal from the trauma of their country's endless war against its oppressor, Braz

helps the women and children adapt to their new life.

Fatima was living in a guerilla mountain encampment with her husband, a fighter in the resistance movement. She and another woman were taken by helicopter to army headquarters: "But as they were flying over the mountains, they threw her friend out. They put Fatima in a prison, where they raped her many times and burnt her nipples and vagina with cigarettes." Amnesty International, which has documented 'grave and persistent human rights violations' in East Timor, says the Indonesians commonly commit rape 'in field operations and in custody, on women and girls as young as 14.'

Fatima spent two years in prison before her family found her and, with the help of the church and the Red Cross, finally obtained permission for her to go to Portugal under its family reunion programme.

It is very hard to get people or information out of East Timor: "The women do not like to talk about these things," Braz says.

Many women and children are actively involved in the resistance movement. Amnesty International's Geoff Robinson explains: "There's a new generation who have grown up entirely under Indonesian occupation who want to get rid of it."

In the past 18 years, Indonesia has murdered more than 200,000 people by bombing, massacre, torture and starvation. Yet the international community continues to turn a blind eye, despite Indonesia's defiance of 10 UN resolutions calling for its withdrawal. Indeed, the UK recently increased its aid to Indonesia fourfold.

On November 12, 1991, the army opened fire on men, women and children at a peaceful protest march in Dili, the capital. Amnesty says that at least 100 people were killed. But this atrocity differed from all the others in one respect: it was captured on video by British documentary-maker Max Stahl. His film exposed to the world the cruelty and oppression of the occupying regime.

"One of my cousins died in the massacre; another was arrested and he told me that the soldiers took the young girls to the army headquarters and raped them, and forced the boys to watch. If the boys tried to turn away, they put a gun to their heads and threatened to shoot them," Braz says.

She also recounts reports of women being given abortions without their consent and of the sterilisation of schoolgirls by injection. Amnesty says that Indonesia pursues a forceful policy of sterilisation, using the drug Depo-Provera, among its own women, as well as those of East Timor.

Braz has postponed taking finals for a degree in business administration to work for a free East Timor. "We need to tell peo-

ple what is happening, to increase their awareness. We can live freely in Portugal but Portugal is not our land and if we want to have a land, we all have to participate in the struggle. Being Timorese, my conscience doesn't allow me to be a silent witness."

LONDON: TWO YEARS SINCE THE SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE:

12 November 1993 5.30 - 7pm

CANDLE-LIT VIGIL FOR EAST TIMOR with readings and prayers on the steps of St Martins Church, Trafalgar Square, London, followed by ...

"NO ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA : FREE EAST TIMOR" SOCIAL at Caxton House, St John's Way, London N19

(Archway tube) Entrance: 4 (2 concessions) - words and music for East Timor - stalls - bar - * food from Kitchens of Resistance *

Organised by the Coalition for East Timor (Britain) and Campaign Against Arms Trade as part of the three-week FREE EAST TIMOR TOUR of Britain.

INDONESIA USED BRITISH FIGHTER JETS IN OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR

The following News Alert was put out by the Coalition for East Timor in London on Friday, 12 November 1993:

British Hawk aircraft were used in East Timor in the 1980s, a Timorese visiting England will tell the Foreign Office this afternoon. The revelation has emerged during a speaking tour of Britain conducted by two Timorese this month, organised by the Coalition for East Timor, when Mr. Dias personally testified that he saw Hawk fighter planes at the Baucau military airbase in occupied East Timor in 1984.

Since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, around one third of the population has died from bombings, extrajudicial killings, disease and starvation. Over nearly 18 years of illegal occupation of East Timor, Indonesia has defied ten UN resolutions calling for the withdrawal of its troops from the former Portuguese colony.

"We used to travel past the airbase at Baucau when we went on pastoral visits with Bishop Belo and other priests," explained Mr. Dias, who attended a seminary in East Timor for 8 years. "There, I can personally confirm, I saw Hawk aircraft loaded with bombs."

This is the first time a Timorese eye-witness has been able to testify in Britain about Indonesia's use of the Hawks in occupied East Timor. The account of Mr. Dias makes all the more controversial the British government's approval earlier this year of

the British Aerospace sale to Indonesia of 24 more Hawk aircraft, making Britain perhaps Indonesia's largest supplier of major weapons systems. The deal includes technical training and spares, and is worth 500 million pounds.

His testimony flies in the face of repeated government assurances that British equipment is not used against the civilian population of East Timor. Defending the recent sale of Hawks to Indonesia, Baroness Chalker of Wallasey told the House of Lords, "There is no evidence that aircraft sold in the past to Indonesia have been used for internal security purposes; nor have I any reason to believe that those in the contract which was concluded in May ... will be used in that way."

INDONESIA'S USE OF HAWKS: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Indonesia's first deal with British Aerospace (BAe) for 8 Hawk aircraft was signed in 1978, at a time when Indonesia's war in East Timor was at its height. By 1984, a total of 20 Hawks had been commissioned into the Indonesian airforce.

Successive British governments have maintained that the Hawks exported to Indonesia were for training purposes only. Back in 1978, however, British Aerospace pointed out in its press release [5 April] that "The Hawk has been designed from the outset with a significant ground attack capability." Furthermore, it stated that, "where Hawks have been acquired in the training version only ... they can be modified on site to the five pylon ground attack standard."

In January 1985, this potential was evidently realised, despite the British government's assurances to the contrary: Indonesian Airforce Chief of Staff Marshall Sukardi announced that the British-made Hawks were serving in Indonesia's new Air Force Squadron 'for purposes of advanced training and tactical combat,' and that this squadron would reinforce the airforce's operational strength [TAPOL Bulletin 73].

BAe's press release announcing the recent 500 million contract for 24 Hawks to Indonesia referred only to training aircraft [10.6.93]. Yet numerous Indonesian officials have stated that the deal would contain a mix of Hawk 100 trainers and Hawk 200 ground attack aircraft. Indonesian Minister of Research and Technology Dr. Habibie announced that, "The planes will be used not only to train pilots but also for ground attack." [Times 18.4.93]

Answering criticism of the government for allowing the sale, Baroness Chalker of Wallasey said in the House of Lords in June, "There is no evidence that aircraft sold in the past to Indonesia have been used for internal

security purposes; nor have I any reason to believe that those in the contract which was concluded in May ... will be used in that way.' [Hansard, 29/6/93]. On numerous occasions, the Foreign Office has specifically assured MPs that British Hawks have not been used against the population of East Timor.

Yet in 1991 Lynda Chalker had admitted that, 'It is not practical to monitor their use once they have reached their destinations.' (She was referring to the armoured personnel carriers Britain had sold to Indonesia in the 1970s and 1980s) [letter to inquirer, 12/8/91].

The British government's current confidence rests on the assurances it says it has received from Indonesia that the Hawks will not be used against the population of East Timor. Yet back in 1984, the government told an MP that 'we do not normally seek assurances which can offer no reliable guarantee about the uses to which the equipment might later be put.' [TAPOL Bulletin 62].

Shadow Foreign Affairs spokesperson Dr. Jack Cunningham recently wrote to Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd asking him to "spell out exactly what assurances you sought and received from the government of Indonesia before you agreed to the [British Aerospace] sale proceeding." [28.10.93] As yet he has had no reply.

The British government, which grants licences for the sale of military equipment to Indonesia, is at pains to protect BAe contracts and so to disregard the consequences of exporting warplanes to an aggressor state. Yet British Aerospace boasts of the Hawks' fighter capabilities, the Indonesian airforce talks of their service as ground attack aircraft, and last night Mr. Dias confirmed that they had been used in East Timor, where Indonesia continues to carry out atrocities against the inhabitants of a country which it illegally occupies.

INDONESIAN AIR FORCE SAID EYEING 16 MORE HAWK JETS

*By John Owen-Davies, Reuter, Dec. 6, 1993.
Slightly abridged*

(Jakarta) Indonesia's air forces has been given the official go-ahead to discuss buying 16 more Hawk aircraft from British Aerospace, foreign aviation sources said on Monday.

BAe won an Indonesian order in June for 24 Hawk trainers and ground-attack fighters worth about 500 million sterling. The first aircraft are due to be delivered in 1996.

The sources said the air force, with some 80 combat planes, had been told by the government it could proceed with talks for

more Hawks but it was not clear when negotiations would start.

An air forces spokesman said he had no knowledge of the talks but confirmed the need for more planes because of the size of the Indonesian archipelago - stretching more than 5000km across the equator.

"I don't know anything about these talks but our air force certainly needs more planes such as Hawks," he said.

Air Chief Marshal Sir Michael Graydon, Britain's chief of air staff, visited Jakarta last week for talks with military leaders.

His visit came shortly after BAe said it might set up joint ventures with Indonesia on turboprop aircraft and cars.

The aviation sources said any new Hawks sold to Indonesia would probably be the 200 Series single-seat fighters with fittings for Maverick air-to-ground missiles.

The 24 earlier sales are for 8 100 Series 2-seater fighters and 16 200 Series planes, they added.

Indonesia's military chief, General Feisal Tanjung, confirmed in June the country planned to buy about 100 new warplanes over 25 years to replace aging squadrons.

US-designed aircraft, including F-16 fighting Falcons, F-5e Tigers and A-4e Skyhawks, form the back bone of Indonesia's present air-combat capability.

"The Indonesian Air force is enhancing its capabilities to operate as an effective component of ABRI (the armed forces)," a foreign military source said.

"It has also identified problems in its logistics and maintenance systems, and initiated steps to redress them," the source added.

Indonesia's state-run IPTN aircraft factory, chaired by Research and Technology Minister Jusuf Habibie, is already making some parts for the American F-16s.

Habibie said in April that orders would go to foreign companies which allowed a high percentage of the planes to be built by Indonesia.

BAe said on November 25 it might set up joint ventures with Indonesia on cars and turboprop aircraft. A preliminary agreement had been signed with Habibie, it added.

EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

INDONESIA'S LINGUISTIC "SPELL"

"East Timor Occupation: 18 Years"

"Undemocratic Nature (of the regime) hinders liberation"

"Indonesia's ideological disease"

"Self-delusion rules speech"

Yomiuri Shimbun by MATSUNO Akihisa, Oct. 8, 1993. Slightly abridged/translated by Jean Inglis

A week-long symposium, sponsored by Oporto University in Portugal, on the theme "Indonesia and East Timor" was held at the end of July and drew scholars, students, NGO activists, parliamentarians and journalists from all over the world.

The theme was based on the understanding that democratization in Indonesia was necessary for the liberation of East Timor. The issue cannot be solved unless Indonesia, with its overwhelming military strength, seriously approaches negotiations. And for that, democratization in Indonesia itself is necessary.

There were several participants from Indonesia. Portugal and Indonesia do not have diplomatic relations, and considering how dangerous it is for an Indonesia who says or does anything with respect to East Timor that is not in Indonesia's interest, their participation was epochmaking. At the symposium they drove home the point that the liberation of East Timor was an important issue for the young, democratic forces in Indonesia.

On the last day of the symposium, however, word reached the meeting hall that the Indonesian government had issued a warning to the Indonesian participants. Uneasiness filled the hall because just last year a law was passed that prohibits people who politically criticize the government while abroad from returning home.

The participants could not help but wonder at this oppressive situation in Indonesia, a country which had once fought for lofty ideals to gain its own independence.

One evening a video of an Australian TV program about modern Indonesian history, "Riding the Tiger," was shown. There is a scene in which a plantation worker, looking back on the independence struggle, says "We didn't think about ourselves; we did it for others." Many people must have been moved to realize that there was once a time like that in Indonesia too. When the video was over Professor Anderson of Cornell University was asked to comment. Trying

to hold back the tears, this international authority on Indonesian politics could only murmur, "It's...very...hard...." Even to a person like myself who only knows the Indonesia of today, it was painfully clear how compelling had been that moment in history when Indonesia, though poor, was shining with idealism.

It's own nationalism now rigidified, Indonesia cannot understand the East Timorese movement for independence.

The paper which I presented at the symposium was titled "Reading the Unwritten: An Anatomy of Indonesian Discourse on East Timor." It describes how the main elements of modern-day Indonesian ideology, namely, anti-communism, developmentalism, family-statism, and unitarism, shape Indonesian discourse on East Timor. It attempted to break the linguistic spell that Indonesia has fallen into.

Why is this necessary? Indonesian intellectuals today have had imposed on them the official value system that ultimately ends up at the state ideology, Pancasila. All intellectual activity is being lead in a certain direction. If one goes against the stream, one is branded as "anti-Pancasila" or "anti-Indonesian." The ultimate rule which the absolutist state seeks to impose is internalized rule. And that manifests itself in linguistic control. In a closed system of discourse, illusion becomes reality. Indonesia will only understand East Timor when it understands itself, and that will only be when it becomes aware of its illusions.

On July 29, the last day of the symposium, when the news of the birth of a coalition government in Japan was announced, there were cheers and clapping. This was because Japan is the largest donor of economic aid to, and political supporter of the present regime in Indonesia. It is up to Japan to talk Indonesia out of its stubborn attitude and get it to sit down to discuss peace. What Indonesia is doing today should be only too clear to Japan, where, in the past a military out of control lead to a war of aggression. I think that the time has come for Japan to approach Indonesia as a friend.

MATSUNO Akihisa, born in 1956, is a professor of Indonesian at Osaka Foreign Language University, co-author of "Nakroma, A Short History of East Timorese Independence," and translator of a number of works of modern and traditional Indonesian literature.

MANDELA MEETS TIMORESE RESISTANCE DELEGATION

From Timorese Resistance's Joint Representation, 12 October 1993. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) On 5 October, ANC leader Nelson Mandela met in Lisbon with a delegation from the Timorese Resistance. The delegation, composed of Luis Takas (CNRM), Olimpio Branco (Fretilin) and Zacarias Costa (UDT), outlined the current situation in East Timor and made Nelson Mandela a special request.

A future exchange of information was agreed upon by the ANC and Timorese Resistance delegations, and a visit to South Africa by a Timorese delegation was proposed.

TIMORESE RESISTANCE DELEGATION ATTENDS SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

From Timorese Resistance's Joint Representation, 12 October 1993. Translated from Portuguese

In Lisbon on 6 and 7 October 1993, the Timorese Resistance's Joint Representation (consisting of CNRM, Fretilin and UDT) were present as observers at the Socialist International (SI) Council Meeting. Beforehand, the Resistance delegation met with SI General Secretary, Luis Ayala, to discuss issues related to future cooperation.

Various resolutions on matters of global importance were put forward at the SI Council Meeting. The Portuguese Socialist Party's General Secretary, Antonio Guterres, proposed a resolution on East Timor (see text below), which was passed unanimously.

Resolution on East Timor (original English text), passed in Lisbon, October 1993, by the Socialist International:

"The Socialist International expresses its concern about the continuous violation of human rights in East Timor and the denial by the Indonesian Government of the right to self-determination of the Timorese people.

The SI calls for the acceleration of the negotiations in the framework of the UN and endorses full support for the efforts of the UN Secretary General.

The SI calls on the Indonesian Government to develop initiatives of confidence-building, such as the opening of the East Timor territory to humanitarian and assistance organisations, the reduction of military presence in the territory, the acknowledgment of cultural and religious rights of the

Timorese people and the releasing of political prisoners.”

The Australian Labour Party's absence from the SI Meeting in Lisbon is noteworthy.

TIMORESE REPRESENTATION WANTS COOPERATION WITH THE SI IN SEARCH FOR EAST TIMOR SOLUTION

From Timorese Resistance Joint. Representation, 7 October 1993. Translated from Portuguese

The members of the Timorese Resistance's Joint Representation (CNRM, Fretilin, UDT), who attended the Socialist International Council Meeting in Lisbon as observers, acknowledge the important role played by the SI in seeking solutions to various conflicts throughout the world, defending the right to self-determination, human rights, and the freedom of peoples. The Representation reaffirms its willingness to search, in cooperation with the Socialist International, for a fair solution to the problem of the people of East Timor.

TIMOR IS A JUST CAUSE AND MNSGR. BELO DESERVES NOBEL PRIZE

Publico, 12 November 1993. By Mario Soares. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) The East Timor issue is, above all, a matter of International Law and Justice.

Portugal, former colonial power and, even today, administrative power de jure under UN resolutions, has special responsibilities towards the territory, arising from commitments undertaken before the UN and also clearly enshrined by Portugal's own Constitution.

It has not forsaken its moral duty towards East Timor, in terms of solidarity with its brave and tormented people - a people whose human rights have been so profoundly violated since Indonesia's illegal occupation, a people that has known how to resist over the years all forms of pressure, even genocide and massive relocation of people, while admirably loyal to its national, religious, cultural and even linguistic identity.

Following the Carnation Revolution, which brought freedom to Portugal in April 1974, Portugal behaved towards East Timor as it did towards all its other colonies, conceding them the right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the repeated resolutions passed by the UN. There may have been some precipitated, unfortunate, or inappropriate behaviour during the decolonisation processes (which

were, at the time, always encouraged and applauded by the UN), but the truth is that they were carried out in complete good faith, in accordance with International Law, and with notable generosity, speed, and disinterest.

Portugal cannot accept the invasion by Indonesia, which forcibly and illegally occupies East Timor - with no valid pretext whatsoever - after annexation of the territory, without prior consultations with the parties concerned, and after enslaving its people, under fierce military domination. The occupation constitutes a new form of colonisation, which is absolutely intolerable in the light of International Law and resolutions repeatedly passed by the UN.

As it happens, the people of East Timor have courageously resisted Indonesian domination over the years, using every manner of means available, as demonstrated by: the massacre in Dili's cemetery, which so moved the world, the capture of Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, the farce of his trial and his hunger strike, his present situation, the admirable moral resistance of the Bishop of Dili, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo - who well deserves the Nobel Peace Prize, for his relentless work defence of his people's human rights. East Timor is a just cause, as millions of people all over the world have already realised, from the Japanese Diet, to the European Parliament and US Congress, but equally important are all the anonymous citizens of the world, the numerous civilian organisations which speak out - such as Amnesty International, and the International Human Rights League - , the leading international press, as well as young people in the universities of the five continents.

Indonesia is ruled by a hateful and bloody dictatorship, many years old, which does not deserve the respect of a free conscience. The dictatorship's first victims are the Indonesian people themselves, who I wish to salute today. They have expressed their solidarity with the people of East Timor, whenever they have had the chance, just as we Portuguese expressed our solidarity with our African brothers and others at the time of the colonialist dictatorship of Salazar and Caetano.

Portugal has no designs whatsoever on East Timor. In line with the wishes of the great majority of Portuguese, its intentions are, and always will be, purely ones of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of East Timor, who identify the defence of their liberty and identity with the inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

** text written by the President of the Portuguese Republic for the "East Timor: a Na-*

tional Cause" exhibition, to be held at the Timor Centre, Lisbon.

EVENTS IN CANADA

EAST TIMOR AWARENESS BENEFIT IN OTTAWA

Sunday, October 17, 1993

PLACE: Irene's, 885 Bank Street

PERFORMERS: (in order of appearance):

Abé Barreto Soares (Timorese Musician); Bob Stark; Ian Tamblyn; Epona K'Wae; Dog Day Afternoon; The Dust Bunnies; Lonesome Paul; The Unbeatables; The Hammerheads;

GUEST SPEAKERS: Abé Barreto Soares, Timorese refugee in Canada; José Ramos Horta, Foreign Minister for East Timor

MC: Chopper

FURTHER INFO: Please contact Kerry at 230-4070

This is a twelve hour benefit, beginning at 1 p.m. whose purpose is to raise awareness about East Timor. There is no cover charge; however, donations are welcome at the door.

"MANUFACTURING CONSENT" & HORTA IN OTTAWA

There will be a screening of the film, "Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media" at Carleton University on Monday, October 18th, 1993. Speaking for a few minutes prior to the commencement of the film will be José Ramos Horta, "Foreign Minister" for East Timor. At the intermission, Mr. Ramos Horta will be on stage to answer questions from the audience on East Timor. Complete details are as follows:

Monday, October 18, 1993, 7:00 p.m.

Bell Theatre, Minto Building Carleton University Ottawa, Ontario

This event is cosponsored by OPIRG/Carleton and the East Timor Alert Network/Ottawa.

For further information by phone, please contact OPIRG/ Carleton at (613) 788-2757, Monday through Fridays, between 10 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. For information by email, please contact ETAN/Ottawa at etanott@web.apc.org

EAST TIMOR IGNORED

Ottawa X Press, October 13. By Kerry Pither, ETAN/Ottawa activist.

It has been most difficult to get any action on East Timor from the Canadian government, let alone any coverage by the media, over the course of the last few months due to the pending federal election (October 25).

Also in the issue is featured the East Timor Awareness Benefit in Ottawa.

– Sharon, ETAN/Ottawa

An important issue being ignored during this election campaign is the fact that we give over 40 million of our tax dollars a year to the Indonesian government, which is guilty of atrocities.

In 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor, an island about 420 kilometres northwest of Australia. In defiance of UN resolutions, war continues to be waged against the local population there.

Military campaigns with names like "Operation Eradicate" were launched against the people, Timorese were removed from their traditional homes and herded into concentration camps, making organized resistance almost impossible. In November 1991, the Indonesian army opened fire on a peaceful funeral procession; over 600 people were killed or have disappeared. Any sign of resistance is rewarded with imprisonment or death. Thus far, 250,000 people, over one third of the 1975 population of Timor, have died as a result of killings, bombings, disease and famine.

Indonesia's calculated genocide against the Timorese also includes the sterilization of Timorese women, and the elimination of a rich indigenous culture by forbidding the study of local language and lore – only the Indonesian language and history are taught.

The Canadian government has lobbied to remove East Timor from the UN agenda and has voted against several resolutions that called for Indonesia's withdrawal. The Canadian government legitimizes Indonesian aggression by providing aid, and by authorizing Canadian weapons manufacturers to export to Indonesia. The reasons for this support are clear: over 300 Canadian companies operate in Indonesia, and East Timor has valuable offshore oil reserves.

The United States Centre for Defence Information has described the ongoing genocide in East Timor as the worst since the Second World War, and the Clinton administration is making significant changes to policy concerning Indonesia. But few Canadians have heard of East Timor, or realize that Indonesia, the second largest recipient of Canadian bilateral aid, is one of the worst human rights abusers in the world.

It's time for our government to respect its mandate to link foreign aid to human rights.

CANADA "ONE OF THE MOST HYPOCRITICAL COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD"

East Timor Activist Critical of National Trading Policies

Ottawa Citizen, October 18, 1993 By Robb Cribb, Citizen Staff Writer

Horta – Ottawa Citizen Interview

NOTE: José Ramos Horta was interviewed at ETAN/Ottawa's widely successful benefit, with at least 1,000 people going through the doors throughout the day.

Horta's speech was covered by local television stations which was broadcast later that day.

The article is accompanied with a 4" x 6" photo of Horta with the following caption: "José Ramos-Horta has not been in his homeland for 19 years out of fear of Indonesian reprisals for his leadership of East Timor's Independence Movement. Beside the photo is a 3" x 5" map of Southeast Asia.

One of the most eloquent and forceful voices of the East Timoran resistance is in Ottawa to deliver some harsh words to the Canadian government.

"Canada is one of the most hypocritical countries in the world," said José Ramos-Horta at a benefit for his troubled homeland Sunday.

"Canada has one of the most immoral policies in the world when it comes to East Timor."

"Ramos-Horta wants Canada to recognize East Timor – a small Pacific Island occupied by Indonesia since 1975 – as a sovereign nation. Under Indonesian rule, about 200,000 Timorans have died from violence, famine or disease.

Ramos-Horta, co-chairman and special representative of the National Council of the Timorese Resistance, was to meet several Canadian government officials today including the deputy director of the Indonesia program at the Canadian International Development Agency, and the director general of human rights at External Affairs.

"Canada is audacious with regards to human rights when small countries like Haiti and Kuwait are concerned, or with countries like Iraq when the U.S. is standing behind it," said Ramos-Horta, 44.

"But when it comes to a country like Indonesia, which is a big trading partner, Canada shows its true colors – utter hypocrisy."

"Ramos-Horta, who served as official observer for East Timor at the United Nations between 1975 and 1989, has not been in his homeland for 19 years because of Indonesia's "racist and brutal" policies which he says have killed four of his brothers and sisters.

Peter Monet, a member of the East Timor Alert Network and producer of a 1987 film called "East Timor: Betrayed but Not Beaten," says Canada is legitimizing the Indonesian occupation through aid and trade policies, and by allowing Canadian weapons manufacturers to sell arms to Indonesia.

"Because Timor has nothing to offer us, and Indonesia has natural resources and cheap labour, it is not in the interests of government to publicize the facts," Monet said.

In both 1975 and 1976 Canada abstained in UN General Assembly votes calling for Indonesia's immediate withdrawal from East Timor. In 1980, Canada began opposing UN declarations acknowledging the right of the East Timorese to exist as a sovereign nation.

Ramos-Horta last visited Ottawa in 1991, shortly after more than 100 armed independence supporters were killed when Indonesian soldiers opened fire into a crowd of mourners at a cemetery in Dili, the capital of the island. He urged then-external affairs minister Barbara McDougall to impose economic sanctions against Indonesia.

Beyond a temporary suspension of aid, that request was ignored.

Indonesia remains Canada's second largest recipient of bilateral government-to-government aid, receiving about \$40 million a year.

It is also one of Canada's biggest trading partners in Southeast Asia, with two-way trade totaling about \$500 million annually.

At the end of the article is a box with facts about Timor.

East Timor: East Timor, the eastern portion of the island of the island of Timor, is about the size of Vancouver Island and is 650 km north of Australia.

History: Ruled by the Portuguese from 1512 to 1974, East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, nine days after declaring independence from Portugal.

Population: About 555,000. Since 1975 200,000 Timorese have died from violence, famine or disease. In 1991, 180 people were killed when troops fired on a crowd of 3,500 in Dili, the capital.

EAST TIMOR TOLL

Letter to the Editor, Ottawa Citizen, Nov.5

The allegation in your Octo. 18 article, "Canada one of the most hypocritical countries in the world," that "under Indonesian

rule, about 200,000 people from East Timor have died from violence, famine or disease" is calculated to confuse. The exaggerated number of deaths to discredit Indonesia is dishonest. Indonesia has never occupied East Timor, although 42,000 East Timorese refugees streamed into Indonesia's West Timor.

Regarding the Nov. 12, 1991, Dili incident, the cause of the shooting was the stabbing of an armed forces officer and the wounding of a private.

Security personnel defended themselves, resulting in the deaths of demonstrators. An investigation led to the public trials of Xanana Gusmão and two armed forces members.

Bambang Mulyanto,
Information Section, Indonesian Embassy,
Ottawa

TORONTO VIGIL FOR PEACE IN EAST TIMOR

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on an unarmed crowd of East Timorese, killing 273 women, men and children. The massacre was just a small part of a pattern of atrocities and blatant violations of human rights committed since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975.

The East Timor Alert Network will mark the second anniversary of this massacre with a vigil at the Indonesian Consulate in Toronto. The vigil will start at 2 p.m. on Thursday, Nov. 11 and continue overnight until the start of business the following morning. The Consulate is located at 425 University Ave. (just south of Dundas). For details, call ETAN at 531-5850.

East Timor Alert Network/Toronto
PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, Canada,
M5S 2T1

Phone/fax 1-416-531-5850, Email etan-
tor@web.apc.org

ETAN/CANADA EAST TIMOR UPDATE NUMBER 27

Excerpts; only articles with information not covered elsewhere are included here.

Canada accused of "hypocrisy" on Timor

"Canada is one of the most hypocritical countries in the world," according to the overseas representative of East Timor's resistance movement.

José Ramos Horta, special representative of the National Council of Maubere (Timorese) Resistance (CNRM), made the comments at an awareness benefit sponsored by the East Timor Alert Network in downtown Ottawa and attended by an esti-

mated 1,000 people. He told the Ottawa Citizen that "Canada has one of the most immoral policies in the world when it comes to East Timor." Canada speaks up for small countries like Haiti and Kuwait when it has nothing to lose, he added. But when it comes to Indonesia, "which is a big trading partner, Canada shows its true colours – utter hypocrisy."

Ramos Horta and ETAN representatives also met with officials from the department of external affairs and the Canadian International Development Agency. Both government agencies have a history of silence in the face of genocide committed by the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor.

External has fostered Canada-Indonesia trade and investment ties. Trade is projected to exceed \$1 billion for the first time in 1993, according to Statistics Canada. Canadian investments in Indonesia, meanwhile, are probably at least double that figure (one Canadian company alone, Inco, has investments worth \$1 billion).

ETAN is calling for a push to get the new Liberal government to end its support for the Indonesian occupation of East Timor by (1) announcing a ban on weapons sales to Indonesia, (2) slashing aid until East Timor is given its right to self-determination, and (3) supporting peace talks under United Nations auspices that would include representatives of the East Timorese people.

The new minister of External Affairs will be announced in early November. Letters can then be sent, postage free, c/o House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6. Please also send a copy to Parliamentarians for East Timor, c/o David Kilgour MP, at the same address.

Thanks, Ray!

The recent Liberal sweep resulted in defeat for Ray Funk MP (Prince Albert-Churchill River), who has been a leading member of Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor for several years. Ray's office mailed out the ETAN newsletter and provided extensive office support, without which ETAN's work would have been that much harder to carry out. The support of Ray Funk, and other PET members who are not back in the new parliament will be missed.

Parliamentarians for East Timor will carry on with its lobbying work, however. Fourteen PET MPs from the Liberal and New Democratic parties are back in this session, and we hope to sign up many more.

NOVEMBER 12 IN OTTAWA

There are two quite different types of actions occurring in Ottawa this Friday, November 12 to commemorate the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre in East Timor when, according to an independent investigation, 271 were listed as killed; 382 wounded and 250 "disappeared" while participating in a peaceful funeral procession. The tiny island of East Timor has been living under brutal Indonesian occupation for 18 years. Indonesia is the third-largest recipient of Canadian foreign aid.

1) Candlelight Vigil for East Timor

Friday, November 12 at 6:30 - 7:30 p.m.
Embassy of Indonesia, 287 MacLaren
Street, Ottawa

2) Phone or Fax on November 12th

A) The Canadian government has a moral responsibility to do whatever it can to end this suffering. Ask the Director why External Affairs does not support a free East Timor; and why has Canada not announced a ban on arms sales to Indonesia. Please phone or fax External Affairs to register your concerns throughout the day on November 12.

Director, South-East Asia Relations, External Affairs, Phone: (613) 992-6807 Fax: (613) 996-4309

B) United Nations Security Council Resolutions 384 and 398 call on Indonesia to withdraw their troops and to allow a UN supervised vote on self-determination to take place. Ask the Indonesian ambassador why these resolutions are not being respected.

Indonesian Ambassador to Canada: Phone: (613) 236-7403 Fax: (613) 563-2858

There will also be events ongoing at Ottawa's two universities throughout the day. Carleton University, in the UniCentre, will be screening "Cold Blood" throughout the day. Ottawa University will be holding information booths throughout its UniCentre during the day and holding a coffee house in the evening, all to commemorate the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre.

For further information on any of the above events, please contact either Kerry Pither at (613) 230-3070, Peter Monet at (613) 238-6933, or Sharon Scharfe at (613) 822-1227.

REFLECTIONS ON CANDLELIGHT VIGIL OUTSIDE INDONESIAN EMBASSY

NOVEMBER 12, 1993

NOTES: In preparation for this event, which I wanted to do entirely in cooperation with the police force(s), I contacted the

Ottawa Police Force, enquiring about a permit (which, after several other calls, I was told was not necessary). Then out of the blue, a few days later, the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) contacts me at my temporary place of employment (an unlisted number), asking me further details. I guess my answers were not satisfactory, for the RCMP saw fit to contact my employers at home and my parents that evening for further details.

On the day of the vigil, I was contacted by both forces. I would be inclined to label this as harassment. The event itself was peaceful, attended by approximately 80 people (in sub-zero temperatures), closely watched by at least 10 embassy staff (who arrived at the embassy shortly before the crowd gathered for a meeting) and monitored by five visible police officers (3 RCMP and 2 Ottawa Police). The embassy staff photographed the people in attendance; and videotaped the entire event.

The following is an article that appeared in *The Ottawa Citizen* today (November 13). It features a 6" x 3" photo of four of the "demonstrators," two of whom are Maureen Davies daughters.

– Sharon Scharfe, East Timor Alert Network/Ottawa

"East Timor Killings Commemorated"

by: Dave Rogers (Citizen staff writer)

Shielding their candles against the wind, 80 demonstrators shivered outside the Embassy of Indonesia Friday, in remembrance of the slaying of 263 East Timorese who were shot to death during a funeral procession two years ago.

East Timor, the eastern part of the island of Timor in the south Pacific, has been living under Indonesian occupation for 18 years. Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony after Portugal granted the island its independence.

Indonesian troops shot people in a funeral procession in Dili, the capital of East Timor, in November 1991, claiming a soldier had been stabbed and they were acting in self-defence. The shootings led to worldwide protests at Indonesia's actions.

Vigils were also held in Toronto, Guelph, Windsor and Vancouver.

Kerry Pither, a spokeswoman for the East Timor Alert Network, said the demonstration was intended to show the Indonesian government that Canadians haven't forgotten the killings. The Canadian government has never supported sanctions against Indonesia proposed at the United Nations because Canada has billions of dollars invested in Indonesia, Pither said.

As the demonstrators watched a slide show on East Timor, Pither read off the names of the people killed in Dili. Pither

said 382 others were wounded in the attack and 250 disappeared. Peter Monet, a demonstration organizer, said 200,000 people have been killed outright or have died in prison camps since Indonesia took over the island.

Sharon Scharfe, another organizer, said Canadian trade with Indonesia is expected to reach \$1 billion this year and Canadian companies have invested \$2.5 billion in the country.

"You would think that there would be massive outrage at the deaths in East Timor because Canada is one of the top 10 providers of aid to Indonesia," Scharfe said. "But what happened was an incredible ethnocentric whitewash of the tragedy."

NOVEMBER 12 IN CANADA – SUMMARY OF COMMEMORATIONS

Report from East Timor Alert Network/Toronto

The East Timor Alert Network held vigils across Canada to mark the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. The largest event was in Ottawa, where 80 people gathered at the Indonesian Embassy for a candlelight vigil (a report was posted earlier by ETAN/Ottawa).

In Toronto, about 40 people attended some or all of a vigil that started at 2 p.m. on November 11 and continued until 11 a.m. the following day, outside the Indonesian Consulate. The event received extensive coverage on Portuguese-language media, including CFMT-TV and CHIN Radio, and was also featured on CFTO-TV. On the morning on November 12, a delegation of East Timor supporters spoke with a representative of the Consulate, who indicated his willingness to meet again.

On November 13, the *Commissao para la Libertacao de Timor Leste* presented a night of theatre and music in Toronto's Portuguese community. It included a dramatization of the trial of Xanana Gusmão, with Xanana's defence speech the text for much of the dramatization. Leading artists from the community also performed, and the audience was also happy to hear the Tetun and English songs of Abé' & Aloz. The event received good Portuguese-language media attention, and was filmed by organizers.

In Guelph, Ontario, 40 people came out to a showing of the film "Cold Blood" and then joined a candlelight walk to the Cenotaph. Most local radio stations, and the local newspaper, covered the walk. The turnout was unusually large for a Friday night in the small university town.

Vigils were also held in Vancouver, Hamilton, Ontario, and Windsor, Ontario (where activists set up an 8-foot high cross outside the office of Herb Gray, House Leader for the newly-elected Liberal government). Finally, "Cold Blood" was to be screened in Calgary and Montreal.

ETAN will be holding national events again on December 7, the 18th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor. December 7 plans include a petition presentation to Foreign Minister Andre' Ouellet in Ottawa and a walk from the corporate head office of Inco Ltd. (the top Canadian investor in Indonesia) to the downtown Bata Shoes outlet (Bata is a Canadian corporation that operates two factories in Java).

In the meantime, we continue to pressure our new government to reverse Canada's shameful support for Indonesia by speaking out in international arenas like the United Nations and linking aid to Indonesia to respect for human rights.

EAST TIMOR UPDATE, NUMBER 28

November 28, 1993. From the East Timor Alert Network/Canada. Excerpts.

Canadian solidarity

The East Timor Alert Network held vigils across Canada to mark the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. The largest event was in Ottawa, where 80 people gathered at the Indonesian Embassy for a candlelight vigil at the Indonesian Embassy. East Timor supporters also phoned and faxed the department of Foreign Affairs throughout the day, and both Ottawa's universities hosted information tables.

In Toronto, about 40 people attended some or all of a vigil that started at 2 p.m. on November 11 and continued until 11 a.m. the following day, outside the Indonesian Consulate. On November 13, a night of theatre and music for East Timor was held in Toronto's Portuguese community.

In Guelph 40 people came out to a showing of the film "Cold Blood" and then joined a candlelight walk to the Cenotaph. Vigils were also held in Vancouver, Hamilton and Windsor (where activists set up an 8-foot high cross outside the office of Herb Gray, House Leader for the newly-elected Liberal government). Finally, "Cold Blood" was to be screened in Calgary and Montreal.

ETAN will be holding national events again on December 7, the 18th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor.

With a new government in office, the chances of ending Canada's 18-year record of silence in the face of Indonesian genocide in East Timor have never been better.

ETAN asks all supporters, once again, to

write to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to ask for (1) Canadian support for international efforts to resolve the situation in East Timor peacefully, (2) Canada to speak out for human rights in East Timor, and to call on Indonesia to respect numerous United Nations resolutions on East Timor, and (3) Canada to put human rights ahead of trade in our links with Indonesia. Steps that should be taken include a ban on weapons sales and making aid, trade and investment conditional on Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor.

Write to Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet (postage free) at House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6, with a copy to Parliamentarians for East Timor, c/o David Kilgour MP, at the same address. Other MPs worth writing to: Prime Minister Jean Chretien, Secretary of State for Asia Pacific Affairs Raymond Chan, Opposition leader Lucien Bouchard, and NDP critic Svend Robinson.

New! – The Indonesia Kit

ETAN has just published the second edition of The Indonesia Kit, an informative 44-page primer on Indonesian history and politics with a focus on human rights and the environment, written from a Canadian perspective. It is available for \$8 from ETAN/Vancouver or your local ETAN group. ETAN also has "Free East Timor" T-shirts, buttons and bumper stickers for sale.

Demonstration in Toronto

Indonesia out of East Timor! Link Investment to Human Rights

In December 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor. Canada has consistently supported Indonesia, most notably as a top investor (Inco alone has invested \$1 billion) and trading partner (trade is expected to hit \$1 billion in

1993). Now, Canada wants to expand economic ties with Indonesia, a leading "Pacific Rim growth economy." The government plans to link aid to human rights, but is not considering the same linkage for trade and investment. It should.

On December 11, we will rally to mark the 18th anniversary of this invasion. We will also ask Canadian corporations and the government of Canada to put human rights ahead of profits. Please join us.

Sat. 11 December, 1 p.m. at Inco headquarters (Royal Trust Tower, King & York), Toronto

East Timor Alert Network/Toronto
PO Box 562, Station P,
Toronto, Canada, M5S 2T1
Phone/fax 1-416-531-5850, Email etan-
tor@web.apc.org

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

MIT EVENT: THE FORGOTTEN TRAGEDY OF EAST TIMOR

"The Lessons of the East Timor Tragedy"

Noam Chomsky

MIT Institute Professor

Tuesday, October 12, 8pm

MIT Room 26-100 (follow directions from MIT's main entrance

At 77 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA)

Special appearance by Constâncio Pinto, former secretary of CNRM, the National Council for Maubere Resistance.

Organized by the East Timor Action Network (ETAN), the Portuguese Students Association of MIT and the Center for International Studies at MIT.

US, INDONESIA NEED OPEN DIALOGUE: AMBASSADOR

Jakarta Post, Oct. 28. Abridged

Comment: Interesting to know that the US ambassador feels it necessary to draw attention to the three issues currently dogging US-Indonesia relations. – TAPOL

JAKARTA (JP): The United States and Indonesia have brought their relationship to a level where open dialogue is the primary forum for settling disputes, US Ambassador Robert L Barry said yesterday.

Barry, depicting the relationship as the strongest it has ever been, acknowledged that serious problems exist between the two governments.

"However, it is most encouraging to me that our overall relationship is strong enough that we can tolerate a dialogue on such sensitive topics, that we can tell our concerns to each other as friends," he said at a luncheon organised by the Indonesian Executive Circle.

He cited human rights, labour rights and the situation in East Timor as the three main sticking points between the two nations.

These issues, which have all received wide media coverage in recent months, have created friction between the two governments.

Washington, for example, has threatened to end trade privileges to Indonesia, under the Generalized System of Preferences ((GSP), unless Jakarta improves its labour record.

Indonesia was also prevented from buying US made jet fighters from Jordan last July after Washington objected to the move, saying that it was dissatisfied with Indonesia's human rights record.

The US Senate is currently considering linking future arms sales to Indonesia with improvements in the situation in East Timor. Congress last month also agreed to freeze, for the second year running, US military training aid for Indonesian officers.

Jakarta has denied the accusations of human rights and labour rights violations and has responded to US pressure by reiterating its long-standing claim that it will not accept any foreign aid that carries political strings.

Barry stressed that the promotion of democracy and human rights in Indonesia has always been central to US foreign policy here since the founding of the republic.

These issues are closely linked with economic development, he said. "Our support of democracy and human rights is more than a self-centered wish to see others in our own image. Rather, it derives from a fundamental observation that democracy and respect for human rights promotes - indeed, forms the basis of - economic growth and international security."

He recalled that in the late 1940s, Washington put pressure on the Dutch to re-open negotiations with the Indonesian independence fighters by threatening to withhold the Netherlands Marshall Plan aid if they did not do so.

U.S. COMMEMORATIONS OF DILI MASSACRE

On November 12, 1991, more than 270 East Timorese people were killed when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a peaceful memorial procession. Join us in remembering them and the 200,000 others who have died as a result of 18 years of US-supported Indonesian invasion and occupation.

New York: Interfaith Memorial Service

Thursday, November 11. 4:30 pm, Church Center for the United Nations, 777 UN Plaza (First Avenue & 44th St.), New York City

Contact: East Timor Action Network/US, Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602; (914)428-7299 or (718)788-6071 fax (914)428-7383, e-mail: cscheiner@igc.apc.org.

Los Angeles

Nov. 12 Protest at Indonesian Consulate, 3457 Wilshire Blvd. Contact ETAN/LA 310-396-4624. e-mail: etanla@igc.apc.org

Washington, DC:

Indonesian Embassy, 2020 Massachusetts Ave. NW

Nov. 12, Solidarity Protest: from 12:30 to 8:00 pm or so, with people especially encouraged to come after 5:30. A vigil/fast in solidarity with those still in prison in connection with Santa Cruz memorial service/demonstration will run concurrently, starting at 4:00pm on Thursday, Nov. 11 and running until 4:00 pm, Saturday, November 13.

Emergency Coalition to Free East Timorese Political Prisoners. Contact: ETAN/DC 301-593-4305 (call btn. 9am - 9pm) or 202- 784-8120. email: simpsonb@guvax.acc.georgetown

Seattle

Please also note that protests will take place against Indonesian President Suharto when he visits Seattle for the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Community) Summit. Events include:

VIGIL FOR EAST TIMOR, Friday, November, 4:00 pm at 15th Ave. E., bordering Volunteer Park, Seattle. sponsored by: East Timor Action Network/Seattle and Amnesty International Group 94. Meet outside Red & Black Books, 15th & Republican to march to Volunteer Park. PLEASE BRING: A flashlight or rain/wind-resistant candles, and a sign if possible. A few suggestions: Free East Timor; Indonesia Out of East Timor ; No Trade with Indonesia Without Freedom in East Timor ; \$ for Indonesia = Blood in East Timor; 200,000 dead in East Timor. Wear warm clothing.

November 20, Coalition rally: Join the East Timor Action Network/Seattle during the coalition march and rally: The Hidden Costs of Free Trade; Saturday, Nov. 20. Meet at: IBEW building LOCAL 46, 2700 1st Ave. downtown (by the Labor Temple). Start march at 11:00am to Westlake Center for rally at 11:30am - 1:00pm. Contact: ETAN/Seattle (206)547-7802; email: marizac@u.washington.edu.

NOVEMBER 12 IN SAN FRANCISCO

From Clara Landeiro, East Timor Action Network/San Francisco Bay Area (clara@ced.berkeley.edu)

On the morning of November 12 we stood once again in front of the Indonesian Consulate in San Francisco to send the message that we did and do not forget those who died two years ago, and those who are still in prison or have disappeared.

The consulate only remained open for one hour, and then they shut down as more people were arriving. - We had passed the word, but did not publicize in advance, that the concentration would be from noon to 1:00pm. About twenty people participated.

At noon we gathered in a circle in front of the gate, and each one of the three priests present (1 Catholic, 2 Protestant) prayed

and gave words of encouragement as "to resist is to win." The names of those killed at Santa Cruz cemetery two years ago were read and candles were lit in their memory.

We left with the music of Agio Pereira "Um momento de silencio" ('a moment of silence').

NOVEMBER 12 IN LOS ANGELES

On Friday, November 12th, 15-20 people gathered in front of the Indonesian Consulate in Los Angeles to commemorate the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre in East Timor.

Representatives of the Portuguese community, the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles, Pax Christi of Southern California, and the War Resisters League participated in a memorial service on the steps of the Indonesian Consulate.

The ceremony included a benediction by Fr. Giles Asbury, the Episcopal chaplain at UCLA, followed by the reading of the names of the 273 casualties of the Massacre. At the end of the ceremony, participants presented a letter (text below) and some flowers to a consular representative in memory of the more than 200,000 East Timorese and 15,000 Indonesian soldiers that have died since the 1975 invasion.

In the middle of the reading of the names, the Indonesian Consulate sent out their security guard with four cans of Coca-Cola to offer us. We all politely declined. The apparent level of surveillance was lower than usual. Later a consular official gave us some of the Indonesian government's literature on East Timor.

While consular officials did take a few photos of us, they did not call (as they usually do) the Los Angeles Police Department. However, they did call the U.S. State Dept. police - one of whom showed up and stayed inside the lobby socializing with some of the consular officials.

Before and after the ceremony, participants handed out fliers to passersby and an article in Bahasa Indonesia to individuals entering the building that houses the consulate, Garuda Airlines, and the Indonesian Tourist Bureau.

Members of ETAN/L.A. were also present on the evenings of Thursday, Friday and Saturday (11-13 November) at UCLA's Royce Hall where Indonesian choreographer Sardono and his dance troupe were performing. Standing off to the sidelines, ETAN/L.A. members held signs in Bahasa Indonesia reminding Indonesian speakers that 12 November was the anniversary of the "Dili incident" and inviting them to read an article on East Timor (the same one we distributed in front of the consulate). While only 30-40 individuals asked for articles over the three evenings, the distribution was

a success in that we made contact with a number of Indonesians in Los Angeles and exposed them to a perspective that they might not have otherwise read.

The article was written by a Indonesian professor in Java, G.J. Aditjondro. If anyone would like a copy of the article, please email us at etanla@igc.apc.org.

12 November 1993

Mr. Haridadi Sudjono
Consul General
Consulate of Indonesia
3457 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90010

Dear Mr. Sudjono:

We have gathered today at the Indonesian Consulate to commemorate the anniversary of the tragedy that took place on 12 November 1991 at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, East Timor. We are here to pay respect to the memory of the 273 people who were killed that day as well as of the over 200,000 East Timorese who have died as a result of the December 1975 Indonesian invasion and ongoing occupation of the former Portuguese colony. We also are here to pay our respects to the over 15,000 members of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) who have died in Your Government's campaign to subjugate East Timor.

Indonesia is a country of rich cultural diversity and, as one of the initiators of the Non-Aligned Movement which Indonesia now chairs, holds a position of high esteem in the international community. It is therefore unfortunate that Indonesia's reputation has become increasingly tarnished because of its involvement in East Timor.

Fortunately, there are alternatives to the status quo and ways in which we can end the needless deaths of our East Timorese and Indonesian brothers and sisters. We respectfully suggest that the Government of Indonesia begin internationally-supervised negotiations with Portugal and with the people of East Timor, including the C.N.R.M. and the East Timorese Catholic Church, with the goal of holding a plebiscite on self-determination that would conform to international legal and human rights standards.

We would appreciate it if you would convey our sentiments to the appropriate authorities of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

Please accept our most cordial and respectful regards.

For the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles,

Dr. Lisabeth Ryder, Co-Coordinator
Matthew Jardine, Co-Coordinator

TIMOR ADVOCATE TO LEAD NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

By Anne Treseder, ETAN/San Francisco, December 6, 1993

Bishop Melvin Talbert, spiritual leader of the United Methodist Church in Northern California and Western Nevada, was elected President-elect of the National Council of Churches (NCC) last month at the annual meeting of that organization. Bishop Talbert, who will assume the presidency of the National Council in 1996, is a strong advocate of human rights and self-determination for East Timor.

Bishop Talbert was installed at the historic Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore, Maryland, on November 10, 1993, during a service attended by Archbishop William H. Keeler, President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and other religious dignitaries.

In a August 27, 1993 pastoral letter to Methodists in California and Nevada, Bishop Talbert discussed the tragic recent history of East Timor and asked local Methodist churches to take up the issue of East Timor "as a priority." He urged Methodists to write to their Senators and Representatives and request a cut-off of U.S. arms sales to Indonesia until Indonesia complies with UN resolutions and withdraws from East Timor.

Talbert reminded readers that the California-Nevada Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church had recently passed a strong resolution calling for a cut-off of ALL aid and arms sales to Indonesia until Indonesia withdraws its forces from East Timor and allows a UN-supervised referendum there. "We need to follow through on this resolution," he said.

"We must reach out and help the long-suffering people of East Timor," he wrote. "Rarely have a people been so abused, so forgotten, and so in need of our help as the Timorese." Writing this fall in SEQUOIA, the Journal of the Northern California Ecumenical Council, Bishop Talbert, who is African American, again advocated education and concrete action on behalf of East Timor:

"I am hopeful that other religious bodies and leaders will also involve themselves. Together, we can save a nation and rescue a people. We in the United States have leverage with the aggressor and occupier of East Timor. We must persuade the Indonesian government to end its occupation of East Timor, just as we persuaded the South African government to end apartheid."

Speaking to NCC Board members on the morning following his election, Bishop

Talbert called on the NCC to embrace the world, to bridge the many gaps between people, and to enter into the struggle of humanity and speak on behalf of those who suffer.

The National Council of Churches is composed of 32 different Protestant and Orthodox denominations in the United States. More than 48 million U.S. Christians belong to churches that hold membership in the Council.

US SENATE VISITORS COMING

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3 (Reuter) - A U.S. Senate delegation will visit China, Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia next month, Senate Energy Committee Chairman Bennett Johnston said Friday.

The Louisiana Democrat will head the delegation, which is expected to include about a dozen senators. The others have not been named.

The two-week trip will begin January 2 and will include stops in Beijing, Guangzhou, Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Jakarta and Chaing Mai, Thailand.

"The development of this region offers unparalleled opportunities for the United States to promote some of our most important objectives," Johnston said in a statement.

He said China was expected to add 150 power plants by the year 2000, giving U.S. companies the chance for up to \$50 billion in contracts for electrical generation equipment.

U.S. OFFICIALS EXPECTED TO VISIT INDONESIA

9 Dec. 93

JAKARTA (UPI) - U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor are expected to visit Indonesia next year. The two are expected to arrive before Washington makes a decision on trade benefits for Indonesian goods entering the U.S. market.

Trade Minister S.B. Judono was quoted by the official Indonesian news agency Antara as saying Brown and Kantor planned to observe Indonesia's labor conditions and human rights record.

Indonesia's record on labor and human rights issues are key concerns of U.S. President Bill Clinton's administration.

"They (Brown and Kantor) are expected to visit before the U.S. government issues a decision on whether Washington lifts trade benefits on Feb. 14 next year," Judono said.

Washington has accused Jakarta of failing to provide internationally recognized labor

rights and has threatened to revoke trade privileges under the Generalized System of Preferences unless Indonesia improves its record by February.

Indonesia's exports to the U.S. last year were valued at more than \$4.3 billion. About \$642 million in goods were subject to Generalized System of Preference rates.

Indonesia recognizes only one major union, the All Indonesian Workers Association. Last July, Jakarta barred the nation's largest independent trade union, the Indonesia Welfare Union, from meeting.

The move sparked a global wave of criticism from human rights activists.

International organizations and Indonesian human rights activists have for years accused the government of restricting and abusing human rights.

The United States recently blocked the sale of U.S.-built F-5E jet fighters by Jordan to Indonesia, citing Jakarta's widely criticized human rights record in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Some foreign governments, including that of the United States, curtailed military cooperation with Indonesia after Jakarta's troops fired into a crowd of mourners at a cemetery in the East Timor provincial capital of Dili in 1991, killing scores of protesters.

Judono said Brown and Kantor's visit was not yet confirmed and its timing would depend on their schedule.

APEC CONFERENCE MEETS IN SEATTLE

HIGHLIGHT EAST TIMOR AT APEC

Leaflet distributed by ETAN/Seattle.

"I appeal to President Clinton to press Jakarta to accept dialogue [...] in search for an internationally acceptable solution"

- Xanana Gusmão, jailed East-Timorese leader
(Defense Plea, 27 March 1993)

"All peoples have the right to self-determination"

-UN Declaration on Decolonization, 1960

VIGIL FOR EAST TIMOR

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 4:00 PM

15th Ave. E., bordering Volunteer Park, Seattle sponsored by: East Timor Action Network/Seattle and Amnesty International Group 94

President Clinton will meet Indonesia's President Suharto and other Asian leaders at a reception in the Asian Art Museum, Vol-

unteer Park, during the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit.

Indonesia brutally invaded East Timor in 1975 and has since maintained a regime of repression and human rights abuse that has led to the killing of an estimated 200,000 people, one-third of the population. Torture, disappearances and illegal trials of East Timorese are common practice. Access by human rights groups and the International Committee of the Red Cross are severely restricted. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

The APEC Summit comes soon after the grim anniversary of the November 12, 1991 massacre of 273 peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, by the Indonesian armed forces.

Come to commemorate the victims of this massacre. Join us to send a message to Presidents Clinton and Suharto that there can be no free trade with Indonesia while there is no freedom in East Timor.

Meet outside Red & White Books, 15th E. & Republican to march to Volunteer Park.

PLEASE BRING: A flashlight or rain/wind-resistant candles, and a sign if possible. A few suggestions: "Free East Timor"; "Indonesia Out of East Timor"; "No Trade with Indonesia Without Freedom in East Timor"; "\$ for Indonesia = Blood in East Timor"; "200,000 dead in East Timor." Wear warm clothing.

MARCH AND RALLY "THE HIDDEN COSTS OF FREE TRADE" Saturday, Nov. 20, 11:30 am; Westlake Center

Join the East Timor Action Network/Seattle for a march and massive capstone rally in coordination with other Asia-Pacific human rights groups, and several labor rights and environmental groups in protest of the APEC conference.

Meet at: IBEW building LOCAL 46, 2700 1st Ave. downtown (by the Labor Temple). Start march at 11:00am to Westlake Center for rally at 11:30am-1:00pm

Contact: East Timor Action Network/Seattle: (206)547-7802, or Friends of the Earth: (206)633-1661.

ASIAN NATIONS TAKE OWN TACK ON RIGHTS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, November 8, 1993. By Merrill Goozner, Tribune Staff Writer.

The usual rejoinder to U.S. complaints about human rights abuses in Asia has been that economic development must come first. No more.

Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew and several other regional leaders have turned strong central authority into a virtue. They no

longer apologize for their authoritarianism as an unfortunate necessity en route to economic success.

Having posted some of the world's fastest economic growth rates over the last decade, these countries now have the political confidence to reject U.S. concern about their human rights records.

This island city-state's standard of living already exceeds that of parts of Western Europe. Unemployment is nil, and Singapore's 2.8 million well-housed and well-fed people live in a pristine urban setting of clean streets, efficient public services and minimal crime.

But the government runs the three free TV channels, the three pay channels and nine of 12 radio stations. All newspapers have close ties to the ruling People's Action Party, and news is controlled rigidly. The opposition party regularly is denied permits for meetings and rallies. Opposition politicians are sued by government officials for "defamatory allegations," and they lose in the courts.

"With a few exceptions, democracy has not brought good government to developing countries," Lee told a conference in Tokyo last year. "Democracy has not led to development because the governments did not establish the stability and discipline necessary for development."

With a new administration in Washington putting renewed emphasis on human rights, leaders from around the region have begun embracing this alternative vision of human rights.

In part they are driven by fear that China will be splintered by the centrifugal forces of its unbridled capitalism, with devastating political consequences for the region.

They also fear the consequences for themselves. The loudest complaints about the U.S. human rights challenge have come from those countries where ruling parties and dominant figures have been in power for decades, and where the problems of political succession are most pressing: China, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore.

Moreover, they've started to train their guns on the West.

They reject the West's rampant individualism and they blame stress on personal rights for the decay of U.S. society. News of America's crime, racial conflict, troubled families, declining competitiveness and chronic deficits prominently is displayed, often brought to local citizens by the same satellite news feeds their governments so rigidly control.

These leaders are trumpeting an Asian morality, based on strong families, social cohesion through group discipline and a society where the needs of the many take precedence over the rights of the individual.

Some argue that Confucianism, a 2,000-year-old tradition of strong central authority based on a paternalistic bureaucracy, will combine with modern business and economic precepts to prove the superior model for social advancement in the 21st Century.

"It is clear that the so-called East Asian miracle economies have departed from the development path taken by the established industrial states in the West," said Anwar Ibrahim, Malaysia's finance minister and the likely successor to Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. "There is a conspicuous absence of corrosive individualism."

These competing visions of human rights may not be on the official agenda next week when the 15 leaders from the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum meet in Seattle. But they undoubtedly will be major topics of conversation behind closed doors.

Although home markets and inter-Asian trade are growing in importance, the U.S. remains the No. 1 export market for virtually all the rapidly developing countries of Asia. And unlike the Reagan and Bush administrations, the Clinton team has thrown the wild card of human rights onto the trading table.

So far, China has been the focal point. The president in July grudgingly extended most-favored-nation trading status to China for one year. In recent weeks, administration officials have signaled that Clinton wants to improve relations with the nominally Communist country, which has the world's largest population and its fastest growing economy.

But the crackdowns in China are getting worse, according to human rights activists. The government recently passed regulations to curb the proliferation of satellite dishes and, after losing its bid to host the 2000 Olympic Games, jailed a number of prominent dissidents.

The U.S. also is threatening to withdraw preferential tariff treatment for imports from Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia.

"Labor conditions are worsening," said Frans Winarta, secretary of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation. "Freedom of association isn't there, even though it is in our constitution. The government is always promoting low labor costs to attract foreign investment. What we need is clean government instead of blaming workers."

The targeted governments respond that they have to hold down labor unrest because of the stiffening competition to attract foreign investment.

"It was the prime minister who insisted there be no labor unions in the electronics industry," said Ghazali Bin Atan, executive director of Malaysia's Institute for Strategic and International Studies. "We don't want any disruptions in that area. We have to be

very practical. It's given lots of jobs to people and it's raised incomes."

Last April in Bangkok, a human rights convention of Southeast Asian nations branded the U.S. human rights offensive an unwelcome intervention in internal affairs. (Asia is the only region in the world without a regional commission on human rights.)

Not surprisingly, that view has gotten the support of U.S. business in the region, which has lobbied quietly against the administration's human rights tack. "We can do more good spreading our values and culture by operating in these countries," said Jeff Dryjanski, vice president of Motorola Electronics PTE Ltd. in Singapore.

Japan has been another voice of moderation, publicly supporting human rights goals but cautioning that better results can be achieved through diplomacy rather than sanctions. Tokyo not only wants to foster its rapidly growing investments in the region, but has a visceral fear of the breakup of China, which looms as the largest long-term threat to its security.

"There is a feeling on the part of some Asian leaders we should loosen up, that we have sacrificed too much individual freedom in pursuit of economic development," said Tommy Koh, ambassador at large for Singapore. "But we will move cautiously."

CLINTON: DON'T INDULGE DICTATORS AT APEC

Press Release from ETAN/US, November 12, 1993

While President Clinton meets cordially with Indonesian President Suharto during the APEC conference in Seattle this week, the people of East Timor will be silently remembering the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, when the Indonesian army opened fire on a crowd of unarmed Timorese independence protesters and mourners, killing over two hundred and wounding many more.

"It's appalling that President Clinton plans to warmly welcome a dictatorial president-for-life who is directly responsible for mass murder in order to promote free trade, and only bring up the repression in East Timor as an afterthought at best," said David Barnes of the East Timor Action Network. Members of ETAN in Seattle say they don't plan to let the irony of the coincidence of the massacre and the APEC conference go unnoticed.

ETAN, in co-ordination with Amnesty International Group 94, plans to hold a candle light vigil for the victims of human rights abuses in East Timor outside of Volunteer Park between 4-6 pm on Friday, November 19 during what members called

"the gala reception of shame" for Asia-Pacific leaders. The group will assemble outside of Red and Black Books on 15th Ave and Republican at 4 pm. Protesters intend to collapse pretending to be shot as the presidential motorcade passes. ETAN also will join other human rights, environmental, and labor organizations in a major capstone rally to highlight the "Hidden Costs of Free Trade" between 11:30 am and 1 pm on Saturday, November 20, at Westlake Mall in downtown Seattle. The keynote speakers are to be announced.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it into Indonesia the next year despite significant local resistance. Human rights groups say that as many as 200,000 people—or one-third of the pre-invasion population—perished by extra-judicial execution or strife-related starvation, and that arbitrary detention and torture are still rampant in the occupied territory. Indonesian military security is reported to be tighter than usual this week to prevent public dissent during the anniversary of the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. The United Nations has never recognized Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor and has passed numerous resolutions calling for Indonesia to withdraw immediately from East Timor and to allow the East Timorese the right to self-determination. These resolutions, unlike similar ones issued against Iraq following its invasion of Kuwait, have never been enforced. The US bears considerable guilt for the invasion and subsequent killings, say ETAN members, because President Ford had given President Suharto the green light for the invasion and President Carter continued to ship Indonesia counter-insurgency aircraft and other high-tech weaponry to use against the resistance there.

The United States Congress cut military training aid to Indonesia in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre, but the U.S. continues to supply arms to Jakarta. Some members of congress advocate cutting arms sales to Indonesia until it allows human rights organizations into the territory to monitor the situation, and to allow the Timorese the right to self-determination, but fear of isolating a lucrative trade partner make others more hesitant.

"At the very least, President Clinton should express in no uncertain terms that the United States can no longer stand by in complicity while the right of the East Timorese to self-determination is being violently repressed," says Jef Bekes of ETAN in Portland. "Giving Suharto a nod and a wink during APEC would mean nothing but more torture and more killing of the East Timorese."

Contact Mariza, ETAN/Seattle (206) 547-7802,

MARIZAC@MAX.U.WASHINGTON.EDU

A media room will be available to journalists interested in human rights, environmental, and labor issues in the Asia-Pacific region. The room, sponsored by Friends of the Earth, will be available for use November 13-20th, at the Washington Environmental Council - 1100 2nd Ave, Suite 102, Seattle 98101. Phone #: (206) 233-9678, Modem #: (206) 233-9682, Fax #: (206) 233-9820

SENATORS ASK CLINTON TO RAISE EAST TIMOR AT APEC

FEINGOLD LETTER TO CLINTON, SIGNED BY 37 SENATORS, URGES DISCUSSION OF EAST TIMOR DURING APEC CONFERENCE

Wednesday, November 17, 1993

(Washington, D.C.) – Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wisconsin) today released a letter sent to President Clinton urging him to raise concerns about the situation in East Timor with Indonesian President Suharto during the Asia Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) starting tomorrow in Seattle. Feingold's letter was signed by a bipartisan group of 37 Senators.

"Over the past few months we've shed some additional light on the situation in East Timor," said Feingold, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "but we need to keep up the pressure."

In their letter to Clinton, the Senators applauded the actions of the Administration on behalf of human rights in East Timor but pointed out that the State Department and several human rights organizations continue to report that the human rights situation in East Timor is abysmal.

Feingold and his colleagues urged the President to "raise our concerns (about continued human rights violations) and reiterate the need for an authentic long-term solution to the Timor tragedy under the auspices of the United Nations."

Feingold was joined by Senators Dave Durenberger (R-MN), Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Paul Sarbanes (D-MD), Byron Dorgan (D-ND), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Malcolm Wallop (R-WY), Barbara Boxer (D-CAL), Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), Joe Lieberman (D-CT), Harris Wofford (D-PA), Tom Harkin (D-IA), Paul Simon (D-IL), Patrick Leahy (D-VT), Paul Wellstone (D-MN), Jay Rockefeller (D-W.VA), Bill Bradley (D-NJ), Herb Kohl (D-WI), Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), John Chafee (R-RI), Don Riegle (D-MI), Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Ben

Nighthorse Campbell (D-CO), Chris Dodd (D-CT), Chuck Grassley (R-IA), Dale Bumpers (D-ARK), Jim Sasser (D-TN), Richard Bryan (D-NEV), Carl Levin (D-MI), Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), Daniel Akaka (D-HI), John Kerry (D-MA), Tom Daschle (D-SD), Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL), Mark Hatfield (R-OR), and Joe Biden (D-DE) in sending the letter to Clinton.

Senators Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) and Bob Graham (D-FL) added their names too late to be included.

The text follows:

United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510
November 15, 1993

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. President,

As you prepare for the Asia Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) economic summit in Seattle from November 17-20, we are writing to urge you to take the opportunity to underscore the need for serious action to resolve the conflict in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, and has been the scene of widespread and severe human rights abuses ever since.

We believe that a just resolution in East Timor could create a better atmosphere for both American and Indonesian business interests, as well as for U.S.-Indonesian relations in general.

We applaud your Administration's actions on behalf of human rights in East Timor. We are grateful that in your discussions with President Suharto during the G-7 meeting, you raised the issue of East Timor. We also appreciate the position taken by your Administration at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva in March, when the United States co-sponsored a resolution strongly condemning human rights abuses in East Timor and calling for greater U.N. involvement in the conflict.

Nevertheless, the State Department and several human rights organizations continue to report that the human rights situation in East Timor is abysmal. There are consistent and reliable reports of torture of East Timorese detainees, harassment of the Roman Catholic Church, and arbitrary arrests of East Timorese opposed to Indonesian occupation. In fact, during a September visit of Congressional aides at least 53 student activists were taken into custody "to attend guidance courses" while the delegation was visiting the island. Moreover, Jakarta has still not accounted for the 66 individuals missing after the Dili Massacre of Novem-

ber 1991, nor have civilians convicted in connection with the peaceful demonstration of November 12, 1991, been treated in accordance with international human rights standards.

When you and members of your Administration meet with President Suharto and other high-level Indonesian officials at the APEC conference, we hope that you will raise our concerns and reiterate the need for an authentic long-term solution to the Timor tragedy under the auspices of the United Nations. Such a solution should be "in pursuit of the right of self-determination" for East Timor, as endorsed by the U.S. Senate in a November 1991 resolution.

We emphasize our support for the United Nations talks between Indonesia and Portugal. We were encouraged by the September 17 joint United Nations communiqué between Portugal and Indonesia calling for specific steps to be taken to secure the rights of the East Timorese, such as freer access for international humanitarian and human rights groups. Implementation of this agreement, as well as the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, release of East Timorese political prisoners, and the granting of meaningful autonomy to East Timor, would help foster an environment of peace and reconciliation in East Timor. Hopefully, negotiating an agreement will be a matter of priority.

We recognize the long-term friendship between the United States and the Republic of Indonesia, dating back to the strong support of the U.S. Senate on behalf of Indonesia during its struggle for independence from the Netherlands during the 1940's. It is in the spirit of this historical link in which we ask for your continued support for East Timor, human rights, and prosperous trade relations between our two countries.

101 HOUSE MEMBERS PETITION CLINTON ON EAST TIMOR

The following is the text of a press release issued by Rep. Hall's office on November 19. Contact: Michael Gessel (202) 225-6465

Washington— A bipartisan group of 101 House members led by Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Oh) called on President Clinton and other top U.S. officials to raise the issue of severe human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor when he meets with Indonesian President Suharto and other high-level officials at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit meeting in Seattle on Saturday Nov. 20.

East Timor drew worldwide attention in November 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire on thousands of peaceful marchers at Santa Cruz cemetery, killing up to 200

and wounding hundreds. The Santa Cruz massacre was filmed by a British cameraman and appeared on network television in the United States. At least 100,000 people had already perished from war-related causes well before the Santa Cruz massacre drew world notice. Indonesia invaded and illegally occupied East Timor in 1975 in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

"We believe that a lasting resolution of these problems is in the interest of overall U.S.-Indonesian political, economic and business relations," the Congress members stated, citing Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and a wide range of brutal practices, including harassment of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor.

Calling for the release of East Timorese jailed in connection with the Nov. 1991 demonstration, they noted that "the alleged leaders of the demonstration received sentences roughly ten times as harsh as the Indonesian security forces charged with carrying out the shooting" of hundreds of people at Santa Cruz cemetery. The House members noted that harsh repression continues in East Timor, with hundreds rounded up, beaten and tortured before and after a recent visit of US Congressional aides to the territory.

In addition to Hall, the letter was sponsored by the leaders of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Cal) and Rep. John Edward Porter (R-Ill), plus Rep. Ron Machtley (R-RI). Rep. Hall has led Congressional activity on East Timor since he came to the House of Representatives in 1979.

The following is the text of the letter sent to President Clinton by 101 Members of the U.S. House of Representatives before the APEC Summit Meeting:

Nov. 16, 1993

Dear Mr. President,

For some time, many of us have been deeply concerned over the tragic situation in East Timor, the predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony which was illegally invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975. Our concern was heightened in the wake of the massacre, in full view of Western journalists, of up to 200 unarmed demonstrators by Indonesian security forces at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, on Nov. 12, 1991. The fact that supposed leaders of the demonstration received sentences roughly ten times as harsh as the Indonesian security forces charged with carrying out the shooting was a gross inequity. Ongoing Indonesian repression in East Timor, since the Nov. 1991 events, most recently a wave of detentions and abuse in September 1993, has underscored that the human rights situation in East

Timor, and the issue of the harassment of the Catholic Church demand immediate relief.

On the occasion of your meeting with Indonesian President Suharto and other high-level Indonesian officials at the economic summit in Seattle on November 19 and 20, we urge you to make clear American concern over this state of affairs and stress the need for immediate relief of the appalling human rights situation, as well as a long-term solution to the status of East Timor, where at least 100,000 people already had perished from war-related causes well before the Santa Cruz massacre drew world attention. We believe that a lasting resolution of these problems is in the interest of overall US-Indonesian political, economic and business relations.

We commend the fact that you and your Administration have expressed concern over the Timor situation on a number of occasions, and have acted to make Indonesia aware of the U.S. interest in promoting human rights in East Timor. However, recent reports from authoritative sources make it clear that respect for human rights and the position of the Catholic Church, continue to be jeopardized in East Timor. Over 50 people were detained and beaten both before and after two visits of Congressional staff to East Timor in early September. This was part of a territory-wide round-up of young people who were detained to prevent them from meeting with the visiting Congressional staff. Such repression is continuing.

We would note that on Sept. 17, 1993, Indonesia agreed in a United Nations communiqué to take steps to improve the human rights situation in East Timor. Surely an end to harassment of the Catholic Church should be a key step in improving human rights condition there. The release of East Timorese political detainees, those being held in connection with the events of November 1991, and other more recent prisoners, would also be gestures of reconciliation that could help facilitate a solution to the Timor tragedy under the auspices of the United Nations pursuant to long-standing U.N. resolutions. All political detainees should have regular access to international humanitarian organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and lawyers and family members. The use of preventive arrests and detentions should be halted, and abuse of the population in East Timor, as well as Timorese students in Java and Bali, should cease.

International humanitarian organizations, human rights groups, and the news media should have free access to the territory. Relaxation of rigid Indonesian control over the Timorese people and steps promoting increased local autonomy would further

encourage the reconciliation process. In addition, we are disturbed about the lack of due process in some trials which can lead to lengthy prison terms, such as the recent case of Xanana Gusmão. We are also concerned about his well-being and the reports of harsh treatment.

Once again, let us emphasize that we recognize the importance of a strong American relationship with Indonesia. It is because we value this relationship so highly that we wish to see an end to the tragic Timor problem which undercuts increased cooperation and enhanced friendship with Indonesia.

Thank you for your attention to our request.

Sincerely,

Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio), John Edward Porter (R-IL), Tom Lantos (D-CA), Ron Machtley (R-RI), David Obey (D-WI), Neil Abercrombie (D-HI), George Brown (D-CA), Barney Frank (D-MA), William Hughes (D-NJ), Harris Fawell (R-IL), Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), Scott Klug (R-WI), Solomon Ortiz (D-TX), Fred Upton (R-MI), Thomas Andrews (D-ME), Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Matthew Martinez (D-CA), Carrie Meek (D-FL), Benjamin Cardin (D-MD), Bruce Vento (D-MN), Patsy Mink (D-HI), Louise Slaughter (D-NY), Michael McNulty (D-NY), Andrew Jacobs (D-IND), Thomas Ridge (R-PA), David Bonior (D-MI), Donald Payne (D-NJ), José Serrano (D-NY), Jan Meyers (R-KS), Robert Torricelli (D-NJ), Julian Dixon (D-CA), Herb Klein (D-NJ), Thomas Bliley (R-VA), Steve Gunderson (R-WI), Christopher Smith (R-NJ), Edolphus Towns (D-NY), David Skaggs (D-CO), Charles Schumer (D-NY), James Oberstar (D-MN), Glenn Poshard (D-IL), Robert Borski (D-PA), Hamilton Fish, Jr. (R-NY), Jack Reed (D-RI), Jim Saxton (R-NJ), Frank Wolf (R-VA), John Olver (D-MA), Sam Copper-smith (D-AZ), Pat Williams (D-MT), Bill Richardson (D-NM), Frank McCloskey (D-IN), Frank Pallone, Jr. (D-NJ), Robert Underwood (D-VA), Cynthia McKinney (D-GA), Mike Synar (D-OK), Peter Visclosky (D-IND), James Bilbray (D-NV), Don Edwards (D-CA), John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI), Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY), Bill Emerson (R-MO), George Miller (D-CA), Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), Christopher Shays (D-CT), Herbert Bateman (R-VA), Marcy Kaptur (D-OH), Craig Washington (D-TX), George Hochbrueckner (D-NY), Jolene Unsoeld (D-WA), Sam Farr (D-CA), Douglas "Pete" Peterson (D-FL), Timothy Penny (D-MN), H. Martin Lancaster (D-NC), Mel Reynolds (D-IL), Bernard Sanders (D-VT), Jerry Costello (D-IL), Edward Markey (D-MA), Joseph P. Kennedy, II (D-MA), Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD), Austin Murphy (D-PA), Charlie Rose (D-NC), Ileana Ros-

Lehtinen (R-FL), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Doug Bereuter (R-KS), Howard Berman (D-CA), Constance Morella (R-MD), Ronald Dellums (D-CA), Peter DeFazio (D-OR), David Price (D-NC), Gerald Kleczka (D-WI), Vic Fazio (D-CA), William Coyne (D-PA), Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), John Joseph Moakley (D-MA), Sam Gejdenson (D-CT), Thomas Foglietta (D-PA), David Minge (D-MN), Tim Johnson (D-SD), Bart Gordon (D-TN), Thomas Manton (D-NY), Henry Gonzalez (D-TX), Fortney Pete Stark (D-CA)

APEC PROVIDES OPPORTUNITY TO BROADEN PERSPECTIVE

By Charlie Scheiner, East Timor Action Network

(Seattle, Nov. 17) – I've spent the last two days in the APEC media and Seattle Citizens' Host Campaign (see below) offices. There's little of substance happening yet with the official APEC conference, and much of what will happen will not be public. The expected 2000 journalists are being treated to free umbrellas, ballet tickets (at the same time as Friday's Tibet and East Timor demonstrations) and goodies from a variety of businesses. Frequent bus tours of Boeing, Microsoft and other corporate and tourist venues are encouraging reporters to write about the wonders of Seattle and trade.

Nevertheless, as the article below illustrates (as did yesterday's Seattle Post-Intelligencer, with a front page article about human rights concerns in APEC countries) some are seeing through the hoopla. In his address at the University of Washington this morning, US Secretary of State Warren Christopher singled out Burma, Vietnam, Indonesia and China as countries in which "human rights is a key issue in our relations." "...great areas of Asia lag behind the march of history. But the yearnings for freedom are not a Western export. They are a human instinct. All across Asia, the U.S. is working to respond to those yearnings. We are, in short, aligning ourselves with the future."

The members of the diverse Citizen's Host Committee coalition are working so that human rights, the environment and national self-determination are in the minds of the media and ministers here – to create a more complete picture than APEC's focus on dollars and yen. They don't oppose APEC per se, but hope to broaden the coverage. None of the conferences, vigils, pickets, rallies, marches or other actions planned are intended to disrupt APEC or its satellite activities. In fact, the Seattle police are com-

portable enough with the SCHC to allow their major Saturday rally to proceed as requested in spite of initial concerns about inadequate police resources with so many heads of state in town.

The effort to woo the media seems to take precedence over discussions of trade. As I'm typing this in the APEC Press Center, a local TV reporter is taping his broadcast. His closing sentence: "Ultimately, each reporter will put their own spin on how they feel their country's leaders fared at this APEC Conference. If they had a good time, and they go home to tell their audience about it, Seattle wins."

Here are the first few paragraphs of a front page article in today's Seattle Times:

**CHANCE TO AIR GRIEVANCES
CREATES SOME ODD ALLIANCES**

The Seattle Times, November 17, 1993, By Mary F. Pols, Seattle Times Staff Reporter

What on earth does the East Timor Action Network have in common with the Puget Sound Gillnetters Association?

Just one thing – a disagreement with the powers that be.

In the case of the former, the dispute is with the Indonesian government, which has occupied the small nation off Australia's north shore since 1975. It's a conflict that's claimed more than 100,000 lives. In the case of the latter, the argument is with the Clinton administration's forestry and fishery policies.

That's enough to gain both groups membership in the Seattle Citizens' Host Committee – an umbrella organization formed last month for activists and advocates who've got a beef with at least one of the VIPs visiting Seattle for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting this week.

The headings on the SCHC's neatly typed list of events sum it up nicely. OURS (Citizens). THEIRS (Government). For every APEC event, there is a citizens action to counter it – nearly 40 of them.

The article goes on to talk about the genesis of SCHC and give a sense of the range of groups included. On the front page, a large color photo of a Tibetan demonstrator with a Tibetan flag and a "China out of Tibet" sign accompanies the lead article "APEC's deliberate pace"

**HUMAN RIGHTS IN
THE APEC REGION**

Asia Watch Report, November 1993, distributed to journalists and others at APEC. Excerpts (introduction and Indonesia/East Timor section)

1. ASIA, HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. POLICY IN 1993

While human rights violations continued throughout the APEC region, the major story during the year was not so much the nature of the abuses but the debate over how to address them. Two factors had a major impact on this debate: the increased visibility of Asian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the growing economic power of East Asia.

Asian NGOs were able to articulate a vision of human rights that differed radically from that of their own governments and thus called into question the ability of the latter to define what is "Asian." They were more successful than their governments in blurring the traditional sub-regional distinctions of South Asia, Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia. Additionally, they helped redefine priorities for the human rights movement in a way that rendered obsolete the old division of labor among human rights, development, women's rights and environmental organizations.

These efforts culminated in the issuing of the "Bangkok NGO Declaration on Human Rights" of March 27 (see Appendix 1). Over 100 NGOs from across Asia and the Pacific gathered in Bangkok on March 23 to coordinate their position for the World Conference on Human Rights, just as Asian governments convened a few days later, also in Bangkok, for the regional preparatory meeting of the World Conference on Human Rights. It was clear from a series of statements they made during 1992 that China, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, at the very least, were determined to promote an "Asian concept of human rights" which downplayed political and civil rights, highlighted the importance of economic development, stressed the need to take cultural, historical and religious factors into account when assessing human rights, and rejected aid conditionality and other forms of "interference in domestic affairs."

It was this concept that the Asian NGOs set out to rebut in Bangkok. The NGO Declaration they produced stated that because human rights were universal, "The advocacy of human rights cannot be considered to be an encroachment on national sovereignty." While noting the importance in the region of cultural pluralism, the NGOs declared, "Those cultural practices which derogate from universally accepted human rights, including women's rights, must not be tolerated." In reaffirming the indivisibility of political and economic rights, they stated, "Violations of civil, political and economic rights frequently result from the emphasis on economic development at the expense of human rights. Violations of social and cultural rights are often the result of political systems which treat human rights as being of secondary importance."

The Asian governments, at the official meeting from March 29 to April 2, produced a document which reflected much of the Chinese, Indonesian, Malaysian and Singaporean position (although since the U.N.'s definition of Asia includes South-west Asia, it included the viewpoints of governments such as Syria and Iran as well.) Some of the Asian democracies, including Japan, managed to moderate the tone of some provisions, such as that on aid conditionality, changing the word "reject" to "discourage." They also managed to include important clauses such as that emphasizing the need to encourage all states of the region to ratify the international covenants on human rights (Ironically, however, it was the Asian governments' castigation of the West for failing to heed the importance of social and economic rights and the right to development that led the American delegation to the Vienna Conference to reverse the stance of earlier administrations and announce its intent to ratify the relevant conventions.)

The NGOs succeeded in blunting the efforts of some governments to accentuate North-South and East-West fissures. But it was clear, not only from their stance in Bangkok but from NGO work more generally, that the Asian NGO agenda differed in some respects from that of counterpart organizations in the West, particularly in honing in on the need to address the linkage between human rights and development.

Unlike the "development first" position of many Asian governments, which reflected a pride in their own economic achievements, the Asian NGOs working at the grassroots tended to see the negative impact of development and the human rights implications thereof: peasants displaced from their land for the construction of dams in Indonesia or for commercial enterprises, such as logging in Burma or Malaysia; forced relocation of urban squatters and dispossession of indigenous peoples; increased income disparities and pervasive corruption; exploitation of workers; the growing AIDS epidemic and the discrimination against people with AIDS and HIV; and violence against women. Because many development projects criticized by the NGOs on human rights grounds also had negative implications for the environment, the distinction between human rights and environmental advocacy had little meaning in Asia.

The focus on human rights and development did not mean that NGOs ignored abuses of basic political and civil rights. For many Asian NGOs, detained Burmese opposition leader and Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi was a potent symbol of the Asian struggle for human rights and democracy. Treatment in detention centers was a major issue for Burmese refugees in Thailand.

NGOs in Hong Kong were increasingly concerned about preservation of basic civil liberties, particularly freedom of the press, as 1997 approached. Korean NGOs focused attention on the continued use of the National Security Law, and their concerns were reinforced when Cho Guk, an activist from the Korean NGO, KONUCH, who attended the U.N. human rights meetings in Bangkok and Vienna, was arrested shortly after his return from the latter and charged under that law with pro-North Korean and "anti-state" activities. Indonesian NGOs continued to defend political detainees, from suspected insurgents to students accused of criticizing the electoral process, and call for greater freedom of association for workers.

But the fact remained that violations of political and civil rights, for the most part, were most severe in the countries where domestic NGOs were not allowed to operate: China, Vietnam, Burma, Bhutan, Brunei and North Korea. Elsewhere, there were areas which were also effectively closed to domestic and international human rights investigators, including East Timor and parts of Irian Jaya, Tibet, and Khmer Rouge-held zones of Cambodia. The Asia-wide coalition of NGOs thus spoke to concerns in countries which already had a modicum of political openness; in countries without such domestic voices, there was no real alternative to international pressure as a way of drawing attention to human rights abuses and trying to curb them.

As noted above, Asian NGOs succeeded better than their respective governments in working together across subregional boundaries. The Bangkok conference highlighted regional solidarity and common interests, but there were many examples during the year of transnational cooperation. Sri Lankan and Thai human rights NGOs were particularly helpful to their newly-formed counterparts in Cambodia. In Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines and elsewhere, NGOs worked to document the use of comfort women during the Japanese military occupation of their respective countries during the Second World War; they then joined forces with NGOs in Japan to call for Japanese government to acknowledge the abuses and compensate the victims. (By the end of the year, they had the acknowledgment but not the compensation.)

The breakdown of geographical barriers was somewhat offset by the need of NGOs to respond to developments within regional governmental associations like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The ASEAN countries – Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand and the Philippines – seemed well on their way by year's end to developing a regional mechanism to address human rights concerns.

NGOs in the region were watching warily, doubtful that any mechanism that included among its founders President Suharto and Prime Minister Mahathir could advance the protection of human rights.

If the growing strength of NGOs in the region affected the human rights debate, so did the growing economic clout of East Asia, home of the "four dragons" (Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) and the future dragons (China, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia). For one thing, it meant that for much of the international community, "Asia" was East Asia; South Asia, comprising the countries of the Indian subcontinent, was largely ignored.

The "Asian concept of human rights" was the creation of East Asian governments, and authoritarian East Asian governments at that, which felt they deserved praise, not censure, for their efforts to alleviate poverty, even if some civil rights were curtailed in the process. Former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew went to an extreme when he argued that Asians did not care about democratic government; they preferred efficient government. Other governments argued that it was simply a matter of time: Taiwan and South Korea were now well along in the democratization process, but their period of greatest growth came under authoritarian regimes. The problem with this argument, as the NGOs clearly saw, was that it left it up to non-democratic governments themselves to determine when the requisite level of development had been reached that would permit more political openness. Prior to the Vienna conference, 56 Indonesian NGOs said that time had now come in their country: "Now that development has been carried out for two decades," they said in a joint statement, "it is time for priority to be given to the realization of political and civil rights and democracy."

The experience of Taiwan and South Korea, however, also led many in the West who were uncomfortable with human rights advocacy to posit a direct relationship between economic liberalization and positive political change. Let the Chinese, Vietnamese and Indonesian economies continue to expand, the argument went, and an improvement in human rights will inevitably result, if only to satisfy the demands of a growing middle class. That argument, however, was of small comfort to the thousands detained in the region on political grounds. It belied the experience of China, where continued commitment to economic reform was accompanied by increased political repression, as China's leaders expressed a determination not to let the reforms affect Party control, and any signs of dissent were quickly crushed. And it ignored the abusive aspects of economic growth – "maldevel-

opment" – which many of the region's NGOs were trying to address.

Economic growth in East Asia, however, also confronted the industrialized governments with some new problems for their human rights policies. Many Asian countries had the economic strength to resist economic sanctions or aid conditionalities imposed by donor countries. In 1992, the U.S. Congress cut off aid for advanced training for Indonesian military officers under the International Military and Educational Training Program; in 1993, the Indonesian government was planning to send officers to the U.S. for what was essentially the same program, but this time at its own expense. It was clear that China did not want to lose Most Favored Nation trade status with the U.S.; it was also clear that China's economy was powerful enough to sustain the loss, if necessary. As trade and investment in the East Asian region became increasingly vital to the strength of industrialized economies, how far were the Western countries and Japan willing to press on human rights? One year into a new administration in the U.S. and six months into a new government in Japan, this question remained unanswered.

U.S. Policy

Fears in the region that Asia would be ignored by the Clinton administration, with its focus on domestic policy, were assuaged by over a dozen visits of senior administration officials during the year, including President Clinton's trip to Tokyo for the summit of the Group of Seven (G-7) industrialized countries in July where he extolled the virtues of what he called the New Pacific Community. The question, as it turned out, was not whether Asia would be neglected; it was whether the attention would be welcome.

The Asia-Pacific region was seen both as a critical area for American jobs and exports, and as a test case in the new administration's determination to promote democracy, open markets and human rights. As Winston Lord, the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific said in a briefing on August 31, "We believe you can't have open economics and closed politics."

The Clinton Administration made significant efforts to press individual countries in the region on particular human rights issues, such as access by the International Committee of the Red Cross to China, and labor rights in Indonesia. But these initiatives on behalf of human rights were overshadowed by the administration's tending to portray human rights and democracy as core American values, not as values underpinned by an international system of treaties which have been ratified by countries around the world. In a region where non-democratic govern-

ments had already made such political capital out of perceived North-South and East-West divisions, the failure to anchor the promotion of human rights securely in United Nations mechanisms was unwise.

Portraying human rights and democracy as quintessentially American, rather than universal, values might also have created problems for the administration's stated desire to see other countries join forces in their protection and promotion. On the other hand, it was not clear that the administration had aggressively sought allies on this issue, particularly in the region. Japan had the potential to be much more active on human rights, given its stated position that allocation of overseas aid should be determined, in part, by a recipient country's democratization and respect for human rights. The new cabinet, formed after the July elections, also included at least two men, including the new foreign minister, known to be interested in human rights. Yet when Secretary Christopher met Foreign Minister Hata in mid-September, the issue of a multilateral stance on human rights toward the major violators of the region apparently did not come up. The new Korean government also indicated its desire to play a greater regional role in fostering human rights and democracy; it was not clear whether the administration in Washington took the cue.

By and large, however, the Clinton administration demonstrated a stronger rhetorical commitment to human rights than its predecessor, backed up, in a few cases such as China and Indonesia, by the threatened use of selective sanctions. But by the end of the year, the administration seemed to be having second thoughts about a tough human rights approach, particularly with respect to China, as anxiety rose about the political and economic implications.

It was unclear how the administration would resolve the dilemma of promoting human rights and promoting jobs and exports in East Asia. But as the debates on trade benefits for China (MFN) and Indonesia (Generalized System of Preferences or GSP) made clear, a major player in addressing that dilemma would be the American business community. As the year opened, the business community was well aware of the increased readiness of the new administration to impose sanctions and of the ability of East Asian countries to withstand them. It feared that countries like China and Indonesia would retaliate against American companies if human rights pressure from Washington became too intense by giving future contracts to Japanese and European competitors. Some companies thus expressed an interest in working with Asia Watch and other human rights groups to

head off a crisis before it arose or to work out a solution that might advance human rights at the same time that it eased the threat of sanctions.

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5. INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR

Ratification of international human rights covenants:

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: NO

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: NO

Human Rights Developments

Despite some signs of increasing receptivity to human rights concerns, Indonesia continued to detain critics arbitrarily, restrict freedom of expression, and obstruct the emergence of independent associations. Abuse of detainees immediately after arrest remained routine. Indonesian military abuses continued, but in two major cases, the killing of a young labor activist and the shooting of demonstrators at a dam site in Madura, army personnel were arrested or disciplined.

The appointment of President Suharto to a sixth term by the People's Consultative Assembly in March; the successful campaign by the armed forces to have its commander-in-chief, Try Sutrisno, appointed Vice-President; and major cabinet changes announced at the end of March heralded little change in the government's approach to human rights.

Shortly before the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights in June, Indonesia announced the establishment of a national commission on human rights, headed by a former military judge and head of the Supreme Court, Ali Said. The twenty-five-member commission was set up by presidential decree and appeared to have neither independence nor investigatory powers.

Access to Indonesia by international human rights organizations remained limited, although Asia Watch and the International Commission of Jurists were permitted in March to send observers to the highly-charged political trial of Xanana Gusmão, leader of the East Timorese independence organization and guerrilla army.

Asia Watch received no reports of disappearances during the year, although outstanding cases of disappearances in Aceh and East Timor from 1990 and 1991 remained unresolved. The government appeared to be making no effort to find the missing or punish those responsible, and in both areas, the disappeared were presumed dead.

Several killings were attributed to the armed forces and police. On March 25, two men from the transmigrant community of Sei Lapan in North Sumatra were reported

to have died in custody after having been beaten following their arrest in connection with a longstanding land dispute. On May 9, a young labor activist named Marsinah was found raped and murdered after a strike at her factory in Sidoarjo, East Java, in which the military had intervened. On November 5, a military officer, Captain Kusari, was arrested on suspicion of having been involved in the kidnapping of Marsinah. In late July, the body of Hans Soaf, believed to be a political activist in Irian Jaya, was found buried shortly after his arrest in Waskee, West Sarmi. Suspected leaders of Aceh Merdeka, the armed nationalist organization, continued to shot dead by the army, rather than captured; two were killed in August. On September 25, soldiers opened fire on a group of peaceful demonstrators in Madura, off the coast of East Java. Three people, including a fourteen-year-old boy, were killed instantly; another died later of his injuries. The demonstrators were protesting the construction of a dam. The army announced that the killings would be investigated.

Freedom of expression continued to be tightly controlled, with dozens arrested for a wide variety of offenses. In early January, two young men, Djoni Purwoto and Sugiri Cahyono, were sentenced to four and three and a half years in prison respectively on blasphemy charges for insulting Islam during a comic theatre performance in Salatiga, Central Java.

Two students from Semarang, Central Java, were accused of "spreading hatred of the government" for criticizing the electoral process during the parliamentary election campaign in May 1992. The prosecution requested several months in prison, but as of mid-November the verdict had not been announced. Another student, David Ramone, was sentenced to six months in prison on slander charges for his role in a demonstration in which students carried posters asking a university administrator to account for his use of student fees. In late June, the trial of a young activist, Buntomi, opened in absentia in Salatiga; he was accused of distributing a calendar in 1991 that bore unflattering caricatures of President Suharto and his wife.

Freedom of association was a major issue, particularly with respect to labor and religion. The government continued to harass people associated with the independent labor union, Indonesia Prosperous Workers Union (SBSI). In June, soldiers arrested two SBSI leaders in Medan, North Sumatra, for their role in a strike at a local shrimp farm. Both men were severely beaten; they were released after a week. On July 29, the government prevented SBSI from holding its

first national congress. The Indonesian military continued as a matter of routine to

The military also intervened heavily in a leadership dispute within the Huria Kristen Batak Protestan or HKBP, the largest Protestant congregation in the country, based in North Sumatra. Beginning in January and continuing throughout the year, protests against the government-installed ephorus or archbishop led to over 100 arrests, many of them involving physical abuse. On July 25, a photographer hired by one faction to document the clashes was arrested by the district military command in Bongbongan and beaten. He suffered several broken ribs. Many of those detained tried to bring habeas corpus petitions against the army officers who arrested them, but the courts refused to hear them on the grounds that according to the Criminal Procedure Code, they only had authority to rule on irregular arrest and detention procedures involving police.

East Timor continued to receive international attention for the human rights violations committed there. The trial of Xanana Gusmão in Dili District Court from February to May 1993 was, until the end, more open than any East Timorese trial in memory, with foreign journalists, diplomats and human rights organizations all in attendance – until the defendant abandoned his hitherto passive stance and began his defense. The government first refused to let him read his defense plea in Portuguese; it then tried to prevent diplomats from attending the final sessions; and finally it barred Gusmão from reading the plea at all, declaring it to be irrelevant to the charges against him. Gusmão was sentenced to life in prison, later reduced through a disputed plea for clemency to twenty years. He is serving the sentence in Cipinang Prison in Jakarta.

Between May and July, the military commander responsible for East Timor, General Theo Syafei, tried to prevent the International Committee of the Red Cross from visiting East Timorese detainees on the ICRC's terms. Visits were resumed on July 29.

In early September, prior to the visit of a delegation of Congressional staff members, over fifty East Timorese were detained for what were euphemistically referred to as "courses." They were released after the delegation returned to Jakarta.

Human rights organizations continued to be subject to harassment and threats from the government, even as their visibility and influence increased. In September, Vice-President Try Sutrisno warned darkly of traitors who gave information to foreign organizations. He made the remarks in connection with an announcement from the office of the U.S. Trade Representative that

tariff benefits could be revoked unless labor rights practices improved.

Several activists from LBH-Ampera, a legal aid organization, were detained after a peasant demonstration on October 6 in Bogor, West Java. The police chief of Bogor accused the group who organized the demonstration of being linked to the banned Communist Party. Jauhari Ahmed, who works for the organization, received death threats from unidentified men who vandalized his home at 2 A.M.

U.S. Policy

The Clinton administration was particularly active and outspoken on the issues of East Timor and workers' rights in Indonesia, raising these concerns at the highest levels with Indonesian officials.

At the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva in March, the U.S. played a pivotal role in generating support for a resolution expressing concern about human rights abuses in East Timor, clearly signaling to Indonesia that it intended to take a tougher line on human rights than the Bush administration. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 22 to 12 (with 15 abstaining).

At the World Bank-convened donors meeting of eighteen nations in Paris on June 30, the U.S. raised East Timor and worker rights during the general discussion and in its bilateral talks. The Consultative Group pledged \$5.1 billion in development assistance, with no specific human rights conditions attached. Several governments including the U.S., Canada, Austria and Switzerland, referred to human rights and the issue of "good governance."

On July 3, forty-three senators wrote to President Clinton urging him to bring up East Timor with President Suharto at the G-7 summit meeting in Tokyo. The president did so.

In response to petitions filed in June 1992 with the U.S. Trade Representative's office by Asia Watch and the International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund, Mickey Kantor announced on June 25 that Indonesia's GSP (Generalized System of Preferences) export benefits would be in "serious jeopardy" if "substantial concrete progress" was not made to protect workers' rights. USTR announced it would develop an "action plan" with Jakarta and would decide by mid-February 1994 whether to continue the GSP program in Indonesia. The GSP report, issued in July, was especially critical of the lack of freedom of association for workers and the role of the military in labor relations. The Indonesian government's moves to ban the national congress of the independent union SBSI, in the midst of the GSP review, sparked a strong denunciation by the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta and a

stern statement from Timothy Wirth, State Department Counselor.

On September 20, an inter-agency team, led by USTR, visited Indonesia for five days of talks with Indonesian officials, non-governmental organizations, independent union organizers, and others. Such a visit had never taken place before during the annual GSP review.

Throughout 1993, Congressional concern on human rights in Indonesia was focused almost exclusively on East Timor. A Congressional staff delegation visited Indonesia, and briefly went to East Timor, from August 21 to September 5.

The FY 1994 foreign aid bill continued the ban on IMET (International Military Education and Training) to Indonesia enacted by Congress in 1992.

Indonesia was due to receive \$46 million in development assistance, plus an increase in foreign military sales estimated at \$15 million in FY 1994, and an additional \$15.8 million in commercial military sales. An amendment to the Senate authorization bill, sponsored by Sen. Russell Feingold, was approved by the Foreign Relations Committee on September 8, linking future military sales to Indonesia to human rights progress in East Timor. The administration opposed the Feingold amendment, however, on grounds that it would hamper other efforts to address Indonesia's human rights behavior.

In August, following consultations with Congress, the administration had rejected a request by Jordan to sell U.S. F-5 jet fighters to Indonesia, partly on human rights grounds. At that time, the State Department emphasized that the decision was "not a precedent for other arms transfer decisions."

The U.S. Embassy in Jakarta in 1993 continued energetically to raise concerns about human rights abuses.

6. JAPAN

...

At the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Japan played an ambiguous role: cosponsoring a resolution on human rights in China which failed, but abstaining on a crucial resolution on human rights in East Timor, which passed. The Japanese embassy in Indonesia, however, did send representatives to attend the trial of a major East Timorese political prisoner, Xanana Gusmão, between February and May.

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PACIFIC RIM NATIONS SHARE ECONOMIC BOOM

But political divisions remain

By Jim Simon, *Seattle Times*, Nov. 16

SEATTLE – The most glittering item on display at this week's Pacific Rim trade summit is what the visitors share: an extraordinary record of economic growth.

Following the lead of Japan, many member nations of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum have transformed their economies in one generation from abject poverty to the world's most dynamic.

What is easily obscured about the "East Asian miracle," particularly on the U.S. side of the Pacific, is this: It is made up of strikingly diverse nations with often-conflicting agendas, longstanding wariness toward one another and thorny internal political problems.

"Economic changes have run ahead of the social and political differences in Asia," says Kozo Yamamura, a University of Washington economist. "National boundaries and conflicts have become less important than economic ties."

But if the official topic of APEC and the summit meeting of President Clinton and 11 national leaders on Blake Island in Puget Sound Saturday is economic cooperation, the region's political conflicts still cast a long shadow.

The prime minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad, won't be coming for the summit of Pacific Rim leaders – a protest against potential U.S. domination of what he thinks should be an Asian affair.

Hundreds of Tibetans and their sympathizers are bringing attention to what they say is the brutal and illegal rule of their homeland by China. They are being joined by dissidents from Taiwan and Timor, forest-protection advocates and labor activists, all hoping to shine attention on spotty human-rights or environmental records before an audience of 3,000 diplomats and journalists.

"Our message is trade can't drive everything," said Kunzang Yuthok, director of the Tibetan Rights Campaign in Seattle. "It's got to be tied to what's happening to people inside the country."

Among the 15 nations represented in Seattle are China, the world's most populous country, and Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim country. Also on the roster is one of the world's tiniest and richest nations, the sultanate of Brunei.

Japan is among the world's most ethnically homogeneous countries. Indonesians speak nearly 300 languages. Malaysia, with large Chinese and East Indian minorities, relies on an official ethnic balancing act to ensure that the majority Malays get the bulk of many benefits, such as government jobs and scholarships.

Explosive growth has created a sizable middle class in Thailand and Indonesia, but it has left huge numbers of people living in squalor. And the Philippines remains an economic basket case, with more than half of its population living below the official poverty line, according to the most recent World Bank figures.

The authoritarian regimes of South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand, under pressure created by their new wealth, have begun transformations to multiparty democracies. But much of the region remains under one-party rule, and the military in several countries still dominates business and politics. China and Indonesia, in particular, are criticized harshly for alleged human-rights violations.

"The rise of the middle class in a lot of these countries has led to greater demands for political liberalization but not necessarily better civil rights," said Mike Jendrzeczyk of Asia Watch, which planned to release reports critical of China.

"We want to challenge the notion that it's not valid to condition trade and economic aid on improving human rights."

The most nagging political challenge in the region is China.

China will press U.S. officials to make permanent its "most favored nation" trading standing, which now must be renewed annually.

A series of protests is aimed in part at keeping that from occurring. A coalition of Chinese dissidents is holding several events expected to focus on everything from the use of prison labor in exports to censorship.

Tibetans want Clinton to urge Chinese officials to negotiate with the Dalai Lama, their exiled spiritual leader. Pro-independence Taiwanese opposition groups are organizing protests against Taiwan's exclusion from the United Nations.

The governments of Hong Kong and Taiwan, ever more reliant on trade with the mainland, seek their own assurances. For Hong Kong that means pressing for the survival of a freewheeling economy and some form of self rule after China takes over in 1997. The Taiwanese government, still officially claiming to be China's legitimate ruler, wants equal status in international forums like APEC.

Richard Baker, a former U.S. diplomat who is now a senior fellow at the East-West Center in Honolulu, said some Southeast Asian countries, with centuries of mistrust toward Chinese ambitions, are wary of the re-emergence of China as a regional economic power.

"The Americans say they won't withdraw from the region, the Japanese say they won't rearm, and the Chinese say they have no more territorial designs," Baker said.

"Of course, the smaller countries are nervous about what the big guys are really doing."

Indonesia is emblematic of the region's enormous potential and challenges. The country of 180 million people, little known in the West, is cited by many as a model of development.

Still poor by U.S. standards, the economy is growing by more than 6 percent a year. Foreign investment has doubled in five years, and the percentage of people living in poverty is shrinking. Still a source of cheap labor and natural resources like oil, Indonesia now makes airplanes and its banks were among the first to finance the rebuilding of Vietnam.

Experts credit President Suharto, a general who seized power in a bloody 1965 uprising, for charting the country's economic course. But human-rights groups and others criticize his regime for ruthlessly putting down dissent and separatist movements in areas such as Timor, a former Portuguese colony where Indonesia received an international black eye after about 200 demonstrators were killed in 1991.

Daniel Lev, a Southeast Asia expert at the University of Washington, said there is uncertainty about what will happen when Suharto leaves power.

But analysts say such questions shouldn't obscure just how remarkably and swiftly change, economic and political, has come to Asia.

Just two decades ago, many experts predicted the future of Asia would be with communism: North Vietnam, after withdrawing war with the United States, conquered the south; strong left-wing insurgencies raged in Thailand and the Philippines.

Instead, there has been dramatic political upheaval in recent years against military-backed regimes – first in Manila, then spreading to Seoul, Taipei and Bangkok – largely due to pressure from Asia's growing middle class, according to analysts.

"The tensions haven't gone away, but there's far more commonality as these countries rewrite themselves," said Charles Keyes, director of Southeast Asian studies at the University of Washington.

"The symbolic side of APEC is the great realization of their collective clout."

REPORT ON ETAN ACTIVITIES AT APEC

From Mariza Costa Cabral, *ETAN/Seattle*.
Nov. 22, 1993

FRIDAY: Li-Lien was interviewed by Gordon Burridge of Pacific Rim News and by a radio station at the Citizen's Host Committee press room. The Canadians also

went around the Volunteer Park area and finished putting up the posters which David and Ze started putting up the night before: one poster in memory of each victim of the Santa Cruz massacre. There were posters everywhere, it seemed, and very clearly visible.

Friday Vigil:

Sixty-five people showed up for the vigil (not counting the four Indonesian gentlemen who followed us at a distance). The original plan was to go to 15th Ave (that's where the police issued all the protest permits for) but Li-Lien said she was sure the motorcade would go on 12th, not on 15th. 12th was most immaculately clean and all parked cars had been towed away. We made a group decision to go to 12th because our main purpose was to be seen by the motorcade.

We got there just on time. We stood on the sidewalk, with policemen facing us and placed at regular intervals. The motorcade went by in intermittent groups of cars and we all shouted at the top of our lungs as they went by: Free East Timor! We had lots of signs and banners (in large part brought from Canada) and two large FRETILIN flags (also from Canada). I dare say that our protest was pretty powerful, with a good number of people and placed at the right location. Two people were sure they saw Suharto. Clinton's car passed by us too. So did many others. We then walked towards the Park and stood for a while at the entrance, shouting slogans. At the end, Loren and Li-Lien addressed the group thanking everyone for coming and urged people to stay motivated on the issue. People were urged to attend the rally Saturday. Because we were not where the press expected us to be, we were interviewed by only a radio station and the P.I.

SATURDAY: Maybe 20 or so of us went to the rally. The biggest group probably was the "China Out of Tibet" organized by the Tibetan Rights Campaign. There was also a large group for freedom in Vietnam (name?). And a very large group (although much smaller than I had expected) for the "Jobs With Justice." And many other groups (human rights, environment, and labor rights). The speaker for human rights, the Baptist Reverend Jeffreys, mentioned East Timor many times and mentioned the 200,000 people dead in ET. He gave a gorgeous speech in my opinion, emphasizing the point that the world needs to change and put people first instead of serving the interests of the large corporations. His speech was very emotional and powerful.

There were two Indonesian gentlemen taking pictures of us (one went around asking people to pose for him with a big friendly smile...) as well as a white middle-

aged guy who stayed taking pictures of us until the very end (until we all left the site, well after the end of the rally). Any idea whom that might have been?

INDONESIA'S VIEW OF APEC

From Jakarta Radio Republik Indonesia Network in Indonesian. 19 November 1993

The two-day multilateral national leaders and the leaders of the Asia-Pacific joint working forum in Seattle, the United States, felt that a declaration would be issued on cooperation in trade and investment among the member countries. The ministerial-level APEC meeting from 17 to 19 November 1993 was not marred by heated arguments. They accepted the Seattle declaration in principle as the base toward intensifying economic cooperation among APEC members. In fact, the heated arguments on the concept occurred two months ago at the senior ministers meeting in Honolulu. At that meeting, the Southeast Asian nations were unanimously opposed to the developed nations' concept of an agreement to be issued at the Seattle summit.

Indonesia was the first to reject such a concept and the other ASEAN member countries followed suit. Indonesia's attitude was based on a decision to establish APEC in the middle of 1980. Indonesia stressed that APEC should take the form of a broad informal and consultative forum. Therefore, if that agreement is issued at the Seattle summit, laws and regulations will be codified that could thus eliminate the objective of keeping APEC an informal forum. Australia and New Zealand were the two major countries who were strongly opposed to ASEAN's attitude during the senior ministers meeting in Honolulu. Canada then offered a compromise which was finally adopted to change the term "agreement" to "declaration." This term would not faze the members. ASEAN member countries definitely wanted the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum to function as an absolute consultative and economic cooperation forum in an effort to increase its capability of mutual analysis and cooperation in certain fields which could provide more benefits.

Indonesia, along with its other ASEAN member countries, definitely does not want a constitutional type of cooperation to exist within APEC-similar to that of a trade bloc-because free trade (?limitations) among APEC members would definitely deprive the developing nations of being competitive and thus could prove to be non beneficial. In fact, one of the bases agreed upon when APEC was established was the need for such cooperation in an effort to further rein-

force the members' economic position, whether cumulatively or on an individual basis. Such cooperation should be implemented in a pragmatic manner, on a stage-by-stage basis, and in alignment with developments.

SUHARTO DISAPPOINTED AT APEC?

Radio Nederland, Nov. 23, 1993. Report from CNRM/Darwin.

On 'Gema Warta' 23 November 93, Radio Netherlands commented on President Suharto's recent visit to Seattle, concluding from the meeting between the President and 100 top US business people that the image of ABRI is increasingly becoming damaged. Kompas is reported to have found the meeting was less merry than a similar one last year.

A US businessman is reported to have expressed concern at the opening of the meeting about the killing of Marsinah which, it is said, must have been very offensive to a Javanese. As offensive as last July's raising of the East Timor issue by President Clinton at his meeting with Suharto in Tokyo, which deeply offended Suharto.

The Gema Warta report added that several sources in Jakarta indicate that Suharto is giving signs that he has already changed his views on East Timor. He wants to release East Timor, but the manner in which this is to be done has not yet been articulated. Perhaps because there is still ABRI opposition.

Suharto's comment to Arafat in Tunis last week that "there is no need for a referendum in East Timor" can be read in this light, the report added.

DEBATE OVER U.S. ARMS SALES CONTINUES

JORDAN JET DEAL OFFICIALLY DEAD

PEACE ACTION WASHINGTON REPORT October 5, 1993.

The Clinton Administration officially announced the cancellation of the Jordanian transfer of F-5E aircraft to Indonesia. While this deal had supposedly died some time ago, Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) had attempted to resuscitate it, ultimately to no avail.

INDONESIA IS TEST CASE FOR EXPORT POLICY

Arms Trade News, October 7, 1993

In a letter to California Congressman Howard Berman this past August, President Clinton said his administration will soon undertake a review of U.S. conventional arms transfer policy. While arms control groups and the defense industry have awaited a new policy for some time, few observers expected Mr. Clinton to be tested on weapons transfers right away. As the President grapples with the myriad issues involved in adopting a strategy, weapons transfers to Indonesia have emerged as a test case for the President's as-yet undefined policy.

The massacre of over 100 civilians by Indonesian troops in the East Timor capital of Dili in November, 1991 was a watershed event for organizations tracking Indonesia's human rights policies, and sharpened the debate on arms exports to the Pacific island nation. Although East Timor had been occupied by Indonesia since 1975, the Dili massacre, as it came to be known, crystallized opposition to any U.S. military aid or weapons sales to Indonesia.

In response to the massacre, in June 1992, Congress terminated funding for the International Military and Education Training program for Indonesian soldiers. The major reason Congress used for this action was that Indonesian authorities had taken no significant steps to prosecute those responsible for the Dili killings. While arms exports were not affected, Congress sent a clear message of growing impatience with the East Timor occupation.

The backlash against Indonesia is gaining in Washington. This past July, the State Department blocked the transfer of four F-5E Tiger II fighter aircraft from Jordan to Jakarta. The U.S. had reserved the right to approve any re-transfer of the aircraft under the agreement which sent the attack jets to Amman in the 1970s. In announcing its decision, the State Department said Indonesia's human rights record was a factor in denying Jordan's request.

While the decision was hailed in the arms control community, it has its critics. Eidetics Corporation, a California-based firm, would have received a contract estimated at \$30 million to upgrade some of Jordan's remaining F-5Es if the transfer was approved. Eidetics believes the State Department heard only one side of Indonesia's human rights story from the Senators who opposed the transfer. Bob Wachter, the company's government representative, said State's "decision was made based on Indonesia's human rights record from the view-

point of Senator Pell's discussions with the Secretary of State."

Indonesian arms transfers have become a defining issue for Clinton's policy. Andy Skow, Eidetics' president, said his firm will appeal State's finding. While no formal appeal process exists, Skow said the company would try to "make the people who made the decision aware of Indonesia's improvements in human rights."

To illustrate his point, Skow said of the ten battalions of Indonesian troops in East Timor, eight are comprised of engineers who are helping to rebuild Timor's infrastructure. The other two, he said, are combat battalions which are being withdrawn. "Human rights zealots would have you believe ten Indonesian battalions are . . . just waiting to kill somebody," Skow said.

A Westerner recently returned from Timor, who spoke on condition of anonymity, has another view of the situation in Timor. He said that while some construction projects are taking place, "they are more for [public relations] than anything else." Also, he said the presence of Indonesian troops "has become institutionalized" on Timor. "I don't think [those battalions] are the Army Corps of Engineers," he said.

Some members of Congress have forced the administration to address the linkage of human rights and arms exports by lobbying against the F-5E transfer and introducing legislation which specifically lists Indonesia as a human rights abuser. Senators Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Russ Feingold (D-WI), Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Tom Harkin (D-IA), wrote to Secretary of State Christopher in June to express their opposition to the F-5E transfer. The letter said it would be "unwise" for the transfer to take place because of Indonesia's "abysmal" human rights record.

Early last month, the Foreign Relations Committee unanimously passed an amendment by Senator Feingold which conditions U.S. arms exports to Indonesia on improvements in its human rights record. Feingold said when his provision passes Congress it will draw a "direct policy link between U.S. sanctioned arms sales and human rights violations." It is uncertain when this bill will come up for a vote.

Also, a Senate source told ATN that California Senator Diane Feinstein has had "informal conversations with [Senators] Pell and Feingold," to see if they would be willing to create a set of conditions for Indonesia to meet so the F-5E transfer could be approved by the State Department. By early October the Senators had not agreed on conditions and State's likely reaction to such a letter was unknown.

Bob Wachter of Eidetics believes the issue of human rights is out of balance with

other important factors of the sale. If the transfer of the F-5Es does not happen, he said, the U.S. will gain a reputation as an unreliable supplier to the rest of the Pacific rim countries. Wachter also noted that Indonesia could retaliate by canceling contracts with other U.S. firms. There are people who want to "help human rights in Indonesia and I don't question their motives," he said. "But there are rational, measured ways to do that." If this transfer doesn't go through, then "the only human rights being violated is the 1,200 Americans that aren't getting jobs," Wachter said.

The State Department verdict on the F-5E transfer was, in Skow's mind, a message to Indonesia from the U.S. "This was a shot across Indonesia's bow," Skow said, "using Eidetics as a shell." Clearly, both Congress and the administration have expressed their concern over Indonesia's Timor policy and have linked human rights and arms exports. Still unknown however, is how strongly these actions will affect Clinton's arms transfer review.

CAN FEINGOLD SURVIVE AUSTRALIAN-INDONESIAN LOBBY?

Editorial, Matebian News, October

The Feingold Amendment on Human Rights in East Timor - can it survive the Australian-Indonesian lobby?

The Feingold Amendment, already passed by the Foreign Relations Commission, signalled a new era for East Timor in the international arena. If anything, it proved that East Timor has reached the heart of the International Affairs - The USA Administration - and it is pumping new oxygen which enables further victories in the near future. Even if the Amendment put forward by Senator Feingold is to be defeated on the floor of the Senate, the issue of East Timor will certainly not go away.

Feingold Amendment is a very serious defeat for Indonesia. It does not only show that Clinton Administration is prepared to endanger millions of dollars in Arms Trade with Indonesia to emphasise Human Rights as fundamental issue; it also suggests that Indonesia, whilst a dictatorship, no longer occupies the central stage in the broad spectrum of the US foreign. Instead, Suharto's regime, a sophisticated dictatorship hidden under the cover of "guided democracy," is increasingly becoming the focus of attention of the major democratic governments. Except Australia!

The reason why President Clinton does not bow to the "batik diplomacy," can be explained by looking at his speech when he addressed the South Korean National As-

sembly in Seoul, on the 10th of last July last. In his speech, President Clinton put a lot of emphasis in freedom and democracy and stressed his pride for how much the American flag has been symbolising the history of democracy. He quoted the famous phrase of former US President, President Truman that "Free men, under God, can build a community of neighbours working together for the good of all." President Truman said this phrase 43 years ago when he sent American troops to defend Korea. The troops remained there until today, but under UN flag.

President Clinton went on to stress his conviction in the need for USA to lead the world. He said: (...) Our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or a more worthwhile investment for us. So long as we remain bordered by oceans and powered by trade, so long as our flag is the symbol of democracy and hope for a fractious world, the imperative of America's leadership will remain."

In referring to his priorities for the Asian-Pacific region, President Clinton stressed the need to give support for democracy and more open societies throughout this region."

Although Clinton still uses the same line as his predecessor in defending the need to have a military presence in the Asian-Pacific region, his emphasis differ in the sense that he not only argues for the need to implement democratic regimes in the region but also introduce strong arguments to enable his administration to act upon it.

Clinton said that the final security priority of the USA must be to support the spread of democracy throughout the Asian-Pacific because, he added, "democracies not only are more likely to meet the needs and respect the rights of their people, they also make better neighbours. They do not wage war on each other, practice terrorism, generate refugees, or traffic in drugs and outlawed weapons. They make a more reliable partners in trade and in (...) dialogues."

This seems to be why Indonesia is now under the microscope of the Clinton's Administration. It also explains why a senior White House official said that the administration will accept the Feingold Amendment because it is "consistent with the tenor of the dialogue we have been having with Indonesia on human rights."

The critical question for East Timor is whether the Clinton Administration will pursue the issue of Human Rights applicable to East Timor to the extent of demanding the implementation of the 10 (ten) resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN.

There are reasons to be optimistic. These can be found in the statement of 43 US Senators when they urge President Clinton

to raise the issue of East Timor in Tokyo, at the time of G-7 meeting. The 43 Senators (almost 50% of the Senate) urged President Clinton "to keep an eye toward facilitating serious negotiations at the United Nations that might alter the unacceptable status quo" in East Timor. They also reaffirmed an earlier Senate resolution (Nov. 1991) supporting "the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people" and added that any negotiations on the future of East Timor should include East Timorese representatives.

This has been the language used by this large group of Senators when referring to East Timor. Hopefully, the pro-East Timor lobby can overcome the Indonesian most powerful public relations organisation: the Australian Government. Prime Minister Keating's failure to convince President Clinton's Administration is a great relief for the Timorese people. As the Timorese would say: the soul of those 200 000 who lost their lives to build a nation for the Timorese People, proved to be stronger than the politics of dollars.

We hope all the positive steps can be transformed into well-coordinated actions so that, soon, an ever lasting peace can sprout in East Timor.

INDONESIAN ARMY EYES EUROPE FOR ARMS, SOURCES SAY

Reuters, 10 October 1993. By John Owen-Davies, Abridged

(Jakarta) Indonesia's army is looking to Europe for new weapons and vehicles for its under-equipped troops, diplomatic sources say. Missions are likely to visit Britain, France and Germany, possibly next month, as part of a drive to modernise the estimated 215,000-strong army and equip up to six quick-moving battalions.

The trips come amid problems with the US, this country's traditional supplier of equipment such as warplanes.

"We are showing our independence on purchases," the source said, referring to issues involving Washington, including a proposed Senate amendment linking future arms sales with human rights in East Timor.

But there are also signs that Jakarta and Washington regard the problems as little more than irritants and feel basic ties between staunch Cold War allies will not be rocked unduly.

"The army has been under-equipped for some time and now wants to get in on the act to modernise with badly needed equipment," one diplomatic source said. Diplomatic sources said Indonesia was expected to look to Europe mainly for light armour,

artillery and armoured personnel carriers (APCs).

They said one aim was to fully equip rapid deployment squads, including infantry, mechanised, artillery and support battalions. An Indonesian battalion has about 650 men. The army has an estimated 160 light tanks, 100 reconnaissance vehicles, nearly 750 APCs and some 50 US made helicopters.

Military chiefs were quoted later as saying that Indonesia would need a defence budget of 5.0 trillion rupiah (\$2,52 billion) for the year starting next April, up from four trillion (\$2.0 billion) in the current fiscal year.

INDONESIA SAYS IT WON'T BUY RUSSIAN-MADE MIG-29 JET FIGHTERS

21 Oct. 93

JAKARTA (UPI) – A government official said Thursday Indonesia has no intention of purchasing advanced Russian-made MiG-29 Fulcrum jet fighters and will instead continue shopping in the West for the aircraft.

"We have been currently using Western standard for our jet fighters. Though they were made in Europe or the United States, the engine still came from the West," Research and Technology Minister B.J. Habibie told Antara, Indonesia's official news agency.

Habibie said switching to a new standard such as Russian-built jet fighters would create problems, since Indonesia would then need to alter all its supporting products and spare parts.

Habibie made his comments in response a report from India earlier this month that Indonesia was planning to buy the Russian-made MiG-19 Fulcrum jet fighters.

Defense Minister Edi Sudradjat said recently that Indonesia was exploring the possibility of buying advanced warplanes from other countries than the United States, including Russia. Jakarta began considering shopping elsewhere for jet fighters because Washington has linked the sale of military technology to Indonesia to the country's human rights record.

Habibie also denied on reports that Jakarta had been negotiating to barter its crude oil for MiG-29 Fulcrum technology from India.

"It's not true that we have had negotiations on the matter," Habibie said. "It is true that they have offered us such possibilities, but the operation cost would be quite expensive since its supporting products are too expensive, though the price of the fighter itself it not very expensive."

Indonesia recently signed a deal with British Aerospace to purchase some 24 Hawks 100 and 200 jet fighters to back up its existing fleet of its U.S.-built F-16s.

A DIFFERENT MESSAGE TO JAKARTA

Editorial, The New York Times, November 1, 1993. Full Text

The plight of East Timor has nagged at American consciences since 1975, when Indonesia devoured this former Portuguese colony. The United States has never recognized Jakarta's annexation of its tiny neighbor, but until recently Washington was loath to offend a powerful authoritarian regime that was an important customer for U.S. arms.

Creditably, the Clinton Administration is making amends, spurred by an international outcry over the mass killings of unarmed East Timorese protesters in November 1991. Earlier this year, the U.S. for the first time joined in favoring a United Nations inquiry into Indonesia's human rights abuses. Now, with Administration support, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has unanimously approved an amendment to condition the sale and transfer of U.S. arms to Indonesia on improvement in human rights conditions in East Timor.

The amendment, put forward by Senator Russell Feingold of Wisconsin, would require the President to weigh, in consultation with Congress, Indonesia's compliance with specific steps, like providing access by humanitarian groups to East Timor and accounting for the victims of the 1991 massacre. The need for access is underscored by credible reports of yet another crackdown in the territory.

Adopting these conditions would not affect non-military trade with Indonesia, but would address for the first time the continued abuse by an occupying nation of an unwilling people. It would begin to redress the inconsistency between Washington's vigorous punishment of Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and its past indifference to Indonesia's comparable aggression.

And if Jakarta fails to understand the changed American mood, President Clinton will have a chance to amplify at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference in Seattle later this month.

COMMITTEE LIMITS WEAPONS FOR INDONESIA; SENATE FLOOR ACTION PENDING

By Charles Scheiner, From November, 1993 issue of Network News, newsletter of the East Timor Action Network

In an historic move, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously approved an amendment linking arms sales to Indonesia to human rights in East Timor. The measure, which was proposed by Wisconsin Democrat Russell Feingold, was added to the Fiscal Year 1994 Foreign Assistance Act on September 8. It requires the president to consult with Congress before approving major weapons deals. It is believed to be the first time arms sales to a US ally have been tied to human rights concerns.

Although the amendment's original wording would have barred all US arms sales to Indonesia until self-determination was achieved, it was modified after intense negotiations. Finally, the State Department promised not to oppose the bill, and Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) praised it, saying it was likely to pass. Charles Robb (D-VA), Chair of the Asia-Pacific Subcommittee, also gave his assent.

The full Senate may not act on the Foreign Assistance Act. It was scheduled for floor action October 18, but as of this writing (November 10), it appears that Congress may not get to the bill this year. Preoccupied with other issues (Somalia, Haiti, health care, etc.), they are not looking for more controversies. The possible submission of a Clinton administration foreign aid bill further clouds the picture.

The Feingold amendment covers government-to-government sales and licenses for commercial sales over \$14 million, which occur a few times each year. Although it does not establish a legal requirement before sales are approved, there is clear Congressional intent and a politically binding connection between human rights and arms sales. The Indonesian and Australian press reported it as a "ban."

Indonesian armed forces spokesman Brig. Gen. Syarwan Hamid reacted strongly, saying "By our standards we have implemented human rights maximally." Foreign Minister Ali Alatas reiterated that "setting any political condition in any economic and finance cooperation cannot be accepted." Other Indonesian leaders called for diversifying their arms sources and reducing ties to the United States. Although Jakarta has bought more weapons from other countries in recent years, trade with the US is very impor-

tant to their economy (as shown by their strong reaction to the threatened suspension of trade preferences), and they are not likely to jeopardize it. Justice

Especially significant is the bill's requirement for the President to consider whether Indonesia is bringing to justice "all military personnel who were responsible for ordering, authorizing, or initiating" the November 1991 massacre of over 271 unarmed Timorese protesters, which rejects Jakarta's contention that the "incident" was an over-reaction by low-level soldiers. The bill also calls for consideration of Indonesia's actions to reduce its military presence in East Timor and to allow expanded access by human rights organizations to the territory.

Senator Feingold considered offering his amendment to the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill on the Senate floor on September 23, but decided not to because strong opposition from J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA), who threatened to use procedural maneuvers to defeat the amendment. Johnston was encouraged by Freeport-MacMoran, a mining company with major projects in Indonesia, West Papua and Louisiana. In a press release, Feingold explained that the amendment has had an effect even without being enacted:

"The United States position on arms sales to Indonesia has become increasingly clear over the past several months. The cancellation of the F-5E sale from Jordan to Indonesia and the action earlier this month by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has sent a signal to Jakarta that we are concerned about the continuing human rights violations taking place in East Timor. Those violations are an impediment to the strengthening of cultural, economic and military ties between our countries."

Advocates Active

Starting a week before the committee meeting, Indonesia's supporters and arms manufacturers lobbied hard against the measure, and they increased their activities after the committee vote. Although US sells fewer arms to Indonesia now than in the 1970s and 1980s, the weapons industry saw the bill as a dangerous precedent. Business associations claimed that all US trade with Indonesia would be jeopardized, and warned of the loss of credibility of US weapons suppliers.

On our side, a loose coalition of human rights, anti-arms trade and peace groups worked together. The East Timor Action Network sent numerous faxes and mailings to people across the country, concentrating on states with swing Senators on the committee. We arranged for Irish parliamentarians to fax Senators with Irish-American constituencies and helped motivate Wash-

ington-based and grassroots organizations to communicate to their Senators. As the DC arms control community realized the bill's significance, many took it up as a major campaign. Some are now working on a Code of Conduct for US arms sales, which would specify general principles of human rights and non-aggression for buyers of US arms.

During the Foreign Relations Committee discussion of the Feingold amendment, the administration accepted the committee language, but did not commit to support it on the floor. Afterwards, State Department careerists campaigned against the measure, while National Security Council officials said they could live with it. Finally, a visit by Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating helped clarify the White House position. Keating's Caution

On September 13, Keating cautioned the Clinton administration that Washington should "tread softly" on issues of human rights in China and Indonesia warning that economic relationships could be endangered. Keating's comments were called "music in my ears" by a leading Indonesian Minister, but the Melbourne Age characterized them as "a bit of rather pathetic toadying," a view that was widely echoed in Australia.

Asked at a September 14 joint press conference about the Prime Minister's concerns, President Clinton replied:

"Let me mention, first of all, the United States does have a very strong position on human rights, and I think we should. But that has not undermined our relationships, commercial relationships and political relationships with countries that we think are making an honest effort to shoot straight with us and to work with us." After noting Indonesia's importance, Clinton also observed: "We have questions about the issues of East Timor, as you know, and I think you (Keating) do... too. But we have had good contact with Indonesia."

This bill is now in legislative limbo. Senator Feingold will continue working on East Timor, both this year and in 1994. On November 1, The New York Times editorialized in favor of the Feingold amendment, saying that "It would begin to redress the inconsistency between Washington's vigorous punishment of Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and its past indifference to Indonesia's comparable aggression."

Whether enacted this year or not, the amendment has already mobilized and strengthened East Timor's cause in Washington and across the US and has strongly sent what the Times called "A Different Message to Jakarta."

THE NEGLECTED PROHIBITION: U.S. ARMS SALES

THE RECORDER (San Francisco, California). November 2, 1993. By Holly Burkhalter and Stephen D. Goose. Excerpts

Holly Burkhalter is the Washington director of Human Rights Watch, and Stephen D. Goose is the Washington director of the Arms Project of Human Rights Watch.

While Congress prohibits official aid to proscribed foreign governments, private weapons sales continue under the approval of U.S. licenses

Over the past five years, the U.S. Congress has played an increasing role in limiting foreign aid, particularly military assistance, to governments engaged in human rights abuses. This year was no exception. The recently enacted foreign aid appropriations bill includes numerous limits, reporting requirements and human rights conditions on U.S. assistance to countries with problematic human rights records including Peru, Colombia, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Turkey, Tunisia, Egypt and Kenya.

Yet there is an important related area that Congress and the executive branch have yet to deal with comprehensively: American sales of weapons and other military items to abusive countries.

LAW AND COMMERCE

Interestingly, current law actually bars U.S. weapons sales to repressive governments: S.502B of the Foreign Assistance Act prohibits military assistance and training as well as sales of defense items to governments engaged in a "consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." Yet in 17 years since the statute was enacted, the United States has provided generous military aid and sold billions of dollars of military equipment to many governments that blatantly engage in the violations itemized in the law - including torture; cruel, degrading or inhuman treatment; disappearances; arbitrary detention; and other "flagrant denial[s] of the right to life."

We in the human rights community have had our hands full fighting to apply 502B to direct U.S. aid; successfully invoking it to stop sales of military items has been beyond the realm of possibility. But the situation today is vastly different than it was in 1976, when 502B was enacted. Because the Cold War is over, invoking security concerns to justify military aid to abusive allies doesn't work as well as it did in the 1970s and 1980s, and Congress is taking an increasingly dim view of military assistance to repressive regimes.

The Cold War's end and the increasing application of human rights standards to U.S. aid have resulted in a decline in U.S. military aid to abusive governments, as can be seen in this year's foreign assistance budget. Paradoxically, Washington has continued to approve arms sales to those same governments, even though the identical human rights standard should govern under U.S. law. There are today restrictions on certain types of military assistance to China, Indonesia, Pakistan, Kenya, Sudan, Zaire, Guatemala and Peru, but the U.S. government continues to license sales of military items to all of these countries.

In the case of Indonesia, Congress in 1992, outraged over the massacre of East Timorese men, women and children by the Indonesian army the previous year, ended the Pentagon's International Military Education and Training program for Jakarta. Yet, again, millions of dollars' worth of commercial and government-to-government arms sales have been approved by the executive branch.

In the past two years, the United States has approved licenses for hundred of sales to the Indonesian government, including spare parts for attack planes and counterinsurgency aircraft, M-16 assault rifles, ammunition, riot control chemicals and gear, and numerous shipments of pistols, revolvers and machine guns.

The possible relationship of U.S. weapons to abuses can be seen by an incident on the Indonesian island of Madura, where on Sep. 25, three peasants were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd of peaceful demonstrators protesting the construction of a dam. The respected Indonesian Legal Aid Institute issued a press release stating that the weapons used to kill the demonstrators were American-supplied M-16s. The Indonesian army has announced that it will investigate the incident.

To date, neither Congress nor the executive branch has taken seriously the legal prohibition on the sale of military items to abusive governments (though this year the foreign aid authorization bill passed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee provides human rights conditions that the executive branch must take into account when licensing certain sales of military items to Indonesia). Yet it is clear that arms sales will come under increasing scrutiny by Congress, as direct aid to abusive regimes continues to dwindle.

It is a scandal - an a violation of American law - that our government facilitates the sale of billions of dollars' worth of weapons, ammunition and other military items to

repressive governments around the world. It is past time for the U.S. government to bring its policy on depriving abusive regimes of direct aid.

INDONESIAN MILITARY OFFICERS STILL TRAINED IN U.S.

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION CIRCUMVENTS CONGRESSIONAL BAN ON MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIAN OFFICERS

News From the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy. Contact: Catherine Sebold phone 202-234-9382x260, fax 202-387-7915. Monday, December 6, 1993

Washington, December 6 ... An arms control group today revealed that officers from the Indonesian armed forces are being trained by U.S. military personnel at bases in the United States. The director of the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy, Caleb Rossiter, charged that the training circumvents a 1992 law cutting off military aid to Indonesia after the massacre of over 100 civilians on East Timor. He called on the Clinton administration to, "put teeth in the President's call for democracy abroad by ending all forms of military support for the Indonesian dictatorship."

"Congress denied the funding the Bush administration had requested for this training," said Rossiter, "and the chairs of the two foreign policy committees wrote the Clinton administration that allowing Indonesian simply to purchase the training with its own funds, 'would be directly contrary to the intent of Congress.' We were surprised to discover that this is precisely what the Clinton administration has done, apparently without even telling Congress."

Researchers for the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy uncovered the Indonesian training a week ago while preparing a report on U.S. policy toward the Indonesian armed forces. In response to PDD's inquiries, the Pentagon and the Indonesian Embassy have both confirmed that the training has occurred since the letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher was sent June 30 by Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-RI) and Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.).

While the Pentagon's Defense Security Assistance Agency, which oversees the training, refused to provide details on the number of officers being trained and the content of their courses (calling it 'proprietary information'), PDD has confirmed that the U.S. Army Infantry School at Ft. Ben-

ning, Georgia, is one of the training sites for the Indonesians.

Last May, PDD issued a press release revealing that the State Department was reviewing a request from Indonesia to purchase F-5E fighter aircraft. Following a campaign by arms control and human rights groups – and intervention by Senators Leahy, Pell, and Russell Feingold (D-Wis.) – the Clinton administration denied that request. However, since then, the administration has backpedaled, blocking an amendment by Sen. Feingold to halt all military transfers to Indonesia. According to Rossiter, "this wobbling by the administration undercuts the very message that is supposed to be at the core of the Clinton foreign policy: insistence that dictators stand back and allow their citizens to move toward democratic rule."

Representative Cynthia McKinney (D-Ga.) and Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) have just introduced a "Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers" bill, which would ban military aid and sales to all undemocratic countries and human rights abusers. Over 50 public interest groups are planning to kick off a nationwide grassroots campaign in January to pressure the administration to include such a Code of Conduct in its current review of arms transfer policy.

Rossiter linked the issue of military training for Indonesians to the Code of Conduct campaign: "Indonesia is a classic case of a country that violated the Code, and should be denied U.S. military support. As in Panama, Somalia, Iraq, and Haiti, its dictatorship uses its military power not to defend its borders, but to repress its citizens. We provided American weapons and weapons technology to those other dictatorships, and we and their citizens paid a terrible price for that policy; the Code of Conduct would keep that from happening in Indonesia and other unstable countries."

INDONESIA MILITARY ALLOWED TO OBTAIN TRAINING IN U.S.

The New York Times, December 8, 1993. Full text.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7 (Reuters) -The Administration acknowledged today that it is letting Indonesians obtain military training in the United States despite objections from Congress.

Last year Congress cut off funds for such instruction to protest an Indonesian massacre of civilians in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1991. The State Department said today, "Congress's action did not ban Indonesia's purchase of training with its own funds, but rather cut off United States funding for possible training."

Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator

Patrick J. Leahy, chairman of the subcommittee on Foreign operations, have urged the Administration to turn down any request by Indonesia to obtain training, even if it reimburses the United States.

EXCERPTS FROM USIA FOREIGN PRESS CENTER BRIEFING, DECEMBER 8, 1993

Topic: U.S. Government's Human Rights Policy and Human Rights Concern around the World. Briefer: John Shattuck, Asst. Sec. for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Excerpts.

Q. I'm Jim Lobe from Interpress Service. Actually I have three questions. I apologize in advance, but I'll go through them very quickly. One on Haiti... The second is on Indonesia and the question of the sale of military education, whether –

MR. SHATTUCK: I'm sorry, military –

Q. Education. In other words, enrolling people in IMET [International Military Education and Training]-type programs since they're not eligible for aid. Were you consulted on that decision? I'd like to know. Which relates to my third question. I get the impression increasingly that what kind of anti-communism was in the past vis-a-vis governments that might be human rights abusers, substantial economic powers, especially those who might buy our exports in large quantity, may become in the future. Essentially, Indonesia is buying a certain kind of export, which is military education, but generally speaking, can you address this question of the relationship between the importance of making the United States an export superpower, as the administration calls it, and human rights performance of the countries to whom we are exporting?

MR. SHATTUCK: [...] I think the issue of Indonesia that you raised – the United States is beginning to use the IMET training program that you referred to for a broader purpose than merely military training. It's also to train civilians in the control of militaries and to bring about democratic instruments that have greater degree of control over military operations that may be the case. That certainly would be the intention of some of the IMET programs that would be used in Indonesia.

With respect to the issue of trade. That's a rather general statement that the question suggests but let me be very clear that the U.S. does not subordinate human rights to any basic issue of trade or economics and I think the very serious dialogue that I referred before right now between the United States and China on that subject is very clear. I also think I would refer to the case of

NAFTA and the ratification of the NAFTA in the United States. That was possible precisely because of the human rights and democracy situation in Mexico is improving and that the use of the instrument of NAFTA provides more incentives for improvements in human rights and democracy.

...

Q. (Name and affiliation inaudible.) One of the things that supposed to be about this enhanced IMET program is as a tool to induce more human rights values and civilian supremacy over military. That's one policy. On the other hand, countries that consider to have human rights abuses are denied access to this enhanced IMET. So I'm at a loss as to what is the policy. On one hand, you want them to be - to protect more on human rights. On the other hand, you don't let them come to this training. So what is the policy on it. My second thing is, how do you answer to this question that it's very hard not to have the impression that the U.S. and also Western human rights policies is discriminated against the Muslims? One of the examples is any human rights report on Indonesia in 1991, despite the daily incidents, would say that there are more extrajudicial killing in Atjeh than in East Timor. And yet you don't hear much pressure from the U.S. or Western human rights groups about Atjeh. You hear so much, so much more about East Timor, which is the non-Muslim minority in Indonesia. So how do you answer that? Thank you.

MR. SHATTUCK: Well, on the subject of IMET and indeed all of the various instruments of foreign policy that all countries have in their bilateral relations with each other, there are ways in which they relate to - sometimes they relate to human rights, and sometimes they don't. In the case of IMET, it is true that our legislation setting up the International Military Education and Training has not permitted expanded IMET civilian control - IMET for human rights - to be extended to countries which have poor human rights records. That is certainly a subject that is under review as we move into an era where one of the critical human rights problems in the world is better civilian control over military. On the other hand, we don't want to be in a position where we're extending assistance to a country that is engaged in gross violations of human rights, that may, in fact, continue to violate them even as they receive additional assistance. We take - on the subject of, as you put it, a double standard and the issues of particularly our relationship with the Muslim world, I think the United States is very proud of its many strong relationships with

countries in the Muslim world. And it certainly is very clear in its reporting on human rights issues to make a strong distinction between any human rights abuse that occurs and any particular religious orientation or background of any of the countries in which its occurring. I think the problem of religious-inspired human rights abuses and religious and ethnic and racial conflict is a very serious problem throughout the world and by no means limited to the Muslim world. It is a problem that we have, in some ways, in our own country. We certainly see it in other parts of the world. It is an issue that affects Africa today. And it affects parts of the Far East. There is no question that the problem of racial, ethnic and religious conflicts is one of the gravest forces driving human rights abuse today, and all the countries of the world and all the people of the world on Human Rights Day should take note of what's happening in this post-Cold War era as these ethnic and racial and religious conflicts abound.

CHOMSKY ON IMET

On Dec. 10, Noam Chomsky addressed the Covert Action Quarterly Anniversary (the speech was broadcast on CSPAN). He briefly discussed the revelation that Indonesians are receiving military training in the U.S., despite the fact that Congress cut off funds for such training:

...[The administration] explained that this was not in violation of the congressional legislation because the congressional legislation banned military training that the U.S. was paying for. But if Indonesia pays for the military training here, presumably using funds that we give them for that purpose, then that doesn't violate the congressional legislation. So that's the [Clinton administration's] contribution to Human Rights Day, and it demonstrates the, as I say, the refined sensibility of the administration in its human rights position..."

CULTURAL EVENTS AND RESOURCES

EAST TIMOR PAINTINGS EXHIBITION

From ETRA, 3 October 1993

East Timor Relief Association Inc. (ETRA) is organizing an exhibition of paintings by Sebastiao Silva, a Timorese artist. The theme of this exhibition is "**Cultural Survival**."

This exhibition will be officially launched by Mrs. Gabi Hollows and will be open to the public from 8-23 October 1993, 11am -

5pm (Monday -Friday); 1pm(Saturday & Sunday). The place where the exhibition will be held is:

Tom Nelson Hall, 61-63 Sussex Street Sydney, Building of the (Maritime) Water-side Workers' Federation of Australia.

PROFILE OF THE ARTIST

"Survival of a Culture: Through the Eyes of an Artist" is an exhibition of paintings by Sebastiao Silva, a Timorese who escaped to Portugal in 1984 and migrated to Australia a year later.

In his paintings, the peaceful life prior to the Indonesia invasion and the consequent occupation of East Timor is portrayed vividly in contrast with the uncertainties of the life under the Indonesian occupation.

But, unlike the beautiful arts and crafts where colourful materials like "tais" is produced through weaving from the inks of plants like taun (blue), the bark from samtuk plant (red) the roots of the henuk (yellow) and the seeds of the meku (purple), paintings on canvas was not a Timorese tradition. Only in recent years we witness the emergence of quite few Timorese talented artists. Their creativity and skills are solely a product of their dedication and determination - not from attending any art school.

Sebastiao Silva ("SEST" on his early paintings), 30 years of age, was born in Dili. He comes from a large family of farmers. He grew up working in the rice fields, helping his father from an early age.

After the invasion he attended the Externato S.José in Dili, a school run by Missionaries but, due to the activities of the students, it became known as the heart of the Resistance in the Capital.

It was in this environment that Sebastiao began painting which mostly depicted peasants and their anguish lived day by day.

Those painting could only be seen within the walls of his school, because it reflects the feelings of the people against the invaders.

Since he left East Timor it was only in 1990 he dedicated to restart with long dreamed career, believing that through his work he can help raise the awareness of the outside world to bring peace for his people sooner, rather than later.

He first exhibited in Portugal in 1992, with the support of Borja da Costa's Foundation, under the theme " Pintura de Timor."

Early this year, another collection called " Art with Timor" was also promoted successfully in Darwin, Northern Territory.

Sebastiao favourite artists are Van Gogh and Camillo Pissarro. Like Van Gogh, Sebastiao concentrates his paintings on peasants and rural scenes - like the way he grew up

and memories of a past traumatic life he won't forget.

The aim is to share his experience with the people who supports the Timorese in their conquest for freedom but know little about the essence of this Resistance: THE CULTURE.

Sebastiao is a part of a generation of Timorese that really have no choice but to stand up to raise the voices of his people in the outside world.

His generation know only too well that if they don't do it, no one else will do it for them! Hence,

“Cultural survival through the eyes of an artist...”

See you all there!

The official launch took place on the 7th of Oct., last Thursday, by Mrs. Gabi Hollows of the Hollows Foundation. Apart from the paintings and the artist, the event was enriched by the presence of one hundred guests including elders of the Timorese community. A well presented cultural performance by members of the Timorese Community and Timorese traditional food completed this culturally rich event.

MY FRIEND THE SOLDIER

Poem published in Inside Indonesia, a quarterly publication by the Indonesia Resources and Information Programme (IRIP) in Australia. Their address is: Inside Indonesia, PO Box 190, Northcote 3070, Australia.

KAWANKU SEORANG SERDADU

By: Bramantyo

The author of this poem, Baryanto, was born in Indonesia in 1965. He has worked with Rendra in the Bengkel Theatre group and has been writing poems since 1978. Some of his poems have been published as songs and sung by various Indonesian pop singers, including Iwan Fals whose cassette “Belum Ada Judul” includes several Bramantya numbers. He is currently publishing a collection of his work.

My friend the soldier -
Your eyes were swollen
When you told of the battlefield of East
Timor

As steep and barren as Wonosari
Your birthplace

Seroja strewn over dust
For whom?
No-one takes blame for blood of the people

Your heart is true
Locked between the command and instinct
The bayonet's victims, fallen head first,
mouth agape

Reminds you of your Wonosari kin

Ah, anything can happen in the battle
Slaughterers taste their victims' blood to
prevent ill omen
Or comrades killing each other is usual

Don't tempt your instinctive voice
That decries this mad, shameful slaughter
I know: you kill to escape poverty
It bears no relation to Suharto's greed for
power
Communist phobia, or Kissinger's position
on Southeast Asia

You cock your rifle
To shoot the shadow that haunts menacingly
Above the straight line connecting barrel
with target, you weep

Please, shoot!
No-one will die
Because life is this:
Weary, but unable to stop

And your sins
Are your own burden
Not even morphine will erase

Yogyakarta
March 1992

INDONESIA MAGAZINES IN OZ

For you people in Oz who want to read Indonesian magazines, let me recommend: Maroubra Oriental Grocery, 926 Anzac Pde, Maroubra NSW 2035 (in Sydney); ph 02-349 5267; fax 02-349 7695. I've found them very punctual and helpful. They will mail out to you magazines like Editor (AUD 7.20), Detik (AUD 2.00 + postage), Forum Keadilan (AUD 4.50 + postage), as well as many other mags.

UPCOMING U.S. SHOWINGS OF MANUFACTURING CONSENT: NOAM CHOMSKY AND THE MEDIA

Over the next few months, the award-winning, feature-length documentary about Noam Chomsky's interpretation of the U.S. media will play in cities across the country. This film includes an extensive segment on East Timor and its (lack of) coverage by the press.

The East Timor Action Network/US has been using Manufacturing Consent as a powerful and effective consciousness-raiser and way to get people motivated to work to change U.S. policy toward East Timor, where the U.S.-assisted Indonesian invasion

and occupation has taken 200,000 lives over the past 18 years.

These upcoming showings coincide with several significant dates in East Timor's history, which might be remembered together with the film:

November 12, is the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz Cemetery massacre in Dili, East Timor, when Indonesian soldiers fired on a peaceful memorial service, killing over 270 people.

November 20 is one year after the capture of resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, who remains strong and committed after a “show trial” while serving a 20-year sentence.

December 7 will mark 18 years of military occupation – and 18 years and one day after President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger gave Indonesian President General Suharto the go-ahead for the invasion.

December 10 is International Human Rights Day.

ETAN can provide organizing kits, materials, and suggestions for people interested in helping moviegoers convert their outrage into action. Contact us at PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602, tel. 914-428-7299; fax 914-428-7383 or email

cscheiner@igc.apc.org if you are interested. We will try to put you in touch with other people in your community who could help.

If you would like to bring Manufacturing Consent to your own town, contact the distributor, Zeitgeist Films, 212-274-1989, fax 212-274-1644.

These are the dates for showings currently scheduled, in chronological order:
Lou Sarna Port Angeles, WA 10/27
Cinema 21 Portland, OR 10/27 - 28
The Movies Portland, ME 10/27 - 11/7
Northwestern Michigan College Traverse City, MI 10/28
Mary Rietma Ross Film Theatre Lincoln, NE 10/28 - 11/6
Newport Performing Arts Center Newport, OR 10/31 - 11/1

Tufts University Medford, MA 11/1 - 6
Nickelodeon Theatre Santa Cruz, CA 11/2 - 3
Western State College Gunnison, CO 11/2 - 4
Lenoir-Rhyne College Hickory, NC 11/5
CINEFEST Cincinnati, OH 11/5 - 11
De Anza College Cupertino, CA 11/8 - 11
University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, WI 11/10
Univ. of California, Berkeley Berkeley, CA 11/11
Smith College Library Northampton, MA 11/12
The Tower Theatre Salt Lake City, UT 11/12 - 18
Lynn Levin Pacific Grove, CA 11/13
Syracuse Peace Council Syracuse, NY 11/13 - 14
SUNY New Paltz New Paltz, NY 11/16
Univ. of Nebraska at Kearney Kearney, NE 11/18
Harvard Film Archive Cambridge, MA 11/19 - 28
Cleveland Cinematheque Cleveland, OH 11/21
Drexel University Philadelphia, PA 11/22
Red Victorian Movie House San Francisco, CA 11/26 - 28
Cornell Cinema Ithaca, NY 11/28 - 29

Enzian Theatre Maitland, FL 11/28
 Youngstown State University Youngstown, OH 12/4
 Detroit Institute of Art Detroit, MI 12/5
 Savoy Theatre Montpelier, VT 12/13 - 16

RESOURCES FROM THE EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK/US

Send orders to ETAN/US, PO Box 1182,
 White Plains, NY 10602. Please add 20% for
 postage and handling to all orders. (15%
 for orders over \$50.)

Books

- Telling: East Timor Personal Testimonies 1942-1992, by Michele Turner, oral accounts of ordinary East Timorese people, recounting what they have witnessed. \$20
- Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor, by John Taylor. \$20

Misc.

- East Timor Key Chain. All metal with relief of traditional house on one side and map of Timor on the other. \$5
- Picture Postcards of Timorese Life. Set of six cards (two each of three different photos). \$2.00
- Massacre: The Story of East Timor. Amy Goodman's award winning radio documentary broadcast nationally last year on the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. Recently updated and expanded to 40 minutes. \$8
- Documents on East Timor. Regular compilation averaging 100 pages of news analysis from around the globe. Sample copy, \$8 (\$10 international air mail)

T-shirts

- Free East Timor with the FRETILIN flag, "To Resist is to Win - Xanana Gusmão" on the back. Red, white and yellow on black. Specify size. \$13.
- East Timor: To Resist Is To Win with a photo of a young boy with his arms outstretched in a victory sign in front of a banner at the Santa Cruz demonstration. Large and Extra Large (specify size). \$13
- East Timor: Indonesia's Killing Field with a photo of a man in a cemetery with mountains in the background. Both shirts have "End US Support of Indonesian Genocide" or "End US Support of the Indonesian Occupation" on the back. Large and Extra Large (specify size). \$13

Button

- Free East Timor button (with a photo of a young Timorese girl) \$1

Videos (All videos 1/2" VHS)

- Xanana. The human side of the East Timor leader through the eyes of people who have known him. (for noncommercial use only) 30 minutes. \$25.
- East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye. Produced by Paper Tiger Television. focuses on US policy and the role of the media. Taped during the Spring 1993 New Generations of Resistance Tour sponsored by the East Timor Action Network/US. 30 min. \$20.
- Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor. 55-minute British documentary including Nov. 12, 1991 massacre. \$25
- Aggression and Self-Determination. ETAN's 28-min. video about US role. \$20.

AUTHORITARIAN STATE UNIONISM IN NEW ORDER INDONESIA

New Paper from Asia Research Centre Publications

By Rob Lambert; Working Paper No. 25 October 1993. 41 pages.

Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (SPSI), the state recognised trade union federation in Indonesia, is currently striving to present itself as a 'free, democratic and autonomous organisation' respectful of International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions on freedom of association and collective bargaining rights, whilst simultaneously maintaining the organisation's central role in disciplining labour. The primary objective of SPSI's attempts to control labour is the enhancement of Indonesia's comparative labour advantage in export oriented industrialisation (EOI). The rigorous, all embracing control of information and analysis by the authoritarian state has ensured the obfuscation of the wide chasm between the liberal democratic image of SPSI as an autonomous entity presently being projected and the practices of an organisation that exists as an integral, organic component of the state's economic apparatus. The adoption of this liberal mantle over iron discipline and repression in the workplace is reflective of more general tensions and contradictions within newly industrializing societies and should form part of a wider debate over the issue of capitalist development and the changing character of authoritarian regimes in Asia. This paper seeks to explore these contradictions and their wider significance through analysing the evolution of authoritarian state unionism in New Order Indonesia.

This focus on the labour regulation contradictions underlying EOI is elaborated through analysis of the following core issues: SPSI's strategic presentation of self (Sections 2 and 3); the organisation's role as an organic part of the Indonesian state (Section 4); the state's labour reform dilemmas and the prospects of greater freedom and pluralism in labour organisation (Section 5); and finally, the likelihood of renewed international pressure for labour reforms and the recognition of basic worker rights (Section 6). The first section of the paper comprises a brief historical overview of the origins and evolution of state unionism under the New Order regime so as to provide a context to the social and political dynamic of the above problems.

Cost AU\$ 3.00 plus handling

You will be required to pay in Australian dollars with an international bank draft payable to an Australian bank. Invoice, including postage cost, will be sent with publication.

Postal address to order:

Stephen Frost
 Editorial Assistant, Asia Research Centre
 Murdoch University
 Murdoch WA 6150
 Australia

TIMOR ET TREMOR

*From: Martin Wesley Smith
 <mwsmith@ucc.su.oz.au>, Nov. 29*

Last Saturday night the Sydney contemporary music group AustraLysis premiered my piece "Timor et Tremor." Critic Roger Covell wrote the following in today's Sydney Morning Herald:

... Martin Wesley-Smith's "Timor et Tremor," in contrast, assembles details in quasi-documentary style of a heart-rending real-life story: that of Quito, a 26-year-old schizophrenic musician and songwriter, who escaped from the Indonesian invasion of East Timor when he was 11.

Quito was shot in the neck by Darwin police and charged with 10 counts of attempted murder after making threatening gestures with a knife during one of his recurrent bouts of psychotic delusion.

The charges against him were dropped, the composer tells us, the day before he was to be tried; but Quito did not live to hear that.

He hanged himself in Royal Darwin Hospital on May 26, 1990.

The punning Latin title of the piece, "Timor et Tremor" (Fear and Trembling in translation), is a phrase from a text set by the Flemish master Roland de Lassus (Orlando di Lasso, as he is more widely known) in the 16th century.

Wesley-Smith makes a musical reference to this source and, as usual, draws on a wide range of musical styles, from recitative to his personal version of barbershop pop.

David Hamilton (tenor) carried the burden of the elements of heightened eloquence and expressive pathos in the story, inevitably and appropriately making a contrast between the shining timbres of his voice and the raw misery of the subject.

Chanted and spoken words supplied deflationary facts.

The chamber group of instruments worked vigorously and economically to project the confrontations between hope and grim reality.

With its directness of style, occasional theatricalised gesture and the additional resource of its digitised visual projections, "Timor et Tremor" should make a worthwhile project for a short film or television feature.

It might help to rescue ABC TV arts programs from the tame-cat banality that characterises most of them."

In this piece the co-librettist (Peter Wesley-Smith) and I tried to draw a parallel between what was simultaneously happening to Quito and to his homeland: both were being torn apart by forces beyond their control. Quito is dead. East Timor is not (it seems that the spirit of the East Timorese people will live on despite the appalling atrocities committed against them - now as well as in the past). "Timor ET Tremor" is for tenor, flute (doubling alto & piccolo), clarinet/bass clarinet, piano/organ, violin/voice & double bass, with tape and (optional) transparencies. Enquiries about this (or about other pieces to do with East Timor) to the Australian Music Centre [PO Box N690, Grosvenor Place, Sydney NSW 2000 Australia; tel: [61-2] 247 4677; fax: [61-2] 241 2873] or to me [mwsmith@extro.ucc.su.oz.au; tel: [61-2] 810 2238; fax: [61-2] 230 3747].

I wonder how Timor got its name? Latin for the word "Fear," "Timor" seems remarkably appropriate.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

TRAVELLING IN EAST TIMOR

Comment from Bruno Kahn, October 11.

In his review of Norman Lewis' 'An Empire of the East,' Ian MacFarling says how he is surprised that Lewis visiting East Timor never gets stopped or refused a pass to travel around. His surprise comes from the fact that this does not fit with the popu-

lar view of tight security and an ever-present military control.

It is indeed surprising that some foreigners are able to go around East Timor, sometimes quite extensively, without being especially stopped to do so. Yet it is indeed the case. I had lengthy discussions with two visitors who had been around, including less accessible regions like Viqueque and Ossu, without any major military interference.

Besides, it also happens that other visitors are strongly restricted in their movements, at the extreme prevented to leave Dili at all. Readers of this list have read such accounts posted from time to time. How to explain these discrepancies?

I would like to give some elements for a tentative explanation. Not having been to ET myself, I cannot give any first-hand account, but just use the others' testimonies and some imagination.

The first thing is that there does not seem to be a permanent and well-established need for a permit (surat jalan) to visit East Timor or internal parts of it. The closest I have seen is allegations to possible visitors that they would need such a permit to visit and should have asked for it in Denpasar when they already were in Kupang. But was it more than a way to discourage them? I don't remember to have ever heard of someone actually having been refused entry into ET because he/she didn't have the appropriate document.

Inside ET, I have read occasionally of people having been stopped at checkpoints (outside Dili) and forced to go back. But I think it almost always was the case of foreign journalists invited for a special opportunity like the Portuguese journalists for Xanana's trial. Most other times, it was typically argued that 'no transport was available.'

What I mean is that there does not seem to be any well-established policy of preventing foreigners to travel around, but rather orders at certain periods and a 'passive' resistance at other times. On the other hand, controls do exist and are directed towards foreigners as well as the East Timorese: paper-checking, for example.

To explain what may happen in practice, here are a few examples:

- One friend's bus was stopped at the border between West and East Timor. Everybody had to go down and show his/her papers. He had no difficulty, however, to point to the wrong number on his passport to the soldier who had probably seen few foreign passports, and even to let him believe his middle name was actually his surname! So the soldier noted down wrong indications.

- Another friend travelled extensively through East Timor with a hired motorcycle.

As he said, at every checkpoint he was stopped they asked for a permit, but he answered that he had none and that no permit had been asked previously. The farther he went, the more the argument carried weight, obviously...

- One of them explained that, lately, no permits were asked en route within the country - just paper checking. On the other hand, whenever you arrive in a place, you have to go to the police to declare your arrival.

This paints a picture of a place where undeniably there is some control. But, although this control can be described as 'tight,' it cannot be described as 'rigorous.' The situation seems much different from, say, the late USSR where if you wanted to travel as a tourist, you had to give a strict itinerary and were stopped one kilometer away by the police in case you took the wrong road.

I feel this can be explained by two factors: constants of the everyday life for the military in East Timor and the relations travelers develop with the latter.

Constants of the everyday life: we are supposed to control but: it is hot; we are not well-paid; these aliens are difficult to understand; how to extract money from them? So, as long as there are no definite orders, let's not bother too much with complicated things.

Relations between the travelers and the military: those who visited Indonesia know how xenophile the Indonesian are (Bali excepted). They are happy, perhaps proud, that foreigners come visit their country. This extends, sadly, to the military occupying East Timor. Both my friends described many military in East Timor as cordial to them. They speak a bit of Indonesian and are capable to be quite friendly with military on their part, so no doubt they encouraged this trend on their end.

So I suspect that, from the military's end there is a basic sympathy towards Westerners, mixed with a suspicion taught by the hierarchy. If they don't find an overtly hostile or distrustful foreigner, they are capable to be very pleasant - to him/her, that is. My friends also described the outrageous contempt these nice military showed towards the Timorese.

This assessment, of course applies more to the lower hierarchy and possibly more to territorial troops than others. However, it is up to the motivated visitor to use his/her talents to cope best with the military there - while not alienating possible contacts with the Timorese at the same time.

As I said at the beginning, this is only an assessment based on testimonies, not on first-hand experience. Perhaps actual visi-

tors can comment on this, in order to confirm or refute it.

Many thanks Bruno, for attempting to explain the confused pattern of treatment of foreign visitors to East Timor. There are several points regarding Norman Lewis's experiences:

1. *He is an elderly man (in his eighties), and a seasoned traveler. Most Indonesians have a traditional respect for age and this must have been to his advantage.*
2. *He and his daughter had the good fortune to pal up with three nuns from the Venilale orphanage while on the plane from Bali to Dili and became their guests for most of their stay in East Timor. They travelled round with people from the orphanage which, from the point of view of 'free passage,' was most helpful.*
3. *Bruno's account of the arbitrariness of control is probably as close to the truth as anyone can get. What strikes me much more about the experiences foreigners have in travelling round East Timor is not that they are prevented from doing so but that they are often followed closely and watched for any contacts they make with East Timorese. The East Timorese are well aware of this and avoid making contact with visiting foreigners for fear of being hauled in afterwards to explain what they said. Norman Lewis and his daughter realised that they were being followed when they went for a stroll along the deserted beach in Dili soon after their arrival and found it to be an eerie and stressful experience.*
4. *Lewis' voyage around the Indonesian Empire is a very good read. I'd welcome any postings of reviews of his book and would like to see Macfarling's review, for a start.*

Carmel, Tapol

A REFLECTION OF THE DILI MASSACRE

From Lenito, anonymous East Timorese email participant, November 12.

First of all, I wish to be pardoned for my rather simplistic approach to the subject of East Timor (a sensitive subject) which has indeed drawn attention of very eminent activists, politicians, diplomats, and scholars and has been studied in-depth from almost all angles and perspectives.

I have been closely following the ongoing discussion about (Demonstration in Den Haag on 12 November) among netters in s.c.i. to commemorate the November 12, 1991 Massacre in Dili, East Timor.

Most of the postings were characterized by 'flames' and 'criticisms' to each other, but they all carried within the realm of solidarity, objectivity and nationalism of being Indonesians.

Being an observer on Eastern Indonesian Studies, I feel obliged morally to share some thoughts as response to the ongoing discussion. In my humble view, apart from other political perspectives, the idea of commemorating 'the November 12 incident' (Official term in Indonesia) as shown in Den Haag by the ET sympathizers is APPLAUDED. The main element here is to show the solidarity of people (who are living in a far, in countries which are at peace) to the victims (Over 100 young East Timorese who had been gunned down by the Indonesian soldiers). I applaud a few guys who have shown their voices of acknowledgment of ABRI political ineptitude over East Timor.

As the dramatic date (November 12) coming upon us, we are able to witness solidarity among the people in various countries who are vehemently protesting or disagree with that bloody massacre. For example in Canada (Ottawa, Toronto), in the US (New York, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles), in Europe (England, Den Haag, Paris, Lisbon) in Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, Darwin, Perth) and Japan to name a few places, most of people are driven to commemorate the 2nd anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre.

Views and comments expressed in this net during these days seemed to 'attack and counter-attack' whether the Den Haag Demonstration is going to take place. Whatever happens, people in the outside world can hardly stop themselves to express their criticisms to the way of Indonesian soldiers handling the case. It's intolerable shooting at the defenceless people which in this case were young East Timorese students. No one expects this ever happens again in the future either in East Timor or elsewhere inside Indonesia.

It is very difficult for our neighbours (the East Timorese people) not to get emotionally affected whenever one thinks of their terrible sufferings for 18 years, and their sad plight at a time when we are fast approaching the 21st century. . The cost of human lives is enormous and needs to be ceased. A big home work for the officials in Indonesia.

Evidently, the Indonesians persist with the classical views on development being underway in East Timor since the Indonesian occupation, that development conveys the message East Timor are working together (not fighting), they are participating (not dissenting), structures are being built (not destroying), living conditions are being improved (not ruined) and reinforces the

benevolent (as opposed to malevolent) character of integration.

Evidences tell us different story, however, to the above views as the Indonesian has failed to gain the 'hearts and minds' of East Timorese. Based on my personal visits to that tiny island several times in recent years coupled with an extensive interviews with prominent figures of the territory, I found that people in that area are living under severe pressure from the army occupation. Certainly many East Timorese suffered from this bloody approach, they live in their own fatherland but they are treated like A BIRD IN THE GOLDEN CAGE.

An account expressed by that fellow in Canada is considered 'a seed for thought' for you guys (as outsiders) who have never been to ET. I have no intention to encourage you guys to go to East Timor, but if you do have chance someday, I'm sure you'll notice the situation remains as serious as ever, although superficially one may notice LIFE there seems calm and normal. I won't elaborate more though !

The Indonesian officials arrogantly claimed that only 106 members of guerilla resistance remain in the mountains, and flatly denied that there was any military convoys laden with troops in full combat and camouflage gear could be seen regularly heading up into the mountains. It's a common view inside East Timor (at least 10 battalions are being deployed in that territory) It's not proportional though ! And the worst thing here is that the army officials use it an excuse to legitimate the presence of that sizable battalions to build infrastructure in East Timor. Oh dear, how could they help the villagers if they're still well-equipped with M16 and other military equipment ???

The Indonesians, for one, have handled the international outcry over the Dili Massacre (Nov. 12, 1993) gradually if not considerably getting better. This costs a lot to the Indonesian officials in recent years as the international pressure is mounting. They are now attempting to deal with the issue of East Timor in the international arena as a result of a huge number of ET sympathizers from all over the world have consistently directed attention to the barbarous Indonesian occupation in East Timor by using dramatic eye-catching and reliable facts and descriptions of human rights situation in East Timor.

In this light, I advocate to you guys out there who defend the Indonesian pride and dignity, that it's not an idea of interfering domestic matters as pointed out here before in this newsgroup, nor whose time has come to visit East Timor, but it's a fundamental sense of solidarity from people all over the world to express their concern. I believe the

Indonesians are generous enough to accept the transparency of its presence in East Timor as the world is watching them consistently. It's a childish attitude if one claims that the massacre had never taken place and that video smuggled out from East Timor is biased!

Therefore, without losing your generosity, I urge you to think about the East Timorese victims and relatives involved in the Second anniversary of the Dili Massacre, today November 12, 1993. Above all, it's an appropriate time to remember the courage of young students who had been massacred, and think about the nature of the struggle and the total determination of the entire people of East Timor which leads to the ultimate objective "Freedom in Dignity and Peace for Justice."

Thank you for your interest,
Peace, "LENITO"

INDONESIAN TYRANNY: A PRICE WORTH PAYING

By Carmel Budiardjo*, *Lies of Our Times*, November 1993.

Indonesia's military regime under Gen. Suharto, one of the world's longest-serving dictators, is running into deep trouble. Suharto came to power 28 years ago, having masterminded a massacre that left an estimated one million people dead, but it has taken world opinion almost as long to begin to see Suharto in his true light—a ruthless leader who stands guilty of numerous crimes against humanity.

It was only when the latest atrocity, a massacre of nearly 300 people in Dili, the capital of East Timor, in November 1991, was recorded on video by a courageous cameraman from Britain and witnessed by two U.S. journalists, that public opinion in many Western countries began to challenge the unstinting and uncritical support given by their governments to this particularly violent regime.

Now at last, grassroots outrage in the U.S. against the Suharto regime is forcing Washington to re-assess its policy toward the Indonesian dictator. It led last year to Congress's decision to end the International Military Education and Training Program to the Indonesian armed forces, followed this year by the Clinton administration's decision in July to block Jordan's sale of four F-5E fighters to Indonesia, partly in protest against Indonesia's record of atrocities in East Timor, which it has occupied since December 1975.

A month earlier, 43 senators wrote to President Clinton, calling for a review of U.S. policy on East Timor to "facilitat[e] serious negotiations ... pursuit of the right of

self-determination of the East Timorese people." When Clinton met Suharto in Tokyo in July, the U.S. president raised both East Timor and other human rights issues, so infuriating the Indonesian dictator that he made no secret of his feelings when interviewed on television later that day.

The regime's exploitation of its work force has also come under close scrutiny, following a report submitted by Asia Watch to the U.S. Trade Representative's office documenting Indonesia's repressive labor practices. This led Washington to threaten to withdraw duty-free access for a range of manufactured goods under the Generalized System of Preferences unless significant changes are made in these practices by February 15, 1994. GSP withdrawal would affect Indonesian exports to the U.S. that were worth \$642 million last year.

TIMES COMES TO SUHARTO'S DEFENSE

It is no coincidence that, with relations between Washington and Jakarta falling on bad times, the New York Times should devote a full page to assessing Suharto's rule, neatly summed up in the title "As Indonesia Crushes its Critics, It Helps Millions Escape Poverty" (Philip Shenon, August 27, 1993, p. A1). Nor is it a coincidence that the article appeared less than two weeks before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee was to consider an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill introduced by Sen. Russell Feingold (Dem.-Wis.). As originally drafted, the amendment would have barred arms sales to Indonesia until the president certified that human rights abuses have ended and self-determination has been achieved in East Timor. In the event, intense lobbying—primarily from weapons contractors and other corporate interests—resulted in a watered-down amendment recommending that the president consult with Congress regarding the human rights situation in East Timor before granting approval for the sale or transfer of military equipment.

Nevertheless, Feingold has described this step as a "turning point ... drawing a direct policy link between U.S.-sanctioned arms sales and human rights violations."

Seen in this context, the New York Times was clearly sending a signal to Washington that, for all his faults, Suharto is not all that bad, a man who has ruled Indonesia "with a grandfatherly smile and an iron fist ... re-making the Indonesian economy in a distinctly Indonesian fashion; quietly, cautiously and deliberately, with a premium on consensus over individual freedom."

STATISTICS REVEAL HARSH ECONOMIC TRUTHS

The Times acknowledged that Indonesia under Suharto "is justifiably condemned for tolerating rampant human rights abuses," yet in the next breath, it invited readers to "marvel at all that the Government's programs have managed to do to improve the lives of tens of millions of people" by having "lift[ed] millions out of poverty," or, elsewhere, "having spread wealth to rural areas."

Such claims are frequently voiced by Suharto's many admirers among diplomats and development officials, whose opinions pepper this apologia. At the very time the research for this article was under way, Indonesians had just heard some harsh truths about the spread of poverty that were so devastating that many provincial governors and district chiefs accused the statisticians of distorting the facts and portraying their stewardship of society in an unfavorable light. So loud were the protestations that the researchers were ordered back to their drawing boards to redo their sums.

The week before the Times published its paean to the virtues of President Suharto's economic record, the statisticians were at it again, insisting that 20,633 urban and rural villages out of a total of 65,554 throughout the country have been classified as "poor." This means that nationwide, impoverished villages account for 31.5 percent of the total. The regional breakdown, however, reveals that poverty is far more widespread in the outer islands, mostly in the eastern parts of the archipelago, than in Java and parts of Sumatra. The percentages range from 39.16 percent in Southeast Sulawesi and 40.32 percent in Aceh (North Sumatra) up to 53.96 percent in the Moluccas, 70.59 percent in East Timor, and 77.65 percent in West Papua. Such figures make a mockery of the World Bank's assertion, quoted by the Times, that "conditions of abject poverty [have] dropped from 60 percent two decades ago to 15 percent today."

CONDITIONS BETTER FOR INVESTORS THAN FOR WORKERS

The regime also received praise for reducing the economy's reliance on oil and gas and promoting a rapid growth in manufacturing by taking "advantage of Indonesia's cheap labor." In other words, it's an investor's paradise where sweated labor "turns out brand-name items known to American consumers, from Nike sport shoes to Barbie dolls." Not a word about the countless strikes that have swept Indonesia's industrial zones throughout West Java and other regions of Java where capitalists from all parts of the Far East pay their workers a dollar a day or less. According to the Legal

Aid Institute in Jakarta, 35 percent of workers in Tangerang, the largest industrial complex in West Java, are children who earn less than half this amount. These strikes take place in defiance of company unions with the military ready to step in and bludgeon the workers on the pretext of "protecting property."

The Times writer would not have needed to leave his hotel room to discover all this. The English-language Jakarta Post records these strikes almost daily. In September, the Post reported a strike by 6,000 workers at PT Khongtai Indonesia Shoe Manufacturers, which produces Reebok shoes; they put down their tools after being forced to work longer hours for less money, even though they were already receiving less than the government-fixed minimum wage, which is severely inadequate.

MAINTAINING "STABILITY" EXACTS AN ENORMOUS COST

The article also raised the specter of disintegration as in Yugoslavia or descent into rule by "Muslim fundamentalists," should Suharto cease to be president. Disintegration is seen as the most serious threat, but the Times assured potential investors that "Mr. Suharto has always been willing to resort to force to hold the country together" even though his "ruthless campaign against separatists has drawn condemnation from rights groups and foreign governments." As for the serious challenge to Indonesian rule in East Timor, West Papua, and Aceh, "The Indonesian security forces appear to have separatist movements on the run in all three provinces." Such reassurances of stability overlook the cost: A third of the population of East Timor has been slain since 1975, some 5,000 have been killed in the last two years in Aceh, and the death toll in West Papua since the mid-1960s is thought to exceed 100,000. Such details are absent from this glorification of Indonesia's tyrannical but beneficent ruler.

But we must all admit that whatever else he is, Suharto is not immortal. "Whatever they think of him, Indonesians worry incessantly about what will become of the country when the President, who is 72, leaves office ... will Suharto's successors follow the same often-brutal path and could ethnic rivalries grow?" Or again, "After Suharto, what perils lurk?"

Here is a gross misrepresentation of growing public awareness in Indonesia that the country stands on the brink of major political change. Criticism of Suharto and his offspring along with their cronies, whose rapacious business dealings penetrate all sectors of the economy, has so undermined the position of the Indonesian dictator that he has been forced to make one apparent political concession after another to con-

vince people that he is no longer dedicated to the "security approach" but believes in "openness," "justice," and "a fairer distribution of the nation's wealth." The deep rivalry between Suharto and the armed forces over the country's future leadership has created a situation in which pro-democracy forces are testing the capacity of the regime to keep its apparatus of repression in place as the prospect of a post-Suharto era looms large.

While voicing concern about what will follow Suharto, the Times refrained from mentioning the method by which Suharto himself seized power from his predecessor in 1965. Instead it talked of the country having been "convulsed by an anti-Communist bloodbath, a result of a failed coup attributed by the government to the Indonesian Communist Party." That it was Suharto who commanded the troops who went on the rampage against defenseless peasants and workers was a fact not hinted at. Nor did the Times acknowledge that more and more people, even among Suharto's old comrades-in-arms in the armed forces, have come to believe that the so-called "communist coup attempt" was masterminded by none other than Suharto himself.

The Clinton administration and Congress are under intense pressure to apply the principles of human rights and democracy in their recurrent reevaluation of policy toward one of the U.S.'s staunchest allies. It is hardly surprising that as the battle rages, the Jakarta lobby will use all means at its disposal to neutralize the shift in public opinion in the U.S. since the Dili massacre of 1991. As the Times cannot portray Suharto as benign, it argues instead that ruthlessness and the iron fist are a price worth paying for successful economic growth.

**Carmel Budiardjo is the Organizing Secretary of the London-based Tapol, an organization that reports on and lobbies for greater human rights in Indonesia and East Timor, and the editor of its Tapol Bulletin. You can write to Tapol at 111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR7 8HW, United Kingdom.*

ANOTHER REVOLVING DOOR

By Edward S. Herman

When Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, the New York Times reporter covering the story was David Andelman. His misrepresentations and apologetics served the Indonesian cause well (see Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *The Washington Connection* [Boston: South End Press, 1979], pp. 145-50).

Now in 1993, as the battle over military aid to Indonesia rages in Washington, it

turns out that one of the managers of Indonesia's lobbying effort, employed by its public relations firm, Burson Marsteller, is none other than David Andelman. Not much of a stretch for Andelman from Times reporter to Indonesia lobbyist.