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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 GUSMÃO STILL RESISTS IN PRISON

LAWYERS CAN'T VISIT XANANA, SAYS LAW MINISTER

Editor, 17 February 1994. Summarised

The Legal Aid Institute (LBH) will not be allowed to visit Xanana Gusmão at Cipinang Prison, according to Justice Minister Oetoyo Oesman. The Director for Prisons, Baharuddin Lopa, had said that he permission for a visit was contingent on the minister's decision.

The LBH has twice written to the Prisons Director for permission but has not received any reply.

The Justice Minister says they will not be allowed to make the visit because their purpose in doing so 'is not clear.' Anyone can visit the prisoner, relatives, close friends or lawyers who have legal standing to do so.

The LBH appended to their letter their authority from Xanana to act on his behalf. "Lawyers are fully entitled to meet their client, in conformity with international standards," said Frans Winarta of the LBH. Meanwhile Buyung Nasution, director of the LBH, said: "The government should recognise Xanana's legal right to meet his lawyers."

But according to Lopa, the LBH only wants to ask Xanana about the legality or otherwise of his trial. But this is no longer open to question, he said. A verdict has been passed and his request for clemency (sic) was granted when the president reduced his sentence to 20 years

PAINTING BY XANANA GUSMÃO SENT TO SOARES

Publico, 25 February 1994. Translated from Portuguese Abridged.

(Lisbon) The painting arrived yesterday to the Belem Palace, Lisbon, after a long "political" journey, which started in Jakarta in the prison cell of the painter, Xanana Gusmão. It was delivered through "A UN source" to the Portuguese mission at the UN. From there it was handed over to the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, who passed it on to the Prime Minister. He arranged for its delivery to President Mario Soares. It is called "Jacku Islander," referring to the small uninhabited island of that name, which faces Tutuala, on the eastern point of Timor. This was an area in which the guerrillas sought refuge following the Indonesian extermination campaigns of the early 1980s.

XANANA VISITED BY LBH LAWYERS

Reuter, 20 March 1994. Abridged

(Jakarta) Jailed East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão has asked Indonesia's human rights commission and the Legal Aid Institute to make sure his rights are observed, Antara news agency said on Sunday.

Xanana who was visited by members of the two organisations on Saturday at Jakarta's Cipinang Prison, said his activities in prison were restricted and he was not allowed to read Indonesian magazines or newspapers.

Marzuki Darusman, a member of the human rights commission, told Xanana a ban on visitors had been lifted. He also said after seeing Xanana's facilities and condition the commission felt satisfied because everything was in accordance with minimum applicable standards.

"Although the ban on visits to me has been lifted, I am still not allowed to be visited by people outside my family, even though many friends want to come and raise my morale," Xanana was quoted as saying.

Xanana asked the two groups to do all they could to make sure his rights were respected and gave lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute power to represent him.

TIMOR REBEL XANANA REQUESTS RETRIAL

The Sydney Morning Herald, 21 March 1994.

(AP, Jakarta, Sunday): The jailed East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão has asked for a retrial, saying his previous trial was manipulated by the Government and unjust.

"The trial was not fair and I never voluntarily requested a pardon from President Suharto," Xanana told reporters over the weekend after meeting the Government's national Commission and a newly appointed team of lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute. Xanana's life sentence was reduced to 20 years by Mr. Suharto last year.

The meeting was requested by the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute in response to an appeal from Xanana last November for legal assistance.

Mr. Marzuki Darusman, the commission's deputy chairman, told reporters the commission would only oversee Xanana's human rights in prison.

Xanana, 47, leader of the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor, or Fretilin, was captured in November 1992. Last

July, the Dili district court found him guilty of attempting to undermine the Government, promoting separatism, and illegal possession of firearms.

Xanana said he was being treated well in prison but had been denied visiting rights, except for family members, since a letter from him was smuggled out of prison.

GUSMÃO SEEKS RETRIAL: 'MY TRIAL WAS NOT FAIR'

The Age, 21 March 1994. By AP Abridged

This article is similar to the one in the Sydney Morning Herald. The last few paragraphs read:

Mr. Gusmão said he was not allowed to read Indonesian newspapers or magazines and was denied visitation rights, except for family members, since a letter from him was smuggled out of prison last December, seeking Portugal's help in his release.

Mr. Luhut Pangaribuan, the leader of the new defence team, told reporters that he would apply to the Supreme Court for retrial.

EVENTS INSIDE EAST TIMOR

IN EAST TIMOR, TRUTH REMAINS BURIED

Reuter, 16 February 1994. By Jeremy Wagstaff, Slightly abridged

(Dili, East Timor) After nearly two decades of a sporadic revolt against Indonesian rule, truth remains an elusive commodity in East Timor.

Foreign journalists allowed to visit the former Portuguese colony for the first time in nine months witnessed a capital superficially normal but where paradoxes linger.

From the plain-clothes security officers posing as waiters in Dili's Turismo hotel to the well-dressed students accosting journalists in the street outside, not all the city's 132,000 people are what they seem.

An unconfirmed report - that up to 200 people were killed in the aftermath of an admitted November 1991 army massacre in Dili - has further muddied the waters. Officials deny the second incident but some residents say it is true.

"We have long known it to be true but so many people simply disappeared after November 12 it is impossible for us to know who died, where, when and how," said one 17-year-old student who said he was present during the first massacre.

On Tuesday Jakarta blasted as false a report published in Australia alleging that up

to 200 survivors of the massacre were later killed by Indonesian troops.

The report by film-maker John Pilger is the latest attack on the Indonesian role in East Timor since the 1975 invasion.

Young Timorese claiming to be sympathisers of Fretilin, the guerrilla army in its 18th year of resistance to Indonesian rule, told journalists that at least 200 people died during a second massacre.

But Marcus Wanandi, an influential Jesuit priest, said on Wednesday that no subsequent massacre took place. Wanandi, principal at a local school, said he was present at the hospital where most of the later killings were reported to have taken place and no such massacre took place. "I don't agree with that. Eleven of my students were in the military hospital and I visited them every day to give them communion. Some of them are now studying in Jakarta," he said.

The report, in a film to be aired in Britain this month, comes at a difficult time for Indonesia. Already under attack for its labour record and human rights elsewhere in the archipelago, Jakarta faces further scrutiny at this month's meeting in Geneva of the UN Human Rights Commission.

Indonesia this week allowed nine foreign journalists into Dili, the first to visit since the trial of captured guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão which ended nine months ago. He was jailed for 20 years.

Security was low-key in the capital, with only a few uniformed soldiers on the streets, but residents appeared subdued.

One visibly frightened woman in her 20s approached journalists, saying she feared her husband had joined the ranks of those detained by the military after he failed to return home from his job as a bus-driver four days ago.

"I am afraid for him," she said

INDONESIA ALLOWS FOREIGN JOURNALISTS INTO EAST TIMOR

Reuter, February 16. slightly abridged

(Dili, East Timor) Indonesia, again under international pressure over its role in East Timor, has allowed foreign journalists into the area for the first time in nine months.

Nine Jakarta-based journalists began their supervised trip on Wednesday as Indonesia denied fresh allegation—made by Australian filmmaker John Pilger—that some 200 survivors of a massacre here in 1991 were later killed by Indonesian troops.

Indonesian officials said they hoped to neutralise the impact of the report, and expected criticism of Jakarta at this month's UN Human Rights Commission meeting in

Geneva, by allowing journalists back into East Timor.

While announcing no formal ban, Indonesia has effectively barred foreign journalists from entering East Timor since the sentencing of captured guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão last May.

Xanana was jailed for life in a trial that human-rights groups condemned as a farce. His sentence was later reduced to 20 years.

Indonesia has faced a dwindling guerrilla resistance, widespread local hostility and international protests since its forces invaded the eastern half of Timor island — a former Portuguese colony — in 1975.

Lisbon has for the past decade led international pressure on Indonesia, whose rule in East Timor is not recognized by the United Nations, but U.N.-brokered talks between the two sides have so far yielded few results.

Australia said this week it would raise the issue of a further massacre, which Pilger says took place in the wake of the November 1991 shooting of up to 180 mourners at a Dili funeral. The shooting sparked an international outcry.

The contingent of journalists from Europe, Australia, the United States and Singapore, supervised by an official from the Foreign Ministry and observed by local plainclothes security officials, arrived in Dili on Tuesday.

Apart from police there were few signs of security on the road to Dili from the border, some 120 km (75 miles) from the provincial boundary. Residents said military forces maintained a low profile except in the eastern districts where guerrillas were most active.

Dili itself was quiet, with several hundred Timorese Catholics celebrating early morning mass in the garden of Bishop Carlos Belo, overlooking the ocean.

INDONESIAN JESUIT SPEAKS TO JOURNALISTS

BBC, February 16. By Catherine Napier. Dateline: Dili

Comment: It appears that Bishop Belo is being excluded from any contact with the journalists as none of journalists have mentioned him yet. Instead, the Jesuit priest, Marcus Wanandi, has emerged to answer questions from the journalists.

Wanandi is the brother of Jusuf Wanandi who has played a critical role supporting the occupation forces in East Timor ever since 1975. He was part of a Catholic clique very close to Suharto and his side-kick, General Ali Murtopo, at the time of Suharto's seizure of power.

In the late 1980s, Wanandi shifted from a high-profile position in the Catholic Church in Central Java to Dili, taking on a post that in terms of hierarchy, was much lower. At the time, it was thought that the army wanted to persuade the Vatican to install him as bishop but that hasn't happen (yet). His emergence, apparently as 'spokesman for the church' is a disgrace. Still worse, it appears that reports in yesterday's Australian press were referring to him as if he were an East Timorese!

— TAPOL

CUE: A prominent Jesuit priest in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor says it will take another twenty five years before the population accepts Indonesian rule in the territory. Father Marcus Wanandi was speaking to a group of foreign journalists currently visiting East Timor—the first for nine months to be allowed into the territory. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it a year later in a move still not recognised by the United Nations. From the East Timorese capital, Dili, our correspondent, Catherine Napier sent us this report.

Act: singing

Well over a thousand people gathered this morning at Dili's Motael Cathedral to celebrate an open-air mass marking Ash Wednesday in the Christian calendar. East Timor's population is devoutly Catholic, and it was from this church that mourners set out more than two years ago to remember the death of a young pro-independence activist: a procession which led to a demonstration, and then to the shooting by soldiers of dozens of people at the nearby Santa Cruz cemetery. Indonesia has launched a diplomatic campaign to heal the scars of the so-called Dili massacre; and pro-independence guerrillas in East Timor have been subdued. But Father Marcus Wanandi, the principal of St. Joseph's School in Dili, says feelings against integration with Indonesia are still widespread in the capital, and he calculated that it would take at least a generation more for young people to accept the inevitability of Indonesian rule. Human rights groups continue to dispute official figures for the dead and missing from the Dili shootings. Father Wanandi, who witnessed the event, said he thought around ninety people had been killed, but he discounted claims made in a British television documentary of a second massacre later the same day at Dili's military hospital. Father Wanandi said he'd visited the wounded only two hours after the shootings and had never heard any evidence to substantiate such claims. Foreign journalists attempting to visit the Santa Cruz cemetery today were told to leave. But outside Dili we were allowed to see the unmarked graves of eight-

een of the victims, buried in a tranquil cemetery by the sea.

INDONESIA VOWS FURTHER TROOPS OUT OF EAST TIMOR

Reuter, February 17. slightly abridged

(Dili) The Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor said on Thursday he hoped to halve the number of troops in the disputed territory within a year or two.

Abilio Soares said the number of 650-strong battalions had already been cut from 10 to seven and only one was equipped for combat. The others were territorial, or engineering, battalions.

"When I don't need the territorial battalions any more, I may just have three battalions consisting of East Timorese ... because after territorial battalions we need only police actually," Soares told a group of foreign journalists.

He said he hoped this would take place within one or two years.

His remarks, made during the first permitted visit by foreign journalists to the former Portuguese colony in nine months, appeared to confirm promises by then-military commander Major General Theo Syafei last year that Indonesia hoped to reduce the garrison to two battalions.

Soares said military activity had remained minimal in recent years, with the Fretilin guerrillas reduced to fewer than 100 members.

"The situation especially in the last three to four years has been very good. There have not been any reports of attacks from the (guerrillas). Their group is not organised because they lack a leader," he said.

Soares said he had received seven letters from guerrillas, five of whom said they wanted to return to their homes. He said two people so far had done so.

Journalists were due to end their visit on Friday. The capital Dili appeared calm but subdued, with few residents willing to talk at length with foreigners.

TIMORESE PRIEST SUMMONED BY ARMY INTELLIGENCE

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release 18 February 1994.

Father Domingos Soares, parish priest in Ermera, East Timor, has been summoned to appear for interrogation by army intelligence on Monday 21 February.

Father Soares is one of the most outspoken Catholic priests in East Timor. He was

mentioned in an article in the Australian press last Saturday. The article, by British film-maker Max Stahl, produced detailed evidence about the deliberate murder of wounded survivors of the 12 November 1991 Dili massacre when at least 250 peaceful demonstrators were shot dead. The article re-opened the controversy about the massacre and reports received, among others by TAPOL at the time, that a second massacre took place in the aftermath of the massacre on 12 November at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

The Indonesian authorities have accused Max Stahl of 'fabricating' evidence and vehemently deny that the atrocities which he has documented ever took place. The evidence will be presented in *Death of a Nation, the Timor Conspiracy*, a film by John Pilger, to be screened by ITV on Tuesday, 22 February 1994.

It is feared that army intelligence will try to implicate Father Soares in a 'plot' to discredit the Indonesian forces of occupation in East Timor. The human rights situation in East Timor is high on the agenda of the UN Human Rights Commission now in session in Geneva.

When nine foreign journalists based in Jakarta visited Dili this week, they were not able to contact Bishop Carlos Filipe Belo, head of the Catholic Church. Instead they met an Indonesian-Chinese Jesuit priest, Marcus Wanandi who was transferred to East Timor several years to become principal of a Catholic school. He is as far removed as possible from representing the views of the East Timorese Catholic Church. His brother Jusuf has a long history of aiding and abetting the illegal occupation of East Timor and has close business associations with President Suharto and his family.

While Father Soares could face maltreatment and detention at the hands of the intelligence, journalists visiting Dili were prevented from meeting true representatives of the Church in order to obtain accurate information about the human rights situation and in particular about the second massacre in November 1991.

MILITARY SAYS POVERTY THE ONLY WAR IN EAST TIMOR

Reuter, 19 February 1994. By Jeremy Wagstaff. Abridged

(Dili, East Timor) The war in East Timor is no longer between Indonesia and guerilla resistance but against poverty and lingering resentment of Jakarta's rule, military commanders said.

Speaking to foreign journalists here and in Bali, they said the Fretilin guerrillas numbered less than 200 and represented no threat to the eight remaining Indonesian battalions.

"The war is now against the poverty of the people which is the main problem... after between 5 and 10 years, this is still a problem," Major-General Adang Ruchiatna Puradiredja, the newly-installed district commander said late on Friday.

Despite massive government assistance, including 260 billion rupiahs (\$118 million) this year, East Timor remains the poorest region in Indonesia (sic), with people in 70 per cent of its villages living in poverty.

Adang said the current military presence of about 5,000 men was necessary to assist the government's development programme.

But local East Timorese said it amounted to an occupation and indicated the failure of Indonesia's 18-year-old rule. They said Indonesian officials were hostile to the 750,000 Timorese population and that harassment, detention and torture remained part of everyday life.

"Dissatisfaction is high and people feel that they are being misunderstood and mistreated," said Florentino Sarmento, head of a local aid agency.

"We try now to use liurai tribal leaders to win over a suspicious population as well as acknowledging the increased role of the Catholic church by funding and building of churches," said local commander Colonel Johny Lumintang.

The mood remains subdued in the dilapidated capital of Dili with students warily approaching foreign journalists to express their fear and resentment of Indonesia's presence.

Students jailed for their role in the funeral march that led to the army shooting of scores of mourners in late 1991 vented their rage during a visit this week by foreign journalists to a Dili prison. They shouted pro-independence slogans in front of officials.

One Catholic leader, Martinho Maia, blamed high local unemployment on Indonesians monopolising the economy and discriminating against Timorese.

"Sure, 17 years on there are buildings. There are roads and schools. But for whom? For us? They have built them, now they should leave them for us," he said.

Officials acknowledge that despite increased investment in the territory, about 70 per cent of the population age under 30 is unemployed.

COMMENT FROM CONSTÂNCIO PINTO:

In response to Major-General Adang Ruchiatna Puradiredja –

After almost twenty years of propaganda all over the world that Indonesia has developed East Timor in every field, he now affirms that the poverty is the only war in East Timor and East Timor is the poorest province in Indonesia.

I must say that poverty was brought to East Timor by the Indonesian government since it invaded East Timor on December 7 1975. Since that day thousands of people have been killed indiscriminately by its army, and the wealth of the country has been looted.

As the Indonesian army claims East Timor is poorest country, why doesn't it leave it alone? Why doesn't the Indonesian government give the money that it spends foolishly in East Timor to the poorest people in Indonesia? In Jakarta, many people still live under bridges and thousand of people are jobless.

The Timorese guerrilla fighters do not represent a threat to the Indonesian army.

The Timorese guerrilla fighters never consider themselves as a threat to the Indonesia army. How could they be if our guerrilla fighters are very few and are not well-equipped?

About the number of the guerrilla fighters: if we see the statement of General Benny Moerdani in 1981 there are only 50 personnel in the jungle. After the capture of our Commander Xanana Gusmão in 1992, General Theo Syaferi said 1000 guerrilla fighters have been surrounded more than 50. Probably some souls have been surrounded too.

About the number of the Indonesian army in East Timor: I would say Indonesian officials always say half of a double. If they say five battalions that's because there are 10 battalions or more than that.

The Timorese guerrilla fighters do not represent a threat to the army of the Republic of Indonesia, but they represent the shamefulfulness of the Indonesian army after 19 years of occupation of East Timor.

MASS RESISTANCE

Robert McCrum, The Weekend Guardian, Feb. 19

Welcome to East Timor. You are 300 miles northwest of Darwin, Australia, on the 9th parallel. Your Air Merpati jet has just slanted in over a scrubby, volcanic coastline the colour of old iron and touched down on the bumpy airstrip of an equatorial island that was once part of the East Indies.

Blink, and you could almost mistake the palm trees and corrugated roofing for the Caribbean. Almost, but not quite. As you pass through Customs you are conscious,

among the taxi drivers pushing for work, of searching eyes – uniformed officials and soldiers with guns.

You take a ride in a beaten-up blue taxi with coathanger wire door handles and a garish photograph of Pope John Paul II on the dashboard. The route into the capital, Dili, runs between roadside shanties and then twists along the seafront. The splendid white facade of the Governor's residence indicates a European colonial past.

It's very hot, the streets are almost deserted and, a hint of past invasion, there are hulks of landing craft rusting on the beach. Beyond the broken promenade, small boys dive and splash in the bitter sea. A hog roots among the mangroves on the shore. Further on, there's a piazza, a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and on the corner a street vendor selling noodles in the shade of a mahogany tree.

The taxi arrives at your hotel, the New Resende, perhaps, or the Turismo Beach, and you're aware that many people, hanging around the dark lobby, are noting your arrival with interest. Your visa says you're a tourist, but everyone assumes that you're an aid worker or a journalist. A one-legged Australian with crutches and a can of Bir Bintang asks if you're selling guns. Later, when you go for a walk, anxiety turns to paranoia. In the street, everyone seems to be watching. Wherever you go you are followed by mocking questions: "Hello, mistair, where are you from? Hello, mistair, where are you staying?" Toyota Landcruisers with darkened windows whisper suspiciously up and down as the tropical night falls.

After dark, troops in crash helmets ride shotgun in open trucks. Within hours, you are conscious only of the oppression and the fear. Timor conturbat me ... What you were told is true: East Timor is an occupied territory, a police state, an infernal paradise, one of the saddest places in the world. Sometime during your first 24 hours here that famous line from Dr. Faustus pops into your head: "Why, this is Hell, nor am I out of it."

East Timor is one of those places that should be on the conscience of the West. Portugal – which colonised it for years – Britain, France, Australia and the United States all, in the different ways, have something dreadful to answer for here. But such is the grim logic of realpolitik that the people of East Timor continue to suffer now, at the hands of the Indonesians, as they have done for the past generation.

It was just a week after East Timor declared independence on November 28, 1975, that the Indonesians invaded, by air and sea, tacitly backed by the Ford administration and supplied with British and American

arms. Local people remember the parachutes drifting silently out of the sky. "It was like a dream," said the waiter at my hotel. The nightmare soon followed.

The campaign of genocide against the Roman Catholic people of East Timor conducted by the Indonesian invaders from 1975 to 1979, and then sporadically until 1991, deserves to be compared to Stalin's assault on the kulaks or the Nazi's extermination of the Jews. Villages and crops were napalmed; the population was forcibly rehoused; there was bombing and starvation; finally, there was a bloodbath. Young and middle-aged men were rounded up and executed en masse. Some were buried alive. Women were raped and strangled. Boys were castrated. Mothers and fathers had their throats cut in front of their children. Thousands simply disappeared; at least 200,000 died (out of approximately 700,000).

The catalogue of Indonesian atrocity is so numbing that it defies comprehension. Consider the case of just one student at the university of East Timor. I made contact with Alfonso Gomez (not his real name) in circumstances of great secrecy. He is 19 years old. Since 1982, no less than six of his brothers have been killed or died in "accidents." All were suspected of working against the forces of occupation. Alfonso Gomez spoke about the mass graves at Hera, Taci-Tolu and Be-Musi, and of the killing fields to the south. He and his friends are under constant surveillance by the intelligence services, but they maintain contact with the outside world through ham radios. They call the police "elephants" – stupid but crushing. "They treat us like animals, like animals."

It's in the nature of authoritarian regimes to offer the carrot as well as the stick. There have recently been substantial material incentives offered to students willing to study in Jakarta. Most prefer to stay and fight for Timorese independence, a campaign that exasperates the Jakarta government like a stone in the shoe. Nevertheless, since the late 1980s, the Indonesian authorities have pretended not to limp. They have also attempted to introduce an air of normality to the island, promoting tourism with the absurd slogan, "Let's go Archipelago." The achievements of this campaign have been predictably modest.

The Jakarta regime has also tried to achieve a rapprochement with the Roman Catholic Church – a policy that has fared better in Rome than in Dili. In 1989, Pope John Paul II finally visited the island and celebrated Mass, a disappointing occasion. The Holy Father spoke in English not Portuguese, and called on the people of East Timor to reconcile themselves with their

oppressors. No rebuke for crimes against humanity was made. Despite the threat of imprisonment, perhaps even death, scores of students demonstrated for independence, and the equivocal nature of the Vatican's response gave renewed impetus to the clandestine movement.

Two years later, on November 12, 1991, following the cancellation of a planned Portuguese parliamentary delegation to East Timor, Indonesian troops shot and killed 273 independence demonstrators outside the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. Santa Cruz put East Timor back on the international agenda. It also stiffened the resolve of the faltering resistance movement. Throughout the 1980s, guerrilla groups – first Fretilin, then Falintil – led by José Alexandre 'Xanana' Gusmão, had conducted a desperate struggle against the Indonesian army. A year after the Santa Cruz massacre, this lonely campaign received a stunning blow when Xanana Gusmão was captured, tried and sentenced to life imprisonment (later commuted to 20 years). Despite the loss of its leader, the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM) continues to campaign for East Timor's independence.

In the world community there has been a yawning gap between words and deeds. Officially, the UN has never recognised East Timor as part of Indonesia. Officially, the plight of the Timorese has been condemned by successive UN resolutions. In reality, as the philosopher Noam Chomsky has powerfully argued in dozens of papers and lectures, the international community has been slow to condemn the Jakarta government. In the unreal, Alice-in-Wonderland world of international diplomacy, it was also possible for Saddam Hussein to cite the Indonesian invasion as a justification of his annexation of Kuwait in 1990.

The truth is that President Suharto controls some vital geopolitical and economic high ground. The Indonesian archipelago occupies a crucial strategic position in South-East Asia, commanding vital sea lanes. With 184 million people, Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world. This, together with the vast oil and natural gas reserves of Timor Gap, gives it leverage at the poker table of world power.

Inside East Timor, the struggle continues. Indonesia has supplemented the oppression of the dark-skinned locals with a policy of internal immigration. Light-skinned Javanese and Sumatran merchants are now offered big incentives to settle in East Timor, and about 10 per cent of the population are now non-native. The real battle is for the hearts and minds of the native Maubere people. Here, the Roman Catholic Church, led by Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, is playing a heroic part. As one commentator has put it: East

Timor is a concentration camp, and Bishop Belo is the prison chaplain.

The Bishop is a strong, peremptory, but inwardly warm man, who has devoted his life to his people, treading a difficult, perhaps impossible, path between the threats of the oppressors and the entreaties of the oppressed. When I spoke to Belo, he had just returned from abroad. He was far from rejuvenated, however. "I am ready to leave," he said. "I am already tired and old. Look at these grey hairs. It is time to rest." Belo told me he might like to go to Africa, perhaps Mozambique, to work as a missionary. "I think there is not so much surveillance in Mozambique."

The figures tell the story of Bishop Belo's church. In 1975, there were 250,000 Roman Catholics in East Timor. By 1983, after nearly 10 years of horror, the number had swelled to 420,000. Today, despite the offer of more and more incentives – employment, land, education – to the local people to become Muslim, the figure has become a staggering 674,000, approximately 90 per cent of the population.

The day after Bishop Belo's return, I witnessed the power of the church at the Mass to celebrate the Vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary. More than 5,000 men, women and children had crowded into the cathedral. The worshippers were overflowing into the precincts, standing in the beating sun, while the bishop, flanked by his clergy, spoke about upholding the family traditions of their forefathers. No one could doubt his meaning. East Timor was not part of Indonesia, whatever the authorities said.

After the sermon, the Bishop married 17 Maubere couples in a joint ceremony and celebrated Mass with the huge congregation. Beyond the gates of the Cathedral, patrolled by Roman Catholic youths, a comical assortment of goons watched suspiciously from their mopeds.

The Roman Catholic Church and its faith is the icon of hope to which the people turn in their distress. Every Saturday afternoon in Dili there is another, equally moving, demonstration of piety and protest. In the square outside the Bishop's residence, some 30 or 40 women gather at the statue of the Virgin Mary to pray – an act of defiance on behalf of those who have been killed, imprisoned without trial or have simply "disappeared."

In September 1993, it was these women who wrote to Hillary Rodham Clinton, begging for help. "We live," they wrote, "in the silence of this immense sorrow, without knowing where our beloved, martyred children ... We are a little people, frail in all aspects of life, but we wish to keep alive the flame of resistance, which identifies us as a free and honourable people." Bishop Belo

has had to address such political matters with the greatest circumspection. For his 72 priests, it is a different matter. Some are cautious, outspoken only in private. Others, like Father Domingos Soares, are simply brave. When I met him in Dili, Father Soares made no secret of his duty, as he saw it, "to serve God before the people and the people before God" – the classic formulation of liberation theology.

We spoke in the Camera Ecclesiastica, the church's headquarters, with a slightly precarious sense of privacy. Outside, nothing escapes the attention of the watchers in the Hotel Mahkota across the road. Domingos Soares, who might have stepped from a Graham Greene novel, is a marked man under constant surveillance, but he agreed to be photographed and to allow his name to be used.

"The situation is as bad as it has ever been, and it's getting worse," he said. "Despite this, almost everyone supports the struggle for independence." I wondered if it was a priest's role to take sides. "I cannot make a deal with the enemy of my people," he replied. "All liberation struggle is the struggle of humanity." When I asked about the attempt by the Indonesians to make East Timor Islamic, he replied, "The East Timorese find Indonesia a backward country, culturally and religiously, at odds with our Roman Catholic traditions. We have had 400 years of basic freedoms under the Portuguese that we are now denied. In Indonesia, there is no justice, no educational opportunities, no freedom."

As he spoke, I found myself remembering the passage from *Leviathan* where Hobbes writes about the state of nature: "No arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." This, without exaggeration, is the grim description of life in East Timor. And yet, to the visitor, to the few tourists who do venture here, there is, along the mean, dusty streets of Dili, a kind of desolate normality to everyday existence. "It's so boring here," whispered one of the hotel maids. Outside, especially to the south and east, there's the conflict between the army and the guerrillas, a story that has gone largely unreported. It was time to take the bus into the interior.

At first, the road followed the coastline. There were boys with bamboo poles of fish and scrotum-like squid along the way. East Timor is a poor country. The principal export is coffee. The people live in beehive huts thatched with palm and banana leaves. Julio Etchart, the Guardian photographer, said he was reminded of Haiti. Twice the bus was stopped by military patrols checking papers. The passengers showed a sullen

indifference to the light-skinned Javanese troops.

After four hours, we reached Baucau, formerly a seaside town with crumbling colonial architecture, now an Indonesian military base. The rains were coming. Torrential water splashed down the rocky hillside under a canopy of lush tropical vegetation. After Baucau, the road turned inland across a mountain plateau. From time to time, the bus would pass a Portuguese cemetery, incongruous rococo stonework on bare hillside. We climbed, vertiginously, and then began to descend towards the south. Many hours later we reached our destination, a Catholic mission on the edge of a forest. It is in these remote parts the real battle for East Timor's independence is being fought out.

Father Fernando De Souza (not his real name), the local priest, is 40 years old. He was born in the north of the island and came here, to devote his life to the people's welfare, about seven years ago. His movements are calm and deliberate. He has an air of quiet certainty, a strong sense of humour, and a slight shyness that vanishes when he stands before his congregation. In this parish, over 90 per cent of the population is registered as Roman Catholic, and Father De Souza takes pride in the increasing attendances at Mass.

The mission and its church are a school, a surgery, a place of recreation, a refuge, a social centre, and a source of inspiration. There is, indeed, a sense throughout the island that the church is the administration. Beyond the walls of the mission there are spies, policemen, informers – the army of occupation. Inside, there is teaching, prayer and song. At almost every hour of the day there seemed to be groups of nuns and schoolchildren rehearsing anthems and Christmas carols. Julio remarked that it was "like a choir of angels" and given the circumstances the observation did not seem sentimental. Father De Souza invited us to stay as long as we liked. He would try to arrange for us to make contact with the armed struggle. He said it might take some time. We settled down to wait.

It's a simple life at the mission. There's no running water, fitful electricity, and a basic diet of rice and stewed lamb. Father De Souza rises at five. Even at this hour, the marketplace outside is already busy with trade and the buses are hooting to depart. School starts at six and goes on all day. Portuguese is spoken freely here. "Buonas dias" [sic] said Father De Souza, arriving for breakfast at eight. By midday it's swelteringly hot. After lunch everyone takes a siesta. Then, at about four in the afternoon, Father De Souza celebrates Mass. The church is always crowded. There is nothing

routine about these prayers. I saw many people kneeling in tears. On that first day, in the lull before supper, we talked about the struggle for independence.

Father De Souza made a comparison with the former Yugoslavia. He remarked that President Suharto could be seen as a kind of South-East Asian Tito, holding together a loose confederation with a combination of military muscle and massive economic expansion (GDP has expanded by a staggering annual 7 per cent for the last several years). The country is made up of about 13,500 separate islands, many with aspirations to independence, and there's no doubt that the violence meted out to East Timor is "pour encourager les autres" in Aceh and Irian Jaya. After Suharto, what next? "This is a society threatening to fly apart at the seams," said Father De Souza.

Another day passed. There were many comings and goings. An officer from the local Indonesian battalion paid a visit. He asked: "Who is staying at the mission?" (We had already registered with the local police, but this inquiry was more pointed.) Father De Souza replied: "I have two tourists from London." Later, he told us that a new crack battalion had just arrived from Java to strengthen the campaign against the guerrillas. Indonesian propaganda claims a reduction in troop levels. We saw no evidence of that, but we did see, on the anniversary of the invasion, evidence of the "Timorisation" of the army – local youths jogging, Marine Corps-style, along the seafront.

Late on Saturday, we were joined by a man who agreed to be identified only by his first name, José. He is the local organist and had come to practise for Sunday Mass. But 25-year-old José is no ordinary musician: he is under permanent detention at the local barracks. When the Pope visited Dili in 1989, José organised the student protest and was arrested. He is still in detention, but at least he has survived. His plight is known to the Bishop and to the International Red Cross. He has no idea when he will be released. He has no books, newspapers, radio or TV. His weekly visit to the mission is his only contact with the outside world.

After Mass on Sunday, we drove out with Father De Souza to a remote village in the forest. It was a sobering journey, full of first-hand evidence of the attempted extermination of the East Timorese. In this cul-de-sac, 50 people were machine-gunned. Under that palm tree, is a mass grave. Over there, on that hillside, is a well-known killing field. Finally, we reached our destination: a "new" village of about 1,100 people. Before the massacres of the 1980s, and before relocation, it numbered some 4,900.

Here, as everywhere in East Timor, you see children, teenagers and young adults –

but no 30- or 40-year-olds. There was also a platoon of Indonesian troops and the usual complement of informers in residence. We found a group of young people watching a boxing match on the village television. No one would talk. Father De Souza spoke to the village leader who became edgy and nervous. His eyes darted this way and that. He was evidently afraid. He knew he was being watched. He would not speak. So we said good-bye and headed back through the forest to the mission.

This is a society whose language has been doubly terrorised. The older generation grew up speaking Portuguese but, following the invasion, the language became associated with the resistance movement. Now it is used only in murmurs behind closed doors. The official state language is Bahasa Indonesian. For the rest, the local language, Tetum, is the speech of everyday life, but it is deprived of the freedom to express the basic desire for independence and justice.

Night fell. We had been told to prepare for a meeting with a member of "the armed struggle." The hours ticked by. We sat on the verandah of the mission, waiting. Finally, in circumstances I cannot disclose, we met a young man from the resistance movement, and learned of the desperate struggle now facing the freedom fighters of East Timor.

The guerrilla I spoke to, who I'll call Joaquim Guterres, had been close to "Xanana" Gusmão. In his opinion, Gusmão had allowed himself to be arrested and made a political prisoner in order to dramatise the plight of the East Timor resistance movement to the world. Thus, Gusmão could (and did) attract the attention of the world's press. There was no question, however, of Gusmão's continuing psychological presence among the guerrillas. "He is our Nelson Mandela," said Joaquim Guterres.

In the field, Gusmão has been replaced by a young leader named Konis Santana. But the armed struggle remains in dire straits, short of arms, supplies, and new recruits. There are, perhaps, no more than 1,000 men sustaining the clandestine movement, of whom less than half carry weapons. I ask how, in these circumstances, the resistance could ever hope to succeed? The young man opposite shook his head fiercely. He had no real answers, only a desperate faith in his cause. "Indonesian troops are killing our people every day, but I am 100 per cent certain we shall succeed. We shall always have the support of the people and we love our freedom. We shall never give up."

Joaquim Guterres described the activities of his fellow guerrillas, their Maubere code-names (Lan-Wai, Fuluk, Loro-Talin, Ular Rihyk), and their day-to-day living condi-

tions. He painted a picture of dedicated men functioning like Maoist fish in a sea of Timorese peasantry. Sometime after midnight, Joaquim said he would have to return to the forest, and handed over messages for fellow resistance workers who have managed to flee abroad. Then he disappeared silently into the dark. Next day, we bade farewell to Father De Souza and took the bus back to Dili. Our visit to East Timor was drawing to a close.

On our last evening, Julio and I went to the New Resende Hotel for a drink. Three military men in mufti were sitting in the deserted hotel bar. They were drinking Bir Bintang from tall glasses and singing karaoke songs. Their women – lip gloss, flashy costume jewelry, and beehive hair – were joining in with screams of laughter. “I’m the Great Pretender,” crooned the cold-eyed commander. “I’m wearing my heart like a crown.” on the TV screen, a Chinese gigolo mimed the Great Pretender in a Hong-Kong tea garden. These laser discs had been produced for local consumption. From time to time, the commander carried his portable phone outside to make a call. The forces of occupation were having a night off. In the jargon of the army handbook, East Timor is “a low-intensity operation,” like Northern Ireland.

We were watched and followed to the last. At Dili airport, officers of the military intelligence were on hand to interrogate us, but, for reasons that still baffle me, neither my notes nor Julio’s film were confiscated. Within hours, we were back in a world that remains largely indifferent to the plight of East Timor.

Perhaps, in 1994, this will change. There is plenty of activity on behalf of East Timor, not all of it very well-orchestrated. Within the independence movement there is some disagreement about the correct course of action. José Ramos-Horta and the CNRM continue to pressure the UN to recognise East Timor’s independence, as they have for years. Against this, there are so-called “pro-integrationists” (Lopez da Cruz) and “anti-integrationists” (Abilio Araujo) who have recently attempted a reconciliation in London. The serious weakness of their position is that they lack the support of Fretilin, which regards their efforts as misguided. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government makes conciliatory noises to the West while doing nothing.

In East Timor itself, Bishop Belo has placed his support behind a referendum administered by the UN. Here, the aim would be to achieve autonomy for East Timor, within the Indonesian state, and perhaps even full independence. Like many in East Timor, he looks to the revolutions of 1989 to provide a model for change in which

Clinton’s presidency offers a ray of hope. The truth is that, while everyone hangs on Clinton’s words, Clinton has yet to deliver.

On the map of the world, some countries are like threatened species, in urgent danger of extinction. East Timor might appear to be one of these.

And yet, after nearly a generation of the most appalling cruelty, the desire for freedom and independence has not been extinguished. But as Joaquim Guterres said as we sat in the tropical darkness of the forest: “The world refuses to pay attention, no matter what we sacrifice, families, homes, lives ... We have been given many fine words, but we are still dying. Every day we are still dying.”

UNTAMED TIMOR

The Weekend Australian, February 19-20, 1994

Subheading: While Jakarta tries to persuade the world that conditions in East Timor have finally improved, the local population remains unreconciled to its Indonesian masters, reports Patrick Walters

It is six o’clock in the morning on Ash Wednesday in Dili. In the graceful, sprawling old Portuguese bungalow near the sea-front, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, is saying mass in his home. The congregation overflows out of the airy room that serves as a chapel in the bishop’s house and into the tropical garden that surrounds it.

Each morning the congregation sings in the Tetum language, the lingua franca of Indonesia’s 27th province, rather than the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. For old and young alike the bishop’s house, with its fading, claret-coloured corrugated iron roof and white-washed walls, is a tranquil haven. In the Catholic churches across this beautiful, languid town the people flock to mass to celebrate the beginning of Lent.

A quarter of a century ago, when East Timor was still a Portuguese colony, Portuguese census figures showed that around 24 per cent of East Timor’s population of 650,000 professed to be Catholic. There were also about 493,000 animists, 2000 Protestants and 1000 Muslims. Today, according to official Indonesian figures, more than 90 per cent of East Timor’s population of 790,000 are Catholics - an extraordinary increase compared with a generation ago.

The Catholic Church has become a rallying point for East Timorese who remain unreconciled to the fact of East Timor’s incorporation into Indonesia. Nearly two decades after Jakarta invaded and then annexed East Timor, the Catholic Church re-

mains an ecclesiastical province of another metropole - Rome - rather than forming part of the Indonesian Bishops Conference.

Like the United Nations, the Vatican refuses to recognise the incorporation of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia. While Indonesia has poured money and resources into East Timor, easily outstripping in less than 20 years the 350-year colonial record of Portugal, it has yet to win the allegiance of the East Timorese people. Indonesia’s governance of East Timor, including all its beneficial development works, has helped promote an East Timorese consciousness, even sense of nationality, among a traditionally bitterly divided and fractured region.

Although, according to the Indonesian Government, the handful of pro-independence Fretilin guerrillas living in the mountains of East Timor now constitute a negligible security threat, the Indonesian army still officially maintains a force of eight battalions in East Timor. Despite Jakarta’s best efforts, the “people in the shoe,” as the Foreign Minister Ali Alatas once termed the Timor problem, remains just that - a constant irritant that simply cannot be easily cast aside.

Just off the boulevard that runs alongside Dili’s harbour, half-a-dozen rusting naval landing craft lie in shallow water beside the shore. Stark reminders of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in December 1975, they also recall the awful cost and brutal consequences of Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor.

Anywhere between 50,000 and 200,000 people may have died as a result of the conflict that has flowed across the province the province in the past 18 years, many from starvation and disease.

In 1994 Indonesia is trying hard to show that things have finally changed for the better. The military which November 1991 opened fire on unarmed civilians outside the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, killing at least 50 people, are engaged mainly in civil construction projects. On the streets of the capital the mood is very subdued. People remain extremely cautious of making conversation with visiting foreigners.

One positive aspect to the military’s presence is the local ABRI (armed forces) commander - the bright, energetic Colonel Johnny Lumintang. Lumintang has quietly set about restoring ABRI’s tarnished image, maintaining a tight rein on his men. In Dili, most observers agree, the atmosphere has changed for the better in recent months, with a far less visible and oppressive military presence on the streets, particularly at night.

“Lumintang is always available for a chat. He will find time to discuss all sorts of problems,” says one Western observer.

East Timor, which remained officially closed to visitors until 1989, is gradually being reopened. About 2000 tourists visited the province last year. This week, for the first time in nine months, foreign journalists were allowed to travel to Dili. More than ever before, Indonesia is responding to the continuing focus on human rights and East Timor in the United Nations and other international forums. Jakarta has mounted a public relations drive to convince its critics of the strategic benefits that East Timor has gained from its incorporation into Indonesia.

The economic achievement is impressive. In 1974 there were only 60 schools in the Portuguese colony of East Timor. Today there are more than 700 schools and three post-secondary colleges. Illiteracy rates of around 90 per cent a generation ago have now fallen to less than 60 per cent. The central Government has just spent millions of dollars on a new technical college in Dili. The two hospitals, three doctors and two dentists in 1974 had grown to 10 hospitals, 197 village health centres, 110 doctors and 14 dentists by 1992.

Indonesia has devoted six times as much of its own economic development budget to East Timor on a per capita basis than to any other province. Last year alone the province received around \$US130 million (\$182 million) in aid from Jakarta for new infrastructure. At the end of Portuguese rule there was only 20km of sealed road. Today there is around 500km.

Notwithstanding these figures, the provincial and central governments face an enormous challenge to meet the rising expectations of a better educated younger generation of East Timorese. East Timor remains one of Indonesia's poorest provinces. Seventy per cent of East Timor's 442 villages remain below the government-determined poverty line. Per capita income in the province remains less than half the \$US600 per annum national average.

Official figures show that around 45 per cent of East Timor's working population are unemployed or under-employed. The problem is particularly acute for high-school leavers. The tight military control of the province has hamstrung the opportunities for major new job-creating capital investment. Many young educated East Timorese are being forced to leave the province to find employment. As Abilio Soares, the Governor of East Timor, acknowledged this week, East Timor's unemployed youth could become a political problem for the Government.

Prominent Indonesians and East Timorese resident in Dili believe that Jakarta will have to do much more to heal the wounds caused by the impact of two decades of conflict.

Father Marcus Wanandi, a Jesuit Priest and member of a prominent Indonesian Chinese family, supports the integration of East Timor into Indonesia. But he says it will take another 25 years before the overwhelming majority of East Timorese feel comfortable about being part of Indonesia.

"If we had a referendum now, I'd say the anti-integrationists would win," he says.

According to Wanandi, although it is unrealistic to expect any formal legal recognition by Jakarta of some kind of autonomy for East Timor, more needs to be done to address the special problems affecting the province.

Florentino Sarmento, who runs the ETADep Foundation, a non-government aid organisation in Dili, is also pro-integration but more critical of the way Jakarta has handled East Timor. Sarmento believes that the government strategy for East Timor has completely failed to win the support of the East Timorese.

"The biggest mistake has been to consider East Timor as just another province of Indonesia," he says. "It was never part of Indonesia under the Dutch. It must be considered as a special region. Integration has occurred in one respect only - that is, the territory has been incorporated into Indonesia."

Sarmento says the central Government has created a fearful climate in East Timor rather than an atmosphere of partnership. Jakarta needs to make some substantial changes to the social and political framework of East Timor that would acknowledge the cultural distinctiveness of the East Timorese.

Away from the sea, behind Dili, the road winds steeply up folds of the high hills that dominate the town. Near the crest of the range, beside a remnant of rainforest, is a natural spring. The view down the lush green slopes, planted with pockets of maize and fruit trees, to the faded red roofs of Dili and out across the harbour to the dark, brooding island of Atauro is breathtaking.

>From this vantage point high above the town there is a small, open-air shelter and shallow pool built as a memorial to the people of Timor by the AIF's 2/2 Independent Company in gratitude for the help given to the Australian commandos during World War II. For nearly a year in 1942 the men of Sparrow Force, aided by the Timorese people, fought a skillful campaign against the Japanese. For the loss of 40 men, the Australians accounted for around 1500 of the enemy.

For East Timorese such as Florentino Sarmento, the Australian Government has been guilty of political expediency in its handling of the East Timor issue. Australia, he believes, could have exerted far more

energy in helping in the province as well as encouraging more direct capital investment in East Timor. For someone who recalls the wartime association with Australia, there is a keen sense of betrayal.

Patrick Walters is The Australian's Jakarta correspondent.

HUMAN RIGHTS STILL UNDER ATTACK IN EAST TIMOR

Reuter, February 21. By Jeremy Wagstaff

(Jakarta) Human rights in East Timor, due to come under the spotlight at this week's UN Commission in Geneva, remain under attack with reports of detentions, harassment, torture and random killings.

Indonesia was expected to come under fresh criticism this week for its sometimes brutal record in East Timor, which it invaded in 1975 after the withdrawal of Portuguese forces.

It has since faced a dwindling guerrilla war and widespread resentment against its rule, despite an ambitious public works programme focused on health, education and infrastructure.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights was scheduled on Wednesday to discuss Indonesia's moves to comply with a resolution passed at last year's meeting calling for specific improvements in its role in the former Portuguese colony.

Amnesty International last week said Indonesia had failed to comply with either the spirit or the substance of the Commission's recommendations.

On Monday, outspoken Catholic priest Domingos Soares was scheduled to appear before authorities for interrogation, although no reason has been given, Australian Bishop Hilton Deacon said by telephone from Melbourne.

Timorese exiles said they had received reports that 15 people in the town of Atsabe, south of Dili, had been arrested in early February after guerrillas killed an alleged informer.

Military officials in Dili were not available for comment, and it was not possible to independently verify the reports.

Amnesty said at least 20 East Timorese remain in prison for political crimes and said those ultimately responsible for the shooting of up to 180 mourners at a Dili funeral in late 1991 had yet to be brought to justice.

"There has been no significant improvement in the human rights situation on the ground and unless concrete measures are taken no such improvement can be expected in the near future," it said in a report submitted to the Commission.

British television will show a much-publicised film on Tuesday alleging that in the wake of the 1991 shooting, Indonesian security forces killed another 200 survivors.

Indonesia has admitted 54 people died in the first incident but had rejected allegations contained in the film, produced by Australian journalist John Pilger, as sensational.

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said on Monday he was not convinced by the film, but added the government remained concerned about discrepancies between official and unofficial reports about those missing after the killings.

Exiles and Timorese dissidents in Dili said while Indonesia had improved its image in certain areas, such as resuming cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, the rights of many local residents were still being abused.

In late January territorial soldiers shot two brothers in southern East Timor, killing one and wounding another, exiles said. It was not possible to confirm the report.

An alleged account of the arrest, torture and forced confession of a Timorese student in Dili last month was obtained by Reuters on Monday. He was accused of plotting a demonstration during the planned visit of Bishop Deacon in March.

Deacon said he had decided to cancel the visit.

The Catholic Church in East Timor, to which some 95 percent of the territory's 750,000 people belong, has become an increasing focus for opposition to Indonesian rule. Its leader, Bishop Carlos Belo, is an outspoken critic of the government.

During the first permitted visit in nine months by foreign journalists to Dili and outlying areas last week, the situation appeared calm.

Only occasional signs of unrest were seen, including the shouting of independence slogans by several Timorese held in a Dili jail for their role in the 1991 incident.

Residents said they feared reprisals by military intelligence if they were seen speaking to foreigners.

TIMORESE MAN TORTURED TO FORCE A FALSE STORY: BISHOP

The Age, Melbourne, February 22. By Innes Willox, diplomatic correspondent.

(Canberra) A senior Melbourne Catholic bishop said yesterday that Indonesian troops in East Timor had tortured a man into making a false declaration that he was organising a demonstration to coincide with the bishop's visit to the island next month.

Bishop Hilton Deakin, the auxiliary bishop, Melbourne, said yesterday he be-

lieved that Indonesian authorities had turned strongly against the Catholic Church on East Timor.

He also questioned the independent credentials of an Indonesian Roman Catholic priest, Father Marcus Wanandi, who last week rejected claims that a second massacre of Dili residents had taken place after the shootings in November 1991.

Bishop Deakin said that he had been told by East Timorese during a visit to Dili in 1992 not to talk to Father Wanandi because of his close family connections with leading Indonesian figures.

He said Father Wanandi had approached him and told him he was wasting his time talking with the Timorese because "they have just come out of the trees."

Bishop Deakin said he was due to return to East Timor next month in response to a visit to Australia by the church's leader in Dili, Bishop Belo.

According to information smuggled out of Timor by resistance leaders, a man known as Mau Soco was arrested by Indonesian military intelligence on 3 January and tortured over three days before falsely declaring that Catholic priests had taken part in alleged subversive activities.

Bishop Deakin said he had no reason to doubt that Mau Soco was forced to confess that his parish priest, Father Sancho Amaral, had ordered him to organise a clandestine meeting to plan a demonstration when Bishop Deakin arrived in Dili in March.

Mau Soco was allegedly released on 6 January after being threatened with a pistol, kicked, slapped and tortured with electric shocks. He was also asked to provide information about the alleged activities of Bishop Belo.

Bishop Deakin said he had worried about the consequences for Mau Soco if he commented on the alleged torture. "But even without this, these sort of things would still happen," he said. "It is better, I think, to make a reasonable comment on what you believe has happened."

TO DEAKIN: "DO NOT COME - THERE ARE TOO MANY SOLDIERS"

Publico 12 March 1994. By Rui Cardoso Martins. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) The reason why Auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne, Hilton Deakin, cancelled his second trip to East Timor was the secret message which made its way to him last February: "Do not come. There are too many soldiers, and they know your name." The explanation is this: early in the year, a boy was taken in by Indonesian secret police. After being tortured, he confessed that he was involved in preparations for a dem-

onstration to be held during the visit of the Bishop.

Hilton Deakin, one of Australia's leading defenders of East Timor's right to self-determination and outspoken critic of his Government's policy, who had been invited by the Bishop of Dili personally, recounted the story yesterday in Lisbon to *Publico*, as an example of how little or nothing in the territory has changed since the massacre of 12 November 1991.

The incident, he said, was in keeping with what he himself had witnessed during the whole month of July 1992 - 6 months after the massacre - when he went to over 100 villages in East Timor, met Ximenes Belo, and heard in private on his pastoral visit, what hundreds of Timorese said about the results of the Indonesian invasion since 1975.

"Over half the people I spoke to were under 21 years of age. Most of them - and there must have been hundreds - were totally against integration with Indonesia," said the Bishop, who is one of the sponsors of the Australian East Timor Relief Association, which collects money for medical supplies sent to the territory. In terms of percentages, the Bishop explained that those opposing integration "would be 85% at least." "My main impression is that the majority of people were really anti-integration, that they wanted a self-determination process which would lead to independence."

"They had terrible memories of death and destruction," said 61-year-old Hilton Deakin, explaining that what he found most shocking was the number of people who remembered, individually, "their parents being killed, their mothers and sisters being raped, and their villages destroyed." "All over the territory, always," in the capital, Dili, and outside it, the numbers of troops in movement along the roads, in the streets, and "with their weapons always loaded."

Travelling in civilian clothing - in contrast to his usual religious collar and black shirt - and aware that he was "followed every day by police agents," the Bishop of Melbourne found "a very different situation from what Indonesian propaganda suggests."

The violence he perceived was not just in the contrast between what the Timorese told him in fear and, just as another example, the "immaculate whiteness and the clean sand" of the tombs in the Santa Cruz cemetery, where so many Timorese had bled to death on 12th November.

He had gone there once, with Bishop Ximenes Belo, and had seen the Bishop weep in front of him. Ximenes Belo told him he was sure that at least 250 people had died on that day, while the Indonesian enquiries referred to only 60 killed and a few

others missing. "For example, I saw police in Dili grab a man by the neck and beat him, right there on the street." He also saw a young man being attacked by soldiers who had jumped out of a jeep, which then sped off with the boy inside.

He also saw that, in terms of medical service there, "the situation is terrible." In Dili, in which about 120,000 people now live, almost the only ones with running water and sewerage are "the Javanese," who "have beautiful houses." He also realised that the expanding network of roads in East Timor is all "of strategic military and economic interest for the Indonesians," and does not reach the villages in the interior, where they are trying to "sever the link between the villages and the resistance."

The auxiliary Bishop, who came to Portugal to take part in the conference on "Portuguese Expansion and East Timor," on 16 March in Oporto, and to meet with President Mario Soares and Foreign Minister Durão Barroso, referred to the "immoral policy" of the Australian Government on East Timor. Timor "has a natural heritage which would enable it to govern itself as a State," just as 30 or so others of the same size, or less, in the Pacific area. But Australia is exploiting it along with Indonesia, its economic partner, whose "power it fears." "They are both wallowing up to their necks in the oil of East Timor."

BBC'S NAPIER: TRUTH HARD TO FIND IN TIMOR

BBC World Service, From our own correspondent, 23 February 1994

Last week foreign journalists were finally allowed to visit the former Portuguese colony of East Timor after a gap of nine months following sentencing of the captured separatist (sic) leader Xanana Gusmão. The trip coincided with the meeting in Geneva of the UN Human Rights Commission which last year censured Indonesia for its record in East Timor. And it also came in advance of the screening of a film by Australian journalist John Pilger alleging that a second massacre took place in Dili in November 1991. Our Jakarta correspondent Catherine Napier went on the trip and sent us this week's postcard from the region.

Indonesia is notoriously sensitive about media coverage of East Timor, a trait it shares with foreign journalists. Stop us from going somewhere and we're bound to wonder why. Issue an invitation and the same suspicions can arise. But I had to feel sorry for the man from the foreign ministry who was assigned the unhappy task of accompanying us to Dili. Suffice it to say that on the

way back he felt it necessary to spend a morning recovering alone on Kuta Beach in Bali.

In truth we hadn't been that difficult to handle. And in East Timor he had lots of help. The same old faces turned up every morning in the hotel lobby or lounged on plastic chairs outside, despite express requests from us that the territory's over-worked intelligence personnel should take the opportunity to get some rest.

The message was a little slow in getting through. The first morning in Dili I got up early and went to find the Santa Cruz cemetery where troops shot dead young Timorese protestors in November 1991. The sun shone off the gravestones and wind rustled through the trees. But the tranquillity was disturbed by rapid footsteps from behind. A hand came across my camera lens and I was firmly asked to leave. Later the recently appointed military commander in Dili, Johnny Lumintang, expressed his frustrations at complaints we had been followed.

But it seems old habits die hard in Timor. As much as Indonesia attempts to send its message that times have changed - through us or through whoever - the past keeps coming back. The landing craft used by Indonesia during its invasion almost twenty years ago still lie rusting on the beach in Dili. There are still reports of disappearances, of torture, of misery for the population. And the number of soldiers remains high despite the fact that the independence movement Fretilin (sic) has admitted defeat.

The other thing that strikes you about Timor is the beauty of the country - a ten-hour ride across the backbone of the country from west to east passes through forested mountains and small villages. Past teak and sandalwood. And all the hues of tropical greenery. During one roadside stop, a small group of children clambered inquisitively on and off our bus. Our guide offered the thought that people looked happier in West than in East Timor because they'd been liberated from colonialism longer. I'm still trying to figure out this curious explanation for the lack of mirth in Dili. In the capital, a tribal leader told us he was old enough to know the difference between good and bad, and spoke with passion about improvements under Indonesian rule. But elsewhere we heard that the act of integration in 1976 had failed in every sense except in its territorial dimension.

We were often reminded on our travels to tell the truth about East Timor. But then often the truth seemed out of reach. On a visit to the prison we were urged not to record or photograph or film or even talk to any of the prisoners. But as we walked across the prison yard three men behind a

wire fence shouted out, 'Vive Timor Leste,' 'Long live East Timor,' then in English, 'We want to talk to you.' They were political prisoners from the Dili protest. And for a moment we were pulled in two directions until reminded of the deal we had all signed up to

IN EAST TIMOR, INDONESIA GOES FOR HEARTS AND MINDS

Reuters, February 23 By Jeremy Wagstaff.

(Manuleu, East Timor) The wooden houses stand in neat rows, laid out with military precision in the shadow of East Timor's mountainous backdrop. Flower arrangements adorn the walls and bamboo pillars.

The greeting for foreign journalists was similarly ordered, with local costumed women singing and banging traditional drums under the watchful eyes of police, soldiers and officials.

This was a new East Timorese village, built by Indonesian soldiers, which forms the showpiece of Jakarta's campaign to win the hearts and minds of local people nearly two decades after it invaded the former Portuguese colony.

This month's visit to East Timor was the first such officially organised foreign media trip in more than nine months.

The authorities wanted to show that their campaign was working but many of the local Timorese were not so sure.

"We try our best because ABRI (the armed forces) is not a superman," says Major-General Adang Ruchiatna Puradiredja, the territory's military chief based on the island resort of Bali, some 1,120 miles (1,799 km) to the west.

Facing renewed international criticism for its rule in East Timor and continued local resistance - at first armed but now most of it passive - Indonesia has sought to polish its image through a twin campaign of public works and public relations.

Construction of roads, schools and bridges has transformed the infrastructure of a territory that few deny languished in neglect under 300 years of Portuguese rule.

A 20-hectare (50-acre) polytechnic outside Dili has churned out two years of graduates with diplomas in mechanical, civil and electrical engineering and commerce.

But opponents say the massive flow of aid into Timor - some 260 billion rupiah (\$120 million) this financial year - is a travesty after what they say amounts to brutal occupation of a nation determined to resist integration into Indonesia.

While most Timorese appear afraid to speak to foreigners in the capital Dili many

who do waste little time letting their feelings be known. They complain of harassment, cultural insensitivity and exploitation.

"By maintaining this climate of suspicion you will never get the hearts and minds of East Timorese. You are suspecting them of being against you," says Florentino Sarmiento, a Timorese aid worker who spent two years in guerrilla-held mountain areas.

Indonesian forces, which number eight battalions including seven assigned to what Jakarta says are purely civic duties, still face a rag-tag guerrilla force surviving in the craggy mountain range that forms the backbone of the island.

While the guerrilla band numbers less than 200 people, its sympathisers say it remains a potent symbol of resistance to Indonesian rule and enjoys the support of most East Timorese.

"The question is not the number, but their quality. They also have the support of the people. This is very important," says Mauhunu, for 17 years a senior guerrilla until his capture last April. He was allowed to speak to foreign journalists.

Indonesian authorities, apparently ready to acknowledge past and recent excesses – including the shooting of up to 180 mourners at a Dili funeral in late November 1991 – defend their programme and say their intentions are good.

Local Timor commander Colonel Johny Lumintang momentarily shed his good humour when asked by journalists about reports that villages such as Manuleu were little more than prison-camps to deprive the guerrillas of local support.

"The presence of territorial battalions is not for combat, but a civic mission. People in the rural areas need counterparts to make their life better," he said.

At Manuleu itself 22 miles (34 km) east of Dili, a well-groomed military officer leads journalists through a briefing on the two-year old village.

Most of the villagers asked to move down from the hills as their slash-and-burn farming became more difficult to maintain, Gede Budastra said. There were no security factors behind the move, he said, and all villagers were free to leave.

Under the gaze of plain-clothes officials, villagers said they had no problems. But back in Dili, aid worker Florentino said the military was intent on isolating communities regarded as supporting the guerrillas and hoped to make the populace more dependent on the government through such hamlets.

"I am concerned about these people living in boxes where they are not living according to their East Timorese nature. I hope they will be allowed to return to their

former villages once the situation is better," he said.

Among the residents of Dili, continuing resentment against Indonesian rule and fear of the far-reaching tentacles of its intelligence network leave people subdued but sometimes angry.

A young woman waits out her days on the verandah of a decaying colonial house in the Dili suburbs brushing her hair, hoping to join relatives in Australia.

Listening to her teenage brother explain his hostility to Indonesian rule away from the ears of military intelligence and local informers, she ventures a rare comment:

"Here we eat bread. The Indonesians eat rice. We do not like rice, and we will never eat it." It seems to sum up the gulf between the 650,000 indigenous Timorese and the 100,000 Indonesians living here.

IN DILI, EVEN YOUR WAITER COULD BE A SPY

The Age, 25 February 1994. By Edward Theberton

Subheading: "As soon as night falls everyone stays indoors, leaving the streets to the prowling military."

Cemeteries, military uniforms and furtive glances testify to East Timor's fear.

ALMOST all the survivors of the Holocaust...remember a dream... they had returned home and with passion and relief were describing their past sufferings...and were not believed, indeed were not even listened to. - Primo Levi, 'The Drowned and the Saved.'

Text: Alighting from the aircraft at Dili, one senses immediately the dead hand of totalitarianism. An eerie stillness reigns, despite the presence of many people: there is no life of spontaneity in their movement or their faces, only a universal, mistrustful vigilance.

Ten photographers, one with a video camera, took my picture before I reached the terminal building. Some foreign politicians were soon to arrive on an investigative mission, and the authorities wanted no trouble-makers to interfere with their efforts to mislead them about the monstrous injustice of Indonesian rule in East Timor.

The Indonesian invasion of East Timor took place in 1975, a few months after the virtual abandonment of the territory by the Portuguese, who were no longer interested after their revolution of 1974 in hanging on to the remaining fragments of their empire. The then Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Adam Malik, had given a written assurance that his country would have no objection to an independent East Timor.

A brief but vicious civil war broke out in which about 3000 people were killed. This gave the Indonesian regime the perfect pretext in the eyes of the world for its massive, cowardly, brutal incompetent, but ultimately successful, invasion. (Despite its overwhelming superiority in armaments, the Indonesian military often used women and children as a shield against guerrillas.) Resistance was stiff at first, but the Indonesians have clearly overcome it. If you kill enough people, resistance ceases.

On the route from the airport into the city there are several arches across the road bearing triumphal political slogans, commemorating the dates of Indonesia's accession to independence from Holland and its invasion of East Timor. This is about as historically tactful as it would be to make Cromwell's birthday a national holiday in Ireland.

No sooner had I walked out into the streets of Dili than a goon on a motorcycle followed me like a kerbcrawler in search of a prostitute. I stared into his dark glasses and turned to walk in the opposite direction. Disregarding the one-way traffic system, he turned to follow me, making no effort to disguise the fact. I smiled at him, but his face remained blank; after a quarter of an hour, he left me, but returned to my side at frequent intervals.

There is little of the characteristic commercial bustle of Asian cities in Dili. Voices are hushed and as soon as night falls everyone stays indoors, leaving the streets to the prowling military. Only the sea, lapping at the shore littered with old, rusting landing craft, makes a sound; and the shadowy stillness of the city imparts a profoundly sinister quality to its normally soothing rhythm. This, after all, is the shore on which scores of people were shot immediately after the invasion.

On almost every corner stands an Indonesian policeman or soldier. No one knows how many thousands of soldiers are stationed in East Timor, but it is impossible to move anywhere on the island without encountering them.

As in all totalitarian states, communication in East Timor is indirect, through gnomonic hints, single statements blurted out as if by sudden irresistible impulse, and by brief but intense encounters. "It is not good here." "My family was killed." "My sister was raped by many soldiers." "You must tell the world what we still suffer."

Spies and information abound, and you can never be quite sure who anyone really is or what he does. Is the waiter who whispers to you as he brings you a beer that Timor is a hell on earth an agent provocateur? The drivers of Dili's old, battered blue taxis are notorious for their treachery (I was told),

but the one who asked me whether we could drive around Dili's dimly lit streets at night so that we might talk in safety appeared to be utterly sincere when he said that the Indonesians were savages, that the Timorese would never accept their brutal even if it should last 100 years and that there was only one solution: the Indonesians should leave East Timor, and never return.

As I walked past Dili's concrete monument to freedom, Indonesian-style, a young man said to me out of the corner of his mouth, "You must be very careful. There are many spies. I am a spy." Then he offered to take photographs for me (he assumed I was a journalist). I should entrust him with my camera, he suggested, and he would do the rest. "It is too dangerous for you to take photographs," he added.

"Why are you a spy?" I asked, committing myself to nothing.

"I am a student and I attended a meeting. The Indonesians caught me. Then they tortured me. They let me go if I am a spy for them. After you leave me, I must tell them all you say to me, why you are here and everything."

Many spies play a double game, it is said. Forced to work for the Indonesians, they retain their loyalty to the idea of Timorese independence and inform on their masters to the remnants of the opposition. This explains, in part, how an opposition survives after 18 years of unexampled Indonesian brutality.

Contact with foreigners makes the Timorese suspect in the eyes of the Indonesians. It must be reported in detail within 24 hours. An atmosphere uncannily reminiscent of the Soviet bloc has thus been created: a great irony, since the first *raison d'être* of the present Indonesian regime, when it came to power in 1965, was the forestalling of a communist plot to seize power.

In more than one way, the policy of the Indonesians in East Timor is reminiscent of that of the Soviets in the Baltic states. There is, for the example, the relentless and universal propagation of obvious lies; the enforced ceremonies of homage to the conquering power; the imposition of a language - Indonesian - and of a culture; the destruction of family trust by setting children to inform on their parents; the forced redirection of people's aspirations.

And then there is the policy of transmigration: the removal of surplus population from Java to East Timor. Each week, two ships arrive in Dili with yet more Javanese settlers, provided - according to one of my informants - with back-dated identity cards, so that when the Javanese are in the majority in East Timor as they already are in Dili, and a referendum is held under international

supervision, they will be eligible to vote. Any Latvian would recognise these tactics at once.

The most chilling resemblance to Soviet policy, however, and perhaps the one which causes the greatest agony of all, is the enforced denial of recent memory. And what memories they are! No family has been exempt from the general slaughter and subsequent repression, but public or even private mention of these terrible tribulations is dangerous.

No one knows the precise number of Timorese killed in the invasion and occupation of East Timor, or of those who died in the consequent famines. (I was shown some photographs, taken clandestinely, of skeletal victims with bloated abdomens.) But the figure is almost certainly between a quarter to a third of the population of the territory, between 100,000 and 200,000 people; and it is not difficult to find witnesses to massacres. I spoke to a man who had seen an entire village mowed down with machine-guns after it was lined up on the edge of a precipice. The valley below was now the village's unmarked tomb.

The most eloquent testimony to the killing, perhaps, is the number of cemeteries in the countryside. They are everywhere: on the brows of hills and in the valleys, outside towns and far from any human settlement. And in all these cemeteries one finds many tombs of entire families, 10, 12 or 15 people who died within weeks of each other in the late 1970s.

Travelling on buses in the countryside, people will furtively point out the location of mass graves, unmarked but certainly not forgotten. One informant described to me the smell of rotting, unburied flesh after a routine massacre, a smell that lingered until the Indonesians bulldozed the corpses into a mass grave and concreted it over to make a site for a new health post, a symbol of the progress the Indonesian invasion had brought.

Why should the Indonesians, short of neither land nor population, have been so concerned to "return" (as hey counter-historically refer to their own behavior) East Timor to Indonesia?

First, Indonesia is in fact, the Javanese empire, perhaps the last great empire in the world. The Javanese are 60 per cent of Indonesia's population, but Java is only a small proportion of Indonesia's land surface.

Second, there is oil in the Timor Straits between Timor and Australia, which both Indonesia and Australia would like to exploit. The Indonesians guessed, correctly, that most powers would not sacrifice their good relations with the fourth most populous country in the world, one moreover

with great economic potential, for the sake of a few hundred thousand subsistence farmers,

Having bitten off East Timor, Indonesia must continue to chew and eventually to swallow it, for fear of the consequences to its unity. General Suharto may induce his sycophants to call him, perhaps not entirely without reason, the Father of Development; but he is the Pol Pot of East Timor.

EAST TIMOR GUERRILLA LEADER KONIS SANTANA INTERVIEWED IN MOUNTAINS

RTP Television International, Lisbon, in Portuguese, Feb. 24

Summary: Television interviews new Timorese rebel leader Konis Santana in the mountains of East Timor; "an increasing number of youths are joining the guerrillas"; Santana says arrest of Xanana Gusmão only increased the resolve of the resistance; resistance has 600-800 fighters and 400-450 weapons.

RTP has unique footage of the [East] Timorese guerrillas. Contrary to Indonesia's claims, this footage shows that the guerrillas have rallied around Konis Santana. With [his predecessors] Xanana Gusmão and Mau Huno in jail, the current guerrilla leader comes to the fore to say that an increasing number of youths are joining the guerrillas. [Voice-over] Somewhere on the mountains of East Timor. It may seem just an ordinary afternoon, but far from it, at least for this guerrilla soldier with his M-16 automatic rifle. The objective is to come out of their isolation. These guerrillas are here to provide security for a very special meeting, a historic meeting.

[Speaker in camouflage fatigues, holding mug, subtitled "Konis Santana, FALINTIL commander"] Here we are, very far from enemy positions, about eight hours away.

[Interviewer, unseen, in foreign-accented Portuguese] By foot?

[A] By foot, yes.

[Q] But by helicopter?

[A] Oh well, by helicopter a matter of minutes. [laughs]

[Voice-over] You cannot be too careful here.

The enemy is never very far away. Nino Konis Santana, C-in-C of the FALINTIL [Fretilin armed forces], has chosen this clearing for the first meeting between a journalist and a guerrilla leader in 18 years of struggle. The reporter is Max Stahl, the man who filmed the Santa Cruz

[cemetery] massacre [in Dili]. Time is of the essence. The setting must be simple: a bamboo table and a piece of plastic sheeting.

[Konis Santana, to camera] Xanana Gusmão was the mastermind, the strategist, the ideologue and the architect of the reorganization of the resistance and of the unity in struggle of the entire people of East Timor. His capture, therefore, was our greatest setback in recent times. However, it did not represent a moral defeat for the struggling people of East Timor. On the contrary, the capture of Xanana Gusmão motivated all the Timorese to redouble their efforts and commit themselves with even greater resolve to the struggle for the liberation of the homeland. Today, throughout East Timor, our people have risen.

After I decided to assume the leadership of the struggle it took us nearly five months to reorganize. It was a slow process, but we wanted to reorganize slowly but surely.

[Voice over, as three-man patrol arrives, its leader reporting to Santana] It was a long eight-hour trek up hills and down valleys, dodging Indonesian patrols. A planned meeting between guerrilla groups did not materialize because of communications problems - and because of the enemy presence. But the news brought by these men was not all bad: they also reported that two Indonesian soldiers had been killed in combat.

[Konis Santana] They had two dead, two Indonesians died.

[Voice-over] There had been no fighting in these parts for the past two years. There were no guerrillas. But now there are. These young recruits are on the ground.

This man is the commander of a newly formed company. His name is Ernesto. He is 60-odd years old and surrendered to the Indonesians ages ago, but finally he came back with 70 survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre to do some fighting, and they have been fighting. These inexperienced and ill-armed youths have been giving a good account of themselves and are aware that the continuity of the struggle is up to them.

[Santana] We have between 400 and 450 weapons in the resistance in the mountains of East Timor.

[Q] And personnel?

[Santana] We have something like 600 to 800 men, but the potential is there for recruiting up to 1,500 men without great difficulty.

[Voice-over] Despite the small numbers and meagre resources, Konis claims to have

effective control of the mountains of East Timor.

[Santana] When it carries out major operations, Indonesia establishes control over a specific area for a limited period of time. But when it is over the guerrillas return and regain control of the area.

[Voice over video of five youths praying with rosaries] A huge faith in God and in their fellow men inspires these young guerrillas. It remains to be seen whether their hopes of an independent Timor will suffice to surmount the not insignificant obstacles ahead.

[Video: mountains, mist, a clearing, various shots of guerrillas with automatic rifles, some in perimeter defensive positions, others relaxing round a camp fire, smoking, cooking, eating. Still picture of Max Stahl interspersed, in the same setting, holding a video camera. Three-man patrol arrives, leader salutes and reports to Santana. Some youths in a makeshift shelter, some in camouflage fatigues, others in civilian clothes.]

THE GUERRILLA HAS REORGANISED

Diario de Noticias, 25 February 1994. By Carla Baptista. Original Lang. Portuguese.

(Lisbon) Konis Santana, interviewed by Max Stahl, confirmed that the guerrilla is alive, and mainly composed of young Timorese answering their calling.

Konis Santana, Commander in Chief of the Falintil (Armed Forces of East Timor Liberation), has been interviewed by Max Stahl, and the interview was broadcast yesterday on RTP's "Telejornal." He reaffirmed his intention to continue the fight against Indonesian occupation and revealed that, since the Santa Cruz massacre, over 70 young Timorese have joined up with the guerrillas.

It took the British reporter an arduous 5-hour walk to reach the place chosen, by Konis Santana, for the interview. It was an isolated clearing surrounded by mountains, which had been carefully guarded by three men since the previous day.

They are not many - according to Konis Santana, they number between 600 and 800 men - and have even less weapons - "about 450 M-16 machine guns," stolen from Indonesian troops. But they are proud of the damage they cause to the enemy. One of them told the reporter that, in a recent attack, "two soldiers were killed."

Konis Santana said that "Xanana Gusmão was the strategist and wise man" of the guerrilla. But his arrest had not "lowered anyone's morale." On the contrary, it had strengthened "unity among all Timorese."

"Five months to reorganise the fight" were required, but new recruits were joining all the time. Even "old ones" like Jacinto, who is well over 60, did not hesitate to give up "normal life" to help the guerrillas.

These facts have been confirmed by two Timorese, now in Lisbon, who witnessed the second Dili massacre. "José" and "Abilio" are 26 and 23 years old respectively. They only met the day on which they left Jakarta for Bangkok. Both had managed to escape with false Indonesian passports. They discovered later that they had a dramatic experience in common: "José" had been working in the hospital to which the victims of the Santa Cruz massacre were taken. "Abilio" had been piled among the heaps of bodies there.

Both were categorical: "95 per cent of the Timorese are against Indonesia's occupation of the territory and support the guerrilla." Many are recruited from the civilian clandestine front, working as "couriers," carrying "information and food to the guerrillas."

José said that, even the people who had previously been resigned to Indonesia's annexation of the territory, are now "changing their attitude, when they see their sons killed and tortured, and their daughters and wives raped."

Ever since 1977, José's father has been forced to report "every Friday to the military camp, where he is beaten and tortured, often with electric shocks," just because he has always refused to take on Indonesian identity, and to do "back-up" work - a kind of night guard duty, which is obligatory and shared among different groups each night.

ENEMY NUMBER ONE ELUDES JAKARTA

Independent on Sunday, Feb. 27. by Max Stahl in East Timor

In his first ever interview, East Timor's new guerrilla leader pledges to fight on against Indonesia's bloody rule.

It is an eight-hour walk, but only a few minutes' flying time, from the Indonesian troops' most frequent areas of operation to the mountain camp where I met the new guerrilla commander-in-chief of East Timor.

This veteran of the struggle between the people of East Timor and the Indonesian invaders, which has killed about 200,000 Timorese - nearly one-third of his country-men - arrived immaculate in a captured American camouflage uniform and polished boots, still bursting with energy after a day-long walk through the rugged mountains.

Up here, the guerrillas move around in the open without fear. They pray in a chapel in the space between three large leaning rocks. Messengers come and go several

times a day, using the swirling mists to dodge Indonesian troops.

This was Comandante Konis Santana's only interview since taking over from the legendary Xanana Gusmão, who was captured in November 1992. In fact, it was the first filmed interview with any resistance leader in the mountains in 18 years of Indonesia's blood-soaked occupation of this small former Portuguese colony.

Like an athlete, Santana was fit, precise, intense and a little nervous. The survival of his resistance force, the Falintil, is the most potent threat to Indonesia's campaign to "integrate" East Timor into its empire of 13,000 islands and 300 languages, inherited from the Dutch 45 years ago. And at this camp there was evidence that the threat from one of the less numerous, darker-skinned peoples - whom many of the dominant Javanese look down on, with jokes about "monkeys" - was not "dwindling away," as Indonesia claims.

The Falintil - with about 800 men and only 450 weapons, according to the commander's detailed figures - claim control of many of the mountains that form the spine of this half-island, which is little bigger than Wales. "The Indonesians can penetrate only by launching a military operation," said Santana. Against this eventuality, he had detailed patrols to scout hours away from the camp to protect our meeting. As we spoke, one came to report on recent combat. Two Indonesian soldiers had been killed and "a spy" was seen attempting to locate us.

There were four battalions of special forces that were said by guerrilla intelligence to be detailed to capture Santana. At times, there have been as many as 12.

Despite Indonesian claims of mass surrender, almost no one, according to the guerrillas, had surrendered. In fact, they said guerrilla numbers had increased since 1991.

Here in the mountains I met some of the 70 new guerrillas who joined the armed struggle in 1991 and 30 more who joined in 1992, and who now operate in an area abandoned by the rebels years before. Many were young survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre of 273 demonstrators, which I filmed in November 1991. We sat together and cooked horsemeat over a fire, trying to exchange news in Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian language). They spoke hardly a word of Portuguese, the language their commanders still use for resistance circulars.

These students were the evidence of the catastrophic failure of Indonesian integration policy. Infants in December 1975, when the invasion came and the years of bloodshed began, they had received their education under Indonesia. Some could not remember close relatives who had died in the worst years from 1976 to 1981.

Each talked of losing 20 or more relatives. They had chosen to fight after giving up all hope of a normal life under Indonesian rule.

It was not just what Santana described as "the profound shock to the youth of East Timor" of the Santa Cruz massacre that had been decisive, but the aggressive pursuit of all dissidents, victims and their families that followed.

In February 1992 the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, congratulated Indonesia on the action taken to make amends after the massacre. But the principal action - apart from the arrest of some low-ranking soldiers, who received sentences ranging from three to 18 months for the slaughter - was the replacement of the Indonesian military commander, Colonel Rudi Warouw, by General Theo Syafei, who had a far worse human rights record.

In these mountains, which the East Timorese call the Grandparents of the Heights, Santana is rebuilding the resistance. He said his task was not to defeat the Indonesian army militarily, but to "destabilise the occupation." Proof of this, he said, was the continued presence of Indonesian troops on constant patrol. The guerrillas' most important role, however, was political - to act as a "mobilising force" to provide the civilian population with a constant reminder that a free Timorese leadership existed.

"The presence of the guerrillas here has deep political meaning," said Santana. "When our people look up to the mountains, they know that it is there where their children are, where their arms are raised in rebellion." They operate in groups of no more than three or four, often under the noses of Indonesian patrols in the mountains and on the coast, using their weapons for self-defence. They are in contact with civilians and serve in a symbolic way as a shadow government, advising on such things as community disputes and civil disobedience.

Santana, 39, is the first of a new generation of resistance leaders who subscribe to no political doctrine, other than supporting "national unity." He was 21 when the invasion came, and he had just qualified as a primary school teacher. He joined the resistance, and during the 1980s became the "favourite son" - the chosen successor after Gusmão's capture and trial last year.

What sets the present generation of East Timorese guerrillas apart from Gusmão's contemporaries is politics. The young students who have headed for the mountains reject ideology and blame civil war between left and right and left and left for the present fate of East Timor; the conflict gave Indonesia the excuse it needed to invade.

It is remarkable that the guerrillas, cut off as they are from all supplies, manage to

acquire any weapons at all. Clearly, some have been captured, but there are suggestions that corrupt army officers, when being transferred, sell equipment to make money before moving on. Prices range from about \$750 (#500) for a rifle to \$250 for a case of ammunition. "Let us just say we are in a good political situation to receive these weapons," said Santana.

For Britain and the West, the commercial and political stakes in this region are high. The Javanese-dominated regime, which has huge multinational investments, faces at least two other active guerrilla revolts by powerful nationalist, cultural and ethnic groups in resource-rich West Papua and Northern Sumatra.

The resistance in East Timor represents a threat and a provocation that is far beyond its tiny military potential. The fear of disintegration of the empire - which the Javanese leadership has tried with relentless propaganda and rigid military control to shape into a "free" nation - lies behind much of the brutality that has erupted in regular bouts of bloodletting since the current regime took power with the slaughter of perhaps 500,000 "communists" in 1965.

YOGIE FORCES NON-TIMORESE VIQUEQUE REGENT

Editor, 3 March 1994. By Dadi R Sumaatmadja. Translated from Indonesian. Abridged

*Original title: Interior Minister wants...
<Mendagri Punya Mau>*

Continuing a series of controversies over appointments (following trouble over the South Sumatra governor and the Deli regent), Interior Minister Yogie S Memet has clashed with East Timor governor Abilio Soares over the appointment of a new regent in Viqueque. Voting in the local assembly gave equal votes to Lt-Col I Ketut Lunca [Balinese] and Afonso Pinto. The Governor backed Afonso, but the Interior Minister, with Soeharto's backing, appointed Lunca. Afonso's defect is that he is a known PDI supporter. By a 1974 law, the local assembly elections are merely advisory.

EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR THREATENS TO RESIGN

The Sydney Morning Herald, March 3, 1994. By Terry Friel

AAP, Jakarta, Wednesday: Indonesia's efforts to resolve ongoing problem of East Timor face an embarrassing setback, with the provincial Governor, Mr. Abilio Osorio Soares, threatening to resign over Jakarta's

insistence on appointing a non-Timorese to a senior position in the province.

Mr. Soares, who has been pushing for more native East Timorese to be appointed to government positions, was forced to accept Jakarta's choice for the new regent of Viqueque in the disputed province, despite local opposition to the appointment.

The governor initially refused to swear in Lieutenant-Colonel I Ketut Lunca but re-learned after talks with President Suharto and the Home Affairs Minister, Mr. Yogie Mehmed, in Jakarta last week.

Mr. Soares has pledged to quit if there is widespread opposition to the appointment throughout the province.

"I will do the honourable thing if the majority of the people in East Timor want me to resign," he told journalists in the provincial capital, Dili, yesterday.

The newly appointed commander of the military region that includes the disputed former Portuguese colony, Major-General Adang Ruchiatna, supported Mr. Soares's rejection of Colonel Lunca.

Several East Timorese group and community leaders have also voiced their opposition to Jakarta's decision.

Colonel Lunca tied with locally born Mr. Afonso Henriques da Costa Pinto in the election for regent in the election for regent in January, with seven votes each.

A third candidate, Mr. Martinho Fernandes, received one vote.

Mr. Mehmed, who has the final say, opted for Colonel Lunca because Mr. Pinto had left the ruling Golkar party for a time, according to reports from the province.

"I attempted to find a middle ground between the wishes of the central Government and the aspirations of the local people," Mr. Soares said.

"This is not an easy task. I know that the people vehemently reject I Ketut Lunca."

There is widespread resentment in East Timor about the lack of native East Timorese in government and military positions in the province, which was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Since then, Indonesia has poured hundreds of millions of dollars into developing the province, raising living standards and improving education.

US ATTACHÉ VISITS ADANG

Jakarta Post, 3 March 1994. Slightly abridged

(Denpasar) Chief of the Udayana Military Command, Major-General Adang Ruchiatna received the visit of the US military attaché to Indonesia, Col. B. Hansenman.

The Antara national news agency reported that the meeting between Hansenman and Adang was part of Hansenman's routine visit to East Timor which falls under Adang's jurisdiction.

Hansenman visited Adang apparently to obtain first hand information on the security situation in the former Portuguese colony

MA'HUNU INTERVIEWED BY ABC TV

ABC TV The World at Noon 4 March 1994

(NOTE: This news grab was shown on ABC TV at 12.15pm. The ABC repeated the same story at 7pm - but without Ma'Hunu's interview.) - Very suspicious!!!!!!

NEWSREADER: Two years after the Dili massacre Indonesia is keen to prove that East Timor is open to the outside world and that conditions have improved. It's a message that human rights groups like Amnesty International have been quick to reject. Recently though foreign journalists were allowed in to East Timor under escort for the first time in nearly a year. Among them ABC correspondent, Michael Maher.

Michael Maher: The East Timorese are overwhelmingly Catholic. Their faith have been a source of comfort during hallowing years of war and famine, religion too has and continues to play a role in the politics of this former Portuguese colony. The Vatican's Bishop here says his congregation should be allowed a referendum on independence. But Indonesia which now calls East Timor it's 27th province, is still fiercely against such a vote.

Jakarta has spent a lot of money on East Timor, the Indonesian military says most of its soldiers aren't here for security, but rather to run development projects like this model village. But in the capital Dili, even those who support integration with Indonesia, such as Jesuit priest father Marcus Wanandi, said that people were afraid of the armed forces.

FATHER MARCUS WANANDI: They really fear for their own, not only safety, but also their own future.

MICHAEL MAHER: Much of that fear can be traced to the massacre of Dili Santa Cruz Cemetery, on November 12 1991. It was among these graves that Indonesia troops open fire on a crowd of demonstrators.

Two years after the Dili massacre, there still no certain death toll. East Timor's governor now puts the figure at 54, others say the toll is much higher.

Despite reports by groups such as Amnesty International of continuing human rights abuses, governor Abilio Osorio Soares, denies there is a problem.

ABILIO SOARES: (through interpreter) The human rights situation in East Timor, is very good. There is no problem.

MICHAEL MAHER: But as for winning the hearts and minds of the East Timorese, Indonesia it would seem still has some way to go. Ma'Hunu is a former resistance fighter whose now abandoned the armed struggle, he still believes though that most of the people of East Timor want their independence.

MAU HUNU: I'm sure. I'm sure that the majority of our people support the, the independence. Freedom, for my homeland and my people.

MICHAEL MAHER: According to Jakarta East Timor already has it's freedom. The freedom guaranteed under the Indonesia constitution.

MANUEL CARRASCALÃO RECEIVES DEATH THREATS

Publico, 11 March 1994. By A. Gomes.
Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Family and friends of Manuel Carrascalão, one of the brothers of former pro-Indonesia Governor of Timor, Mario Carrascalão, have decided to alert Amnesty International and the International Red Cross about the death threats which this pro-Indonesian Member of the Dili "Parliament" has been receiving. The threats are from Timorese in the Indonesian administration, who are unhappy about Manuel Carrascalão's progressive moves away from Jakarta's policies.

Resistance sources in Sydney told LUSA that the threats originated because of anti-Indonesia statements said to have been made by Manuel Carrascalão to a delegation of Swedish MPs visiting the territory, and because of his alleged collaboration with the British TV crew which secretly filmed "Death of a Nation."

Timorese sources told *Publico* that Carrascalão's noticeable absence from the reception in Dili held to honour Galvao de Melo was also taken as a sign that he is distancing himself from Jakarta's policies.

In spite of the high positions Manuel Carrascalão has held since the invasion of East Timor, (he became Vice-Chairman of the ruling Golkar Party, and Chairman of the local Chamber of Commerce), this is not the first time he has received death threats. In the weeks that followed the 12 November 1991 massacre, his brother, then Governor, told *Publico* that a group connected with Abilio Osorio (his successor) were terrorising Dili and issuing threats against him and his brother.

Manuel Carrascalão is the only one of the three most prominent members of the

Carrascalão family still living in Timor, where he manages the family's coffee plantations in the Liquica area. Mario is Indonesia's ambassador in Romania, and João is leader of UDT and member of the resistance in Australia.

MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF EAST TIMORESE WORKER

URGENT ACTION from TAPOL, 17 March.

The following information has just been received from a reliable source in Jakarta.

On 29 January 1994, the body of Petrus Tomae, an East Timorese worker, 32 years of age, who was employed by Indocement Citeureup, Bogor, was discovered in the River Citeureup. There is evidence that the Petrus died after being tortured. According to an autopsy (No. P.02/040/I/1994) by a doctor on 3 February, the dead man was found to have memar on the brain, haemorrhage in the lower cavity of the brain, his skull was cracked and a bone in the nape of his neck was broken.

The Ikatan Keluarga Timor-Timur (IKTT, East Timorese Families' Association) at the cement factory sent a letter to the company and to the police asking for the circumstances of his death to be investigated. The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) has written to the chief of police about the case but has not yet received a response. The company failed to provide any death allowance as they normally do. Other East Timorese working at the factory feel threatened by the circumstances in which Petrus died.

Yet, on 24 February, as a result of the formal complaint that had been made by IKTT, the 33 East Timorese working at the factory were summoned by Lieut. General Supardjo, Personnel Director, who told them that they must withdraw their complaint within 24 hours and admit that they had made a mistake. They were also threatened with dismissal.

Petrus had worked for Indocement since 1991; the company is owned by Sudwikatmono [a step-brother of President Suharto] and Liem Sioe Liong [Indonesia's foremost business tycoon and a close associate of the President]. He was recruited by Yayasan Tiara, a company owned by Siti Hardiyanti [the President's oldest daughter] through the Manpower Office in Dili. Petrus was one of 34 East Timorese recruited at the time.

The day before he was found dead, he had invited two friends to his home, saying that he was expecting someone to come. The dead man was last seen alive by his wife at 3.30am on 28 January when they were about to leave home to take his wife's sister

to Bogor because she was ill. But as Petrus was locking the front door, he suddenly rushed from the house as if he was being chased by someone.

Action: Please write to the following, asking for an investigation into the death/murder of Petrus Tomae, in order to bring the person or persons to justice:

Mr. Abdul Latief, Minister for Manpower, Jln Jendral Gatot Subroto Kav. 51, South Jakarta

Fax: +62 21 840 2746

Chief of Police, Major-General Banarusman, Jl. Trunojoyo 13, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan, Fax: +62-21 36 1471 (c/o Armed Forces)

The Indonesian ambassador in your country

A STONE STATUE OF CHRIST IS FOUND IN MATEBIAN

From anonymous source, March 31.

According to the recent news arrived from Dili, East Timor (by personal correspondence), a major event occurred in March a few weeks ago in East Timor (i.e. the inauguration of the statue of 'CRISTO REI' "Christ the King" in the top of Mount Matebian. Not clear what's the size of the newly-built statue which was initiated by the Dili Diocese.

The ceremony was led by Bishop Belo and was attended by parish members, clergy, lay people and representatives from 13 districts across East Timor. It was a phenomenal event as many East Timorese people were enthusiastically and voluntarily devoting their energy, time, praying 'Rosario' spiritually on their way to Quelicai _ a subdistrict_ locates in the shadow of Mount Matebian in the eastern region) before heading up to the top of Mount MATEBIAN. From there, a new 'oracao' _pray_ has been composed to manifest the long suffer of East Timorese over the last two decades. An outstanding gesture had been shown by the FALINTIL members in the bush who were fully cooperating with the event and its aftermath.

It reminded us a few years back, similar attitude had been performed excellently by the guerilla members during which the proceeding of 'ANO MARIANO' took place across 13 districts of East Timor. They laid down their guns and expressed their devotion to the 'Virgin MARY' statue in the "Same" district where the proceedings passed by.

We will post more info on the event as soon as we get more clues. Please enlighten us more on this event, if you get anything new. Thanks.

OIL STRUCK IN TIMOR GAP

WHOSE OIL?

Media Release from CNRM, Feb. 17, 1994

The East Timorese Resistance movement notes this week's announcement by Petroz N. L. that for the first time oil has been found in one of the company's Timor Gap Zone test sites in the Timor Sea off the coast of East Timor. The territory was invaded and illegally annexed by Indonesia in 1975 against the wishes of the East Timorese population and in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

In spite of the illegality of Indonesia's presence in East Timor, Australia entered into the Timor Gap treaty with Indonesia in 1989 whereby both countries agreed on how to exploit the natural resources of the continental shelf in the Timor Gap area.

Portugal has a case pending against Australia in the International Court of Justice, challenging the validity of the Timor Gap Treaty. In June last year, in the Australian High Court three CNRM members challenged the legality of the Australian Parliament's Legislation to implement the Timor Gap agreement. A first hearing has taken place on December 9, and the first full bench High Court hearing has been set for August.

The exploration rights and property rights to the oil found by Petroz N.L. yesterday are thus under dispute.

CNRM takes this opportunity to remind Petroz N.L. and the public in general, that in line with its mission to defend the right to freedom and self-determination of the East Timorese people, it will continue to pursue all legal avenues to protect their rights to benefit from the natural resources of their country. CNRM will seek all legal and political means to recover the oil which rightfully belongs to the people of East Timor.

TIMOR SEA EXPLORATION YIELDS 5,800 B/D OIL FLOW

Oil and Gas Journal, March 7, 1994

Timor Sea exploration has turned up a hefty oil flow in the Australian-Indonesian Zone of Cooperation Area A (ZOCA).

ZOCA 91-12 operator Petroz NL, Perth, and partners suspended their 1 Elang discovery as a possible producer after gauging a stabilized flow of 5,800 b/d of oil through a 21 mm choke from a 61.5 m interval at 3,006.5-68 m.

On an earlier 12-hr test, the well flowed at a calculated rate of 830 b/d through a 6 mm choke from a 9 m interval at 3,006.5-

15.6 m. Gas/oil ratio on both tests was 600:1.

Petroz holds a 15% interest in ZOCA 91-12, BHP Petroleum Pty. Ltd. 42.4% Santos Ltd. 21.4%. and Inpex SahuI Ltd. 21.2%.

Indonesia's Pertamina and the Australia-Indonesia Joint Authority for the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation in late 1991 and early 1992 approved 11 production sharing contracts (PSCs) in Area A of the Timor Sea (OGJ, Jan. 6, 1992, p. 93). Area A acreage was open for bids during June 24-Oct. 7 1991.

Lloyd Taylor, Santos general manager of exploration, said 1 Elang confirms the potential of Western ZOCA and upgrades the prospectivity of tracts adjacent to ZOCA 91-12.

After testing 1 Elang, ZOCA 91-12 partners plan to move the Atwood Eagle rig to another drillsite on the tract, 1 Mandar.

That test well is to be followed in first half 1994 by wildcats on Timor Gap PSC areas:

- ZOCA 91-01, operated by BHP with partner Indonesia Petroleum Ltd.

- ZOCA 91.10, where operator Marathon Oil Co. holds a 50% interest and Santos and Korea Petroleum 25% each (OGJ, Dec. 30. 1991, p. 39).

- ZOCA 91-11, where operator Marathon holds a 70% interest and Santos and Korea Petroleum 15% each.

TIMOR GAP TREATY UNDER FIRE

News clip, unclear origin, Feb. 22:

The High Court has approved a challenge to the government's right to sign the Timor Gap Treaty with Indonesia. The two governments agreed the establishment of a Zone of Co-operation because a border dispute was preventing exploration in the highly prospective Timor Gap. Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor (which was invaded, and subsequently annexed, by Indonesia) has already taken Australia to the World Court in a challenge to the validity of the treaty. The UN has never recognised the Indonesian claim to sovereignty over East Timor. The Portuguese case is likely to start late this year. In the latest challenge, a group of Timorese exiles, living in Australia, is seeking to have the treaty declared invalid. A hearing date has been set for August. If the Timorese are successful, the government will be faced with a massive compensation bill from those companies already active in the zone.

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

ALATAS: EAST TIMOR ISSUE 'NOT IMPORTANT'

The Sun-Herald, 20 February 1994.

(Reuter, Jakarta) The issue of East Timor was a small problem that had been settled and Indonesia would not rise to criticism of its handling of the territory, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said yesterday.

"Those who make a big fuss out of it are Portugal and former Fretilin members, and if Indonesia speaks loudly and aggressively as well, it will create the impression that the East Timor problem is important. In fact, it is not," Mr. Alatas said.

Fretilin is a guerilla movement fighting for independence in the former Portuguese colony.

Mr. Alatas made the remark at a parliamentary hearing where members asked why Indonesia had not shifted its stand on the East Timor issue towards a more offensive posture.

He said the East Timor issue was a small problem that had been settled, Antara news agency reported.

Indonesia, which annexed East Timor a year after taking control in an invasion in 1974, has faced international criticism for alleged human rights abuses since annexation, a move the United Nations does not recognise.

Indonesia condemned as false a report alleging that as many as 200 survivors of the November 1991 massacre in East Timor's capital of Dili were later killed by Indonesian military personnel.

"That report was sensational and unreasonable, so I think not much attention will be paid to it," Mr. Alatas said on Tuesday.

Witnesses and human rights groups said Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd of mourners in November 1991 in Dili, killing up to 180 unarmed civilians.

But Indonesia says only 50 people died in the incident. Officials says they are still searching for 56 people missing since the incident.

INFIGHT OPEN LETTER TO THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT

From INFIGHT, Indonesian Front for the Defense of Human Rights. February 25, 1994, full text.

Honorable Parliamentarians,

We were informed that you will soon discuss economic aid to Indonesia.

In the situation where human rights and democratization have become concerns of all mankind worldwide, we from the Indonesian Front for the Defense of Human Rights (INFIGHT) are appealing to the Swedish Parliament:

1. That the Swedish Parliament relate its economic aid to human rights and democratization in Indonesia.
2. That the Swedish Parliament postpone its economic aid to Indonesia until the Indonesian government ratifies all principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights into the existing legislation in the Indonesian political system.
3. That the Swedish Parliament postpone its economic aid to Indonesia until the New Order (Orde Baru), under President Soeharto's leadership, accounts for all the political killings which have been taking place since 1965, such as these cases: Purwodadi (1965-1967); Malari (1974); Tanjung Priok (1984); Mysterious Killings (1984); Ujung Pandang (1987); Aceh (1990); Lampung (1989); East Timor (1975-1991); Haur Koneng (1993); Nipah Sampang (1993).
4. That the Swedish Parliament does not give economic aid to Indonesia at all, as long as the Indonesian government has no intention of answering appeals no. 2 and 3.

As the people of Indonesia, we are of the opinion that we are entitled to make this appeal, as our basic rights have been violated by the Indonesian government since long ago, our basic freedoms taken away and mistreated by the Indonesian government, and since long ago we have been informed, experienced and seen that an enormous amount of foreign aid has been used by the Indonesian government to violate our basic rights. Therefore every foreign country giving economic aid to Indonesia, including the Swedish government, should be morally responsible. And therefore we feel that it is fully legitimate for us to make this appeal to countries that have respect for democratic principles and human rights, such as Sweden.

Thank you for all your attention.

We do realize that economic aid is important, but we also find it important to have our basic rights secured.

Jakarta, 25 February 1994
Saleh Abdullah, coordinator, INFIGHT

INDONESIANS APPEAL TO SWEDEN

Diario de Noticias, 12 March 1994. By Fernando de Sousa. Translated from Portuguese

(Stockholm) Two Indonesian organisations have issued an appeal to the Swedish authorities to make respect for human rights, in places like East Timor, a pre-condition to aid to the country. The appeal was sent by Infight (Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights, and by the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, both based in Jakarta.

In an open letter to Swedish MPs, the Coordinator of Infight, Saleh Abdullah, urges that economic aid be postponed "until the New Order (Orde Baru), led by President Suharto, answers for all the politically motivated killings which have occurred since 1965" in East Timor. Infight underlines the fact that a large part of foreign aid "has been used by the Indonesian Government to violate our fundamental rights. It follows, therefore, that any country giving economic aid to Indonesia - including Sweden - ought to be considered morally responsible." In a letter to the Foreign Relations Committee of Sweden's Parliament, the Director of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, H.J.C. Princen, recognises the need for international aid to Indonesia. However, he asks that respect and protection of human rights by the Indonesian Government be a pre-condition to that aid. The appeals coincided with a debate in progress in the Swedish Parliament (Riksdag) on a government proposal to concede financial credit for development actions in Indonesia.

FOUR-YEAR JAIL TERM FOR INSULTING SUHARTO

JAKARTA, Feb. 24 (AFP) - The central Jakarta court Thursday sentenced a human rights activist to four years' imprisonment for insulting President Suharto.

Presiding judge Nurhayati said that the court found Nuku Sulaeman, 29, executive chairman of the human rights group Yayasan Pijar (Glow Foundation), guilty of intentionally insulting the Indonesian head of state during a protest at the parliament in November.

The prosecution had called for a six-year sentence - the maximum penalty for "insulting or taking a part in insulting the president."

Nurhayati said Nuku had on November 24 and 25 printed and distributed stickers with the aim of "attacking the good name, honour and dignity of the world statesman and a senior politician."

But as Nuku, who was arrested on November 26, was still young, the court handed down a lighter sentence although he did not show remorse.

The offending stickers, distributed during a student demonstration on the ground of the parliament building to protest against the government's frequent use of force, modified the acronym for the state backed lottery, SDSB, to an acronym for "President Suharto is the mastermind of all disasters"

The stickers cited several cases of past unrest quelled by use of force, including the November 12, 1991 massacre in Dili, East Timor in which the army shot dead scores of civilian demonstrators.

Nuku has seven days to appeal.

Before the trial began, Nuku said that he refused to be tried in the absence of his lawyers, who walked out the court last week, and that he wanted to read his own defence statement.

The judge refused both of his demands.

The team of defending lawyers, - Luhut Pangaribuan of the Legal Aid Foundation (LBH), John Pieter Nazar, Iskandar and Irianto Subiako of the Indonesian Bar Association, - walked out of the court, demanding it temporarily suspend the trial while they were waiting for a reply from the Supreme Court on how to handle the case.

They have said that the case was not properly carried out in accordance with the law.

Adnan Buyung Nasution of the LBH said that the verdict was very severe.

"A very legitimate and constitutional demand of a citizen has been punished that severely," he said.

Nasution said the appeal by Nuku would be more procedural because it would not help him get a lighter sentence, saying "as long as the political system is still very authoritarian like now, there is no chance."

He said the sentence would prompt student protests in the country.

Additional information from BBC World Service:

After the verdict was read out, Mr. Sulaeman was taken rapidly away. In a statement distributed to journalists, he accused the court of refusing to allow his chosen witnesses to take the stand and criticised what he called the authoritarian nature of Indonesia's new order regime. Outside the building, one of Indonesia's most prominent human rights activists, Adnan Buyung Nasution condemned the verdict as too severe. He said the outcome made it clear that criticism of the President would not be tolerated:

"The openness is only valid as long or as far as it does not touch the number one in this republic. That is very obvious now.

You may say anything, but not to touch the number one."

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST JAILED, 21 OTHERS SET TO BE TRIED

Press release from Amnesty International, 25 February 1994

Amnesty International is calling for the immediate and unconditional release of Nuku Soleiman, an Indonesian human rights activist, jailed on 24 February for criticizing President Suharto, and for calling on him to accept responsibility for human rights violations committed under his rule. Twenty-one other peaceful protesters, detained in December 1993, are due to be tried on similar charges in the near future.

Nuku Soleiman, a university student and chairman of an independent human rights organization, Yayasan Pijar, was sentenced to four years in prison by the District Court of Central Jakarta on 24 February 1994, following a month-long political show-trial. He was charged under Article 134 of the Indonesian Criminal Code, a law inherited from the era of Dutch colonial rule, under which insulting the head of state is an offence punishable by up to six years in prison.

Amnesty International regards Nuku Soleiman as a prisoner of conscience, detained solely for the peaceful exercise of his right to free speech as guaranteed under international law and the Indonesian Constitution. The organization is calling for his immediate and unconditional release. It is also calling on the Indonesian authorities to drop charges against 21 other peaceful demonstrators arrested in a related incident on 14 December 1993, who are still custody awaiting trial.

Nuku Soleiman, aged 29, was arrested on 25 November 1993 during a peaceful protest outside Indonesia's national parliament in Jakarta. The demonstration coincided with a parliamentary hearing about the country's state-backed lottery, which had come under increasing criticism from opposition groups. Nuku was accused of distributing stickers in which the acronym for the lottery (SDSB) was given a new meaning deemed to be insulting to President Suharto. The stickers said "Suharto is the mastermind of all disasters" (Suharto Dalang Segala Bencana) and cited numerous instances of serious human rights violations committed by Indonesian security forces since the President came to power following a military coup almost three decades ago.

Like all political trials in Indonesia, Nuku Soleiman's was a show trial which failed to meet international standards of fairness. From the outset, the trial was marked by an

atmosphere of intimidation. Military and police security presence in and around the court was heavy, and access was strictly controlled. Witnesses reported that many of the "spectators" allowed in were, in fact, members of military and police intelligence units in plainclothes. In his first defence statement (eksepsi) read before the court on 24 January 1994, Nuku Sulaiman said, "Just look around. Right from the first day of the session, it is as if the army and police are in command...In front of this building they have lined up a truck full of armed troops. At the entry to this hall, they block my friends, my relatives, and the general public who want to attend and witness this trial. In this particular hall they have assigned plainclothes officers to occupy a large number of the chairs for visitors. As the trial began, a group of police officers equipped with rattan clubs and canes marched in though there was not the slightest sign of unrest in this hall...I feel this as terror and intimidation. Does the Council of Judges not also feel the same? Is it not the case that such an atmosphere is bound to determine the verdict of the Court?"

The most blatant evidence of the court's lack of independence was its refusal to allow defence counsel to summon witnesses. The court agreed to hear the testimony of only one of 17 witnesses requested by the defence, while hearing 19 witnesses for the prosecution. In seeking to justify that decision, the presiding judge reportedly said, "This court does not need any experts because we know everything that is linked to this case." Defence lawyers walked out of the court in protest at the court's rejection of their witnesses, and urged that the trial be postponed pending an official ruling by the Supreme Court on the issue. The District Court ignored their request and continued with the trial.

Shortly after Nuku Soleiman's sentencing, officials of the office of the District Attorney in Jakarta announced that a further 21 young people would soon be brought to trial on similar charges. The 21 were arrested in Jakarta on 14 December 1993, during a peaceful demonstration in which they urged parliament to hold a special session to look into the President's responsibility for past human rights abuses. The authorities have indicated that they are to be charged with publicly expressing feelings of hostility toward the government, a crime punishable by up to seven years' imprisonment.

The articles under which Nuku Soleiman and the 21 other demonstrators have been charged are among the so-called Haatazai Artikelen (Hate-sowing Articles), which prohibit public criticism of the government. They were introduced by the Dutch colonial administration in the early 1900s and incor-

porated into Indonesia's Criminal Code after independence in 1949. The Haatazai Artikelen have often been used by the Indonesian authorities to imprison, or to threaten, alleged political opponents. Those targeted in this way include trade unionists, students, farmers and human rights activists.

INDONESIAN NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION PROTESTS ACEH DETENTIONS

DeTIK, 2-8 March 1994. Translated from Indonesian. Abridged.

Original title: Making an issue of uncharged detainees <Menggebrak Tahanan Titipan>

Speaking as members of the National Human Rights Commission, Asmara Nababan and Clementino dos Reis Amaral said on an inspection tour to Aceh they had discovered 11 prisoners in Lhokseumawe jail who had been detained for 2 years without being charged. They are suspected of supporting the Free Aceh Movement. YLBHI executive director Mulyana W Kusumah said he fully supported the protest of the Commissions, but an unidentified military spokesman said the Commission should not be too intent on legal nitpicking when the issue was national survival.

LOPA THREATENS TO RESIGN

Voice of America, March 5

By David Butler, Bangkok

Intro: the head of a new human rights commission in Indonesia said Saturday he will resign if authorities block his investigation into the killing of a young labor activist who led a rally for higher wages last year. As David Butler reports from our southeast Asia bureau in Bangkok, defendants standing trial for the murder of the woman activist say they were forced to sign false confessions.

Indonesia's official Antara news agency quoted the Secretary-General of the National Commission on Human Rights, Baharuddin Lopa, as telling lawyers for defendants in the case he would resign if his investigation is blocked.

The lawyers told Mr. Lopa that nine defendants standing trial for the murder of labor activist Marsinah last year were tortured by the authorities until they signed false confessions.

Marsinah, who was just twenty-five years old, was found dead in a rice field in east Java last May – days after she led a

protest rally demanding higher wages at the watch factory where she worked. Her body showed signs of strangulation.

Mr. Lopa told the lawyers that if the suspects' allegations of physical assault by interrogators is true, it would be – in his words – the most tragic violation against human rights in this country and in this age. He said whoever was involved must be prosecuted, even if he is a military man. He said Indonesia must honor the rule of law.

Indonesia's treatment of its workers has been criticized inside the country and internationally. Last month, the United States extended by six months a threat to end favorable trade terms if Indonesia does not improve its record for workers' rights.

When the National Human Rights Commission was established last year, it was seen by some as a tool to deflect criticism from president Suharto's government.

Mr. Lopa said, if the Commission is prevented from getting to the bottom of the Marsinah case, he would resign out of shame before the people who put their trust in him. (signed).

INTERVIEW WITH THEO SYAFEI

Editor, 10 March 1994. Translated from Indonesian. Abridged

Theo Syafei suggests he regards his appointment to the Staff College Command as less than a promotion. –Gerry VanKlinken

Maj-Gen Theo Syafei was last commander of Udayana, which includes East Timor. In the latest reshuffle he has been assigned to head the staff command college Sesko. He says he joined ABRI because he was an orphan and needed security, especially as his home town of Ujung Pandang was at the time shaken by the DI/TII revolt. Excerpts:

Q: What do you think about your promotion to this new post?

A: I'm not sure if this is a promotion or a political strategy. I'm still puzzled because I have no background in education or senior staff positions.

Q: There used to be a saying that Sesko Commander was not a popular post.

A: Not really. Sahala Rajagukguk became Ambassador to India, TB Silalahi became Cabinet Minister (MenPAN). The Sesko army seminars have had a national impact. But it is also possible that for some a lecturer's position here is a parking place. It depends on the individual. ... Here I have only an area of 4 hectare, and only 100 staff, it's small. But the thinking extends to the international world.

Q: Will you be inviting critical intellectuals like Arief Budiman, Adnan Buyung Nasution, or Sri Bintang Pamungkas?

A: Not really... I don't really like people who are a priori about a given system..

In the remainder of the interview he warns that ABRI should not be pushed to retreat from politics. ABRI is already proportionately much smaller than the armed forces of other nations. An event like the 12 November [1991] massacre in Dili actually pulls ABRI unity together, even if it was in some ways split before. Remarks on East Timor reflect standard ABRI thinking - only 90 guerrillas left, young people frustrated by unemployment and over-education, Apodeti the biggest political party, the deep politicization of East Timorese society still centres around UDT, Fretilin & Apodeti.

INDONESIAN ABROAD HAVE FREEDOM THREATENED

From Paul Salim, March 17:

Dear Netters:

Below I submit to you a very interesting article whose content may affect all of us, or at least may hinder our activities.

INTRODUCTION

On 4th March 1992 (after three months of heated debate), the Indonesian Parliament passed a controversial immigration bill with two significant aspects [1]:

1. formal guidelines of government restrictions on certain Indonesians to travel abroad
2. the introduction of a temporary ban that would effectively bar some citizens whom the Indonesian government deems to be disloyal from returning home and potentially rendering them stateless; also included in this group are individuals whose return to Indonesia could disrupt national upbuilding, cause disunity among the Indonesian population, threaten national stability and endanger the individuals' own and families' lives.

Those barred from re-entering or leaving Indonesia must be identified and given written reasons for being declared *persona non grata*. This would prevent, for instance, an individual on the "stop list" from being barred from travelling by immigration officials, having already obtained a ticket, visa and made other bookings or appointments. Further, a time limit of six months renewable to a maximum of two and a half years was set on how long an individual could be barred from returning to or leaving Indonesia. Indonesian embassies must also be informed of the orders, and, though there was no specific requirement that they inform the individuals concerned, some Members of

Parliament hoped they would take the initiative to do so [1].

Under the new provisions, the number of departments authorized to control citizen travel are limited to four [1]:

1. the Justice Ministry, under whose jurisdiction immigration falls
2. the Finance Ministry
3. the Attorney General's Office, responsible for those awaiting trial or serving sentences
4. ABRI's commander in chief, in matters of defence and national security.

Since last Friday, I have been in touch with the Indonesian Embassy in Ottawa (Canada). What I want to get straight are two things:

1. Is there misinformation in reference [1] ?
2. Is the immigration bill (4 March 1992) still valid ?

From the latest information I got this morning, someone in the embassy is trying to answer the above two questions [2].

(Note: once available, the answers will be posted world-wide in soc.culture.indonesia and any other Networks in Usenet)

DISCUSSIONS

As you've already known, one of the provisions of this new immigration bill is to classify certain Indonesian Citizens, residents overseas, as disloyal to the government so that they deserve to be barred to re-enter Indonesia for a certain period of time. There is no criteria to decide the disloyalty, so everything is in the hands of Justice Minister, Finance Minister, Attorney General, and ABRI commander in chief. But we all know approximately what the government means with "disloyalty." In soc.culture.indonesia or any other networks, we are usually exposed to some articles which are critical to the Suharto Government, and we from our inner hearth are forced to make our supportive comments. Some examples of the critical articles are:

1. East Timor
2. Student Demonstration
3. Labor Movement
4. ABRI's human rights violations
5. The accumulated wealth of President Suharto's Family
6. The widening gap between rich and poor
7. and many others which can't be mentioned here

We can't be denied our rights to express ourselves RESPONSIBLY. The word "responsibly" can be debated over night, especially if you look at the Indonesian Government's argument that all expressions/statements/speeches MUST NOT cause public disorder, insult government's officials, etc. However, we all know the

difference between TRUTHS and LIES and between RIGHT and WRONG; and, some of us are students sponsored by the Indonesian Government.

Because of the above argument, I'd like to invite Netters to think whether the new immigration bill (4 March 1992) is likely to be implemented as it is or to be revised.

REFERENCES

1. Aznam, S., "Passport Control: New Immigration Law can render citizens stateless," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, pp.18-19, 26 Mar.1992
2. Indonesian Embassy in Ottawa (Canada), private communication, 17 Mar.1994
Salam dari Calgary, Canada
Paul Salim

INDONESIA'S INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATORS

TIMORESE ON THEIR WAY TO DILI

Publico, 23 February 1994. Translated from Portuguese.

(Lisbon) Twenty-five Timorese, connected with the Fretilin faction led by Abilio Araujo, are going to East Timor in early March. The visit was announced to the LUSA news agency by Abilio Sereno, Secretary-Coordinator of Fretilin in Portugal. He referred to the initiative as "the start of free circulation," which was one of the measures dealt with at the London "reconciliation" meeting, at which Abilio Araujo came face to face with Timorese integrated in the administrative apparatus set up by Indonesia in the territory.

SERENO: AGITATORS CAUSE SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE

Publico, 25 February 1994

Abilio Sereno, coordination secretary of Fretilin in Portugal, and leader of a faction of this party which aligns itself with the "reconciliatory" position of Abilio Araujo, has signed a communiqué in which Indonesia's responsibilities for the 12 November massacre are associated with other causes, and said to have "occurred in an extremely turbulent political and social climate."

Sereno attributes the "turbulence" to the cancellation of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation's visit to the territory. In previous years, this event had "galvanised the Timorese resistance and the pro-integrationist forces."

For Abilio Serena, a leader identified with the so-called "reconciliation meeting," "the unexpected cancellation" of the parliamentary visit "generated despondency, frustration, despair, and adventurism, which were shrewdly exploited by agitators, who did not rest until there was bloodshed."

It was the showing of the documentary "Death of a Nation" that originated the communiqué. It classifies the film as "an historic document to add to all the others."

Reaction to Max Stahl's film also gave Abilio Sereno an opportunity to reiterate, on behalf of the Fretilin faction he heads, "total and unconditional support for the spirit of the London meeting, which initiated a new era," and for "internal social pacification, which also means healing existing wounds."

NUNO ROCHA ALSO REACTS

Journalist Nuno Rocha, known for advocating an approximation between Lisbon and Jakarta in order to arrive at a solution for East Timor, and coordinator of the "London meeting," also reacted to the documentary shown last Tuesday by ITV and Portugal's RTP.

His two identical telegrams, sent on Wednesday to the Prime Minister and to the Foreign Minister, reveal a series of reservations in relation to Stahl's film. Nuno Rocha, starting by "regretting" that the Prime Minister had not understood that it was "a documentary film and not a news report," states that the journalist responsible for the research "has not been in Timor now," that "everything refers to the past," and that the film was "set up in a film studio."

"It omits to say how many were killed by Fretilin between 26 August and 6 December 1975," says Nuno Rocha, adding that "our glorious official Maggiolo Gouveia was barbarically murdered by Fretilin."

M. MACEDO ACCUSED OF HIGH TREASON

Publico, 1 March 1994. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Tomorrow, the association Forum Prisoos will be delivering to the Attorney-General's Office a request that criminal proceedings be taken against Manuel Macedo, accusing him of "high treason against the State," "aiding measures that are hostile to Portugal," "behaviour offending the honour of the President of the Republic," and "collusion with foreign powers to inhibit the Portuguese State."

The association, represented yesterday in a press conference by Cristina Rodrigues (social services worker), Guilherme Silva Pereira (lawyer), and Romeu Frances (who was lawyer for Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho),

considers that the crimes referred to above violate Articles 334, 340, 364, and 338 of the Penal Code.

If the Attorney-General, Cunha Rodrigues, accepts the request for an investigation, Manuel Macedo will have to appear in court to answer charges, which carry prison sentences of 15 to 20 years (for high treason), and 2 to 10 years (for the other violations).

Forum Prisoos considers that Manuel Macedo deliberately acted as an "ambassador" of a country (Indonesia) whose interests openly conflict with those of Portugal. As such, Manuel Macedo was supporting a cause which Portugal has been fighting for in various international forums. Therefore, he deserves to be considered "a traitor to his country."

The association took the decision as it believes that "the basic rights of a Portuguese citizen, Xanana Gusmão, illegally imprisoned, have been violated." Through his business dealings conducted openly with Indonesia - Forum Prisoos said that he "has tried to recruit others to do the same - Manuel Macedo has "used Xanana as a launching pad for trading activities." These are not, in themselves, illegal. The Tabaqueira (tobacco company), which is partially state-owned, has resorted to the same practice. However, what does contravene the Constitution is "the propaganda attached to those activities, aimed to counteract Portugal's political line in relation to East Timor."

Forum Prisoos is also taking steps, together with the Portuguese Red Cross and other organisations, to obtain authorisation to visit the Timorese leader.

UDT & INTERNATIONAL JURISTS AGAINST TILMAN

Publico, 12 March 1994. By Luis Sa. Translated from Portuguese

(Macau) The Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) and the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor (IPJET) have detached themselves from positions adopted by the Timorese lawyer Manuel Tilman, who was previously connected with these two organisations, following the statements he made after visiting Indonesia and East Timor.

A UDT communiqué, issued in Perth, states that Tilman is no longer authorised by the party to organise the regional structure in Macau. The text, which was sent to the President of the Republic, Foreign Minister and to the Governor of Macau, accuses the lawyer of abusing his position, namely by "calling himself UDT Chairman (in Macau) and by actions which overstep the authority

of the party's regional bodies or holders of a credential for a specific purpose." The communiqué was signed by Domingos de Oliveira, UDT Secretary-General.

In April, the Platform of Jurists is going to decide on Tilman's position within the organisation. Meantime, according to an IPJET newsletter, the lawyer has been suspended of all previously held duties, and substituted temporarily by the Indian jurist, Shambhu Chopra, who has taken over responsibility for Tilman's area - including Japan, China and Hong Kong.

The reasons behind this decision stem from statements said to have been made by Manuel Tilman to Indonesian newspapers, while on a visit to the country late last year (see *Publico* 23.1.94). Secretary General of IPJET, Pedro Pinto Leite, believes that Tilman's version of what happened was "unsatisfactory" and that, consequently, the decision had been made to suspend his activity, as well as preparations for the holding of a conference in Hong Kong and Macau, which Tilman had been organising. According to the communiqué issued in Leiden, Holland, in April, the General Assembly (only organ with the power to expel militants) will have the last word on the case, after supplying its members with additional information.

Manuel Tilman is member of IPJET's International Council and, last year, accepted the task of organising an IPJET conference in Macau. At that time, the London meeting was still a distant idea. It was this meeting that cleared the way for Tilman's subsequent visit to Indonesia and to his native land, which he had not visited since the '70s. The statements he made after the visit, in favour of approximation towards Indonesia, and the spirit underlying the London meeting, where Timorese with varying views on the way to resolve the East Timor issue met, provoked strong opposition from the community resident in Macau, and now, opposition from the two organisations.

For his part, Manuel Tilman dismissed the two communiqués, as the "work of people connected with (Ramos) Horta." Tilman, who leads the Macau Group of the Timorese Resistance, said that he continued to have the "unquestioned" support of the Timorese inside the territory, and that "the Platform is a group of friends of Timor, but they cannot substitute the Timorese and, as you know, I am an interested party in the matter, and not just a friend of Timor." He also stated that "UDT already exists in the interior." In spite of IPJET's communiqué, Manuel Tilman said he was still certain that this year a conference on the territory would be held in Macau, and that it may well be attended by the Vicar-General of Dili.

RECONCILIATION MEETING - YET ANOTHER RESULT

Publico 16 March 1994 By J. T. de Ne-greiros. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) The father of the "reconciliation" meeting did not like the fact that Manuel Macedo signed a communiqué about the trip of the 25 Timorese, and even less so, the fact that he claims the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association financed it all. Abilio Araujo says it was he that organised the trip, and that it was Suharto's daughter who personally paid for it all.

Yesterday, Abilio Araujo, leader of the Fretilin faction which supports "reconciliation," claimed responsibility for the journey to Indonesia and East Timor of 25 Timorese, who left Lisbon yesterday for Jakarta, via Amsterdam.

According to Araujo, the journey was decided upon in London, at a meeting with Siti Hardiyanti Tutut, the daughter of President Suharto, indicated to be the Chairperson of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association. This meeting took place at the time of the so-called "reconciliation meeting," which took place last December, gathering at the same table Timorese in exile together with Timorese living in the territory, who are integrated in the Indonesian administrative apparatus.

This trip, according to Abilio Araujo, which will last a month, is the first of a series of trips which Timorese will make to the territory, and should be seen as "yet another result of the London meeting," and "a contribution towards confidence-building," to which the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers committed themselves, with a view to making progress with the negotiations on East Timor, taking place under the UN Secretary General's auspices.

Who Pays?

In statements made to *Publico*, Abilio Araujo expressed surprise regarding a communiqué issued by the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association last Monday, which affirmed that the trip by the 25 Timorese was going ahead "on the invitation and at the expense of" the Association, chaired by Suharto's daughter.

Not only does Araujo find it strange that the Association issue "communiqués on matters which do not concern it," but also denies that the Association is footing the bill. "The offer was made by her personally," says Araujo, who also referred to the fact that the meeting with Tutut, in which she gave assurances she would pay for the trips, took place before the Association was formed.

The 25 Timorese, who started their journey yesterday, are going to spend the first week in Indonesia - Jakarta, Bandung, Jogjakarta and Bali - and will then continue to East Timor. The idea is that their visit coincides with Easter. According to Abilio Araujo, they belong to three different groups: those who came to Portugal to study even before 25 April, those who left Timor following the civil war, and those who arrived in the early 1980s.

Abilio Araujo, who led the delegation of Timorese in exile to the London meeting, says that all the "guarantees for safety" needed for the trip to go ahead were given to him by personally by Lopes da Cruz - the diplomat, of Timorese origin, who led the delegation from Timor to the "reconciliation" meeting.

ARMY WARNING TO TIMORESE MISSION

AFP and UPI, 16 March 1994. Abridged

Background: In a follow-up to the 'reconciliation talks' in London several months ago, a group of 25 East Timorese led by Abilio Araujo has been gathering in Amsterdam in preparation for a visit to East Timor. Whether all 25 will in fact go is not clear as several have been urged by relatives in East Timor not to come. It is not clear whether Araujo himself will turn up in Dili as some members of his family are said to be very unhappy about the visit. Carmel, TAPOL

(Jakarta) Indonesian military authorities have warned they will arrest any visitors who engage in politics while visiting East Timor, press reports said here today.

"Welcome, see (East Timor) for yourself as long as you come with good intentions. I will arrest you if you come to make any political move here," said head of the Udayana Military Command, Major General Adang Ruchiatna.

Speaking in Dili on Monday, Ruchiatna said East Timor was open to foreign visitors but he did not want to see East Timorese who had fled abroad in the past 18 years to be among them.

Ruchiatna's warning was in response to questions about the planned visit to East Timor by a group of Portuguese nationals

TIMOR VISIT

Radio Netherlands, 21 March 1994. By Jill Jolliffe

(Lisbon) Twenty-five Timorese left Lisbon yesterday bound for Indonesia and East Timor on a visit paid for by President Suharto's daughter, Siti Hardiyanti/ Tutut. The trip is part of a 'reconciliation' initiative launched by dissident Fretilin leader, Abilio Araujo in London last December with pro-Indonesian East Timorese led by Francisco Lopes da Cruz.

Two delegations of Timorese, one pro-Indonesian, the other pro-independence, met then to discuss measures to bring Timorese divided by two decades of war together, but agreed not to question Indonesian sovereignty in the former Portuguese colony - for which they were bitterly attacked by resistance leaders in Timor and in exile.

Mr. Araujo, who is not travelling with the 25 Timorese, said in Lisbon before their departure that the trip was designed to build a climate of confidence and break the stalemate which has characterised talks between Portugal and Indonesia over the Timor issue in recent years. He said there would be a reciprocal visit to Portugal by East Timorese living in Timor in April led by Mr. Lopes da Cruz, during which the group would visit the Catholic shrine of Fatima.

Champions of the reconciliation initiative, who are a beleaguered minority among the Timorese community, especially since Bishop Carlos Belo attacked their behaviour, claim the visit is to establish the principle of free travel in and out of East Timor, but Mr. Luis Cardoso, representative of the National Resistance Council of Timor (CNRM) said the visit was a blatant piece of manipulation by the Indonesian government with the aim of dividing the Timorese community and legitimising the occupation of Timor.

'We are not against individual East Timorese travelling back to Timor or between Portugal and Indonesia,' he said. 'What we are opposed to is a visit organised and manipulated by the Indonesian government for propaganda purposes, especially when it is still blocking free access of humanitarian organisations and refusing international demands for a proper inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre.'

Most of the 25 are Timorese with a record of long term involvement with Fretilin, the pro-independence party, and some are members of the more conservative UDT party. They will spend their first week visiting various Indonesian cities, including Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta and Denpasar and will then return to Timor to spend three weeks with their respective families, but are

likely to face a hostile reception from the Timorese population which sees them as collaborating with the Indonesian government. Mr. Cardoso said he believed their movements would be closely controlled by Indonesian security police.

On the eve of their departure, Mr. Manuel Macedo of the controversial Portuguese-Indonesian Association, which advocates Portuguese recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in Timor, claimed responsibility for organising and paying for the visit, but this was hotly denied by Mr. Araujo who said it was entirely paid for by Ms Suharto [Tutut] on a personal basis, and that he had been responsible for organising the visit, at the London meeting, well before the Friendship Association was formed.

The Portuguese foreign ministry has refused to comment publicly on the visit but one source said it was neutral on the issue and that divisions between East Timorese were to be resolved by them. The same source said it was too early to say whether visas would be issued to the pro-Indonesian delegation, including roving ambassador Lopes da Cruz, wishing to visit Portugal. Until now travellers on Indonesian passports have generally been refused access to Portugal as are Portuguese visitors to Indonesia

A VISIT TO INDONESIA BY GROUP OF PORTUGUESE NATIONALS OF EAST TIMOR ORIGIN

Press Release from the Embassy of The Republic of Indonesia in Washington DC., March 22, 1994

A group of 24 Portuguese nationals of East Timorese origin arrived in Jakarta on March 17 for a one-month stay in Indonesia for what is described as a family reunion.

The visit, termed as a cultural diplomacy according to Indonesia's Ambassador at large, FX Lopez da Cruz, will be reciprocated by a visit of a 50-member delegation from East Timor which leave for Portugal on May 13.

The group is led by Abilio Oliveira Sereno, who speaks fluent Indonesian, and who at one time was vehemently opposed to the East Timor Integration into Indonesia. "Our arrival here is strictly a family visit, many of us want to meet with our relatives here" said Abilio Oliviera Sereno.

The group later met with Siti Hardiyanti Indra Rukmana, the daughter of President Suharto who chairs The Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association. Siti Hardiyanti said that she hoped the visit would help attract other East Timorese living abroad to return to their home land.

The group planned to visit several Indonesian cities, including Yogyakarta and Denpasar, before heading for Dili, the capital of East Timor, where they will celebrate Easter.

The visit is a follow-up of the meeting last December in London between East Timorese leaders in East Timor and those living exile. Lopez said the participants at the London meeting agreed that goodwill should be promoted.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO SPEAKS OUT, REACTION

INDONESIAN ACADEMIC'S BRAVE MOVE

Today's West Australian, Sat March 12, has the FRONT PAGE full of one subject: East Timor.

"Dili massacre lies exposed" Exclusive report by Andre Malan.

"I'm no traitor: academic"

"East Timor: chronology of a tragedy"

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It reports that leading Indonesian academic, Dr. George Aditjondro, a lecturer at Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, Central Java, says "that he has confirmed that 271 East Timorese were killed in the 1991 Dili massacre and that another 200 went missing after the incident.

"Two academic papers released to the West Australian this week confirm many of the world's worst fears about what really happened in East Timor since the 1975 Indonesian invasion.

"Dr. Aditjondro, who has researched East Timor for more than 20 years, says companies set up by Indonesian military officers who mounted the invasion have monopolised almost the entire economy."

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Pages 10 & 11, except for 2 inches of ads along the bottom:

"Timor exposed"

"Truth first casualty of swift, brutal invasion"

"Slaughter alerted the world"

"WA spell for Jakarta's elite troops"

"Praise for academic's stand"

"Isolation nurtured freedom hopes"

Page 12: Editorial (all of it): "Lifting the veil on human rights abuses in East Timor"

DILI MASSACRE EXPOSED

The Western Australian (weekend edition), 12 March 1994. By Andre Malan

A LEADING Indonesian intellectual says he has confirmed that 271 East Timorese were killed in the 1991 Dili massacre and that another 200 went missing after the incident.

Two academic papers released to the West Australian this week by Dr. George Aditjondro confirm many of the world's fears about what has really happened in East Timor since the 1975 Indonesian invasion.

Dr. Aditjondro, who has researched East Timor over more than 20 years says companies set up by Indonesian military officers who mounted the invasion have monopolised almost the entire economy.

Dr. Aditjondro's findings support the worst case estimates that 60,000 men, women and children, or about 10 per cent of the population, were killed in the fighting, or died as a result of war-related deprivations in the first months of the war.

He also says he has the names of 271 people who were killed and more than 200 who went missing after the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the capital, Dili, in November 1991.

The Indonesian Government, which conducted an inquiry into the killings, claims that only about 50 people were killed and 57 went missing.

Other conclusions in the research papers are that:

- Indonesian troops landed in East Timor early in 1975 - a contraction of Indonesian claims that only civilian volunteers were involved at that stage.
- Reports by foreign observers that napalm and defoliants such as Agent Orange were used in the suppression of East Timor are likely to be true.
- A culture of violence and intimidation had been fostered in the territory, with thousands of Indonesian troops guilty of using Timorese women sexually, and people being encouraged to spy on one another.
- Some Indonesians have destroyed or desecrated Roman Catholic religious symbols.
- Some Indonesian Government programs have drastically reduced the cultural diversity and architectural styles of the native Maubere people.
- East Timor is suffering sever ecological problems because of the occupation.

Dr. Aditjondro says he has no evidence to support allegations made in a recent television documentary that between 50 and 200 injured people were murdered by

troops and hospital staff after the Dili massacre.

His outspokenness is likely to cause anger in Indonesia, which is involved in a campaign to allay overseas concern about East Timor.

It could also embarrass Australia, which has adopted a softly approach to human rights in Indonesia and has been counselled the US to do the same.

I'M NO TRAITOR: ACADEMIC

"I AM not a traitor," says the man whose research into Indonesia's conduct in East Timor is likely to increase international pressure on the Jakarta Government.

Dr. George Aditjondro, whose academic qualifications span environmental sciences and anthropology, is a lecturer at Sataya Wacama University in Salatiga, Central Java.

He is well known inside Indonesia and overseas as one of the increasingly vocal post World War II generation of intellectuals.

He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in the United States, and in 1986 he was presented an award by President Suharto for being the Indonesian environmentalist of the year.

Coincidentally, Dr. Aditjondro left Indonesia yesterday on a short visit to Ethiopia.

He said he did not expect any problems re-entering the country, but anticipated that the authorities would accuse him of being a traitor and try to damage his credibility.

"But I am not a traitor, and my credibility is already established," he said.

Dr. Aditjondro's academic papers, purportedly on East Timor's ecology and culture, are certain to anger the Indonesian Government.

But he says it is the duty of democratic elements in Indonesia to lift the veil of secrecy from East Timor.

"I don't want the rest of the world to think that everybody in Indonesia accepts what has happened there," he said.

TRUTH FIRST CASUALTY OF SWIFT, BRUTAL INVASION

The West Australian, 12 March 1994. By Andre Malan

The truth about what happened in East Timor is only now beginning to emerge in Indonesia, says researcher George Aditjondro.

He said the official version that only civilian Indonesian volunteers were asked to help anti-communist groups fight the leftist Fretilin faction early in 1975 had been debunked by publication recently of a picture showing Indonesian troops landing in East Timor before the invasion.

He said anecdotal evidence was also mounting to support claims by foreign observers that napalm and defoliants were used in the invasion's early stages.

"Two sources I interviewed in East Timor told me, without my even asking them about a type of bomb that generated enough heat to melt the windows and glass-ware in a convent," he said.

According to Dr. Aditjondro, it is quite reasonable for an environmentalist to become involved in political issues.

"Environmental problems are not restricted to biological and non-human natural resources, but also encompass the distribution to sustainable living for the indigenous East Timorese," he said.

Dr. Aditjondro said his research had shown East Timor was suffering from the environmental impact of 18 years of war, compounded by the problems of big tracts of land being taken over by absentee owners and the flood of official "transmigrants" and spontaneous migrants.

He classed the big loss of life on East Timor as a direct environmental impact of the war.

"Ten per cent of the population of East Timor were killed or died from war-related deprivations in the first two months of the fighting. The death toll among the East Timorese quickly escalated during the succeeding years.

During the first three years of the war, the population in the territory dropped from 688,771 in 1974 to 329,271 in October 1978. What happened to the shortfall of 359,500 people?

"About 400 went into exile in Portugal and Australia in 1975-76, and a big number were forced to flee, or went voluntarily into the forests and mountains with Fretilin. But anecdotal accounts point to an exceeding high death toll.

"According to Alex Dirdja, an Indonesian Jesuit priest who was in East Timor in March 1979, a village in the district of Ainaro which had a population of 907 in 1976 had lost 5021 inhabitants. The priest sometimes had to bury four people in a single day.

"There have also been many indirect consequences of the war. The most important of all is the fostering of a culture of violence, which reached its zenith in the Dili massacre in 1991."

Dr. Aditjondro said East Timorese had developed an appalling habit of spying on each other and trying to solve conflicts by making reports, often false, about the activities of their rivals to the security forces.

"This has given birth to a new vocabulary, strongly associated with the methods of execution and torture employed during the first five years of the war, such as

'mandi laut' (bathing in the sea) and 'piknik ke Bullino' (going on a picnic to Bullino - an alleged torture place).

"As with armies of occupation everywhere, sexual harassment of native women by thousands of Indonesian soldiers has been unavoidable."

Some women simply succumbed to the sexual pressures of the soldiers, while others were sometimes successfully protected by their communities.

The burdens of women had also been increased by the loss of a many of their men, forcing them to take over as heads of household and to provide enough for the families' basic needs.

"Schoolchildren in East Timor often seen working on roads, something that is rare elsewhere in Indonesia, and many have to short their education to go off and work in factories in Indonesia."

Dr. Aditjondro said the economy of East Timor virtually had been taken over by subsidiaries of a company set up by the three officers who commanded the invasion of East Timor - Benny Murdani, Dading Kalbuadi and Sahala Rajagukguk - with the help of a small clique of Chinese businessmen, to finance military operations in East Timor.

The company, PT Batara Indra Group, controls the coffee, sandalwood-oil, sugar and marble quarrying industries, and has also been given most civil engineering projects in East Timor.

According Dr. Aditjondro, PT Batara Indra Group has links with the new casino on Australia's Christmas Island territory through entrepreneur Robbie Sumanpow, a close friend of the Suharto family, who is a major shareholder of both companies.

"Besides violating various articles of the land reform laws, the subsidiaries of the PT Batara Indra Group also appear to be able to ignore the provisions of environmental laws, particularly the requirement for environmental impact assessments," Dr. Aditjondro said.

He said landholdings were shifting out of the hands of native peasants in some parts of the territory where immigrants brought in from Java and Bali and "acquired" ricefields from the local owners without paying a cent in compensation.

"After losing their lives, as well as their political and economic independence, the Maubere native people are also losing their cultural identity because of Indonesian Government programs."

Dr. Aditjondro said there had been a big increase in the number of people describing themselves as Roman Catholics and the Church had boosted the construction of many new symbols such as crucifixes, Vir-

gin Mary statues and grottos on hills and mountains.

"The Indonesian security forces have confronted this symbolic challenge by constructing 'integration' monuments in as many towns and villages as possible. They have also covertly destroyed some of the Catholic symbols.

"The security apparatus produced interrogation reports which stated that those vandalistic and sacrilegious acts were carried out by parish activists carrying out the orders of priests. These are stories which no sane people believed, including a provincial prosecutor, a Muslim who had been educated in Catholic schools."

While vandalism of religious symbols was only occasional, one of the most persistent areas of conflict between the Church and the State in East Timor was family planning.

He said the Church had got unanimous support even from pro-Indonesian East Timorese leaders over the use of contraceptive injections on secondary schoolgirls.

"The latest trend in Indonesia's family planning program in East Timor, injections that can prevent pregnancy for six months, and implants which prevent it for two years, is an area of conflict that may continue for many years."

Dr. Aditjondro said the security forces had staged a number of bizarre "blood oath" ceremonies intended to show the outside world that Fretilin supporters had dropped their quest for independence and had become good Indonesian citizens. Hundreds of people were rounded up and small samples of their blood were taken and mixed with the blood of eight roosters and six bottles of whiskey.

"They had to drink the mixture and pledge loyalty to the Indonesian flag and, finally, have a meal with the parish priest.

LIFTING THE VEIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN EAST TIMOR

Editorial, The West Australian (Weekend Comment) 12 March 1994

Indonesian intellectual Dr. George Aditjondro has shed new light on human rights abuses and other disturbing developments in East Timor since Indonesian troops invaded the territory in the mid-1970s.

His findings support fears that 10 per cent of the population died in the early stages of the conflict and confirm that the death toll from the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili in November 1991 was much higher than official Indonesian figures. They raise serious questions for the Suharto Government.

They also expose the moral weakness of Australia's policy of appeasement on the

Indonesian takeover and its kid-gloves response to the outrage at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Dr. Aditjondro is an eminent academic who was spent more than 20 years researching events in East Timor. He is not the type of person who would make grave claims lightly.

His findings support worst case estimates that 60,000 were killed in the invasion and that hundred of thousands disappeared in the next three years. He says he has names of 271 people killed and more than 200 missing in the Santa Cruz affair-compared with the Indonesian Government's figure of 50 killed and 57 missing.

His other findings are equally alarming—that a culture of violence and intimidation have been fostered in the territory, that Indonesian troops sexually assault Timorese women, napalm and defoliants such as Agent Orange were probably used in the suppression of East Timor and that corruption is endemic through military-backed companies that now monopolise the territory's economy.

Indonesia is reaping the consequences of its years of duplicity and secrecy in East Timor. It has given laundered versions of clashes between troops and protesters, falsified death counts and prevented outside journalists from getting in to report the facts.

Australia has tried to walk a fine line between support for human rights and the need to cement links with South East Asia. Its softly, softly approach has gone as far as asking the US to overlook human rights abuses in Indonesia.

As a result, Australia has left itself open to charges of double standards on human rights. It has failed to shake off the perception that it takes a harsh line only when its self-interest is not threatened. It would earn more respect if it was consistent and frank about abuses.

Australia has been too easily persuaded by Indonesian and Malaysian views that in developing countries human rights should take a back seat while national economies grow and that democracy will flow naturally from such development.

That argument ignores the reality that Japan and Hong Kong have to grow vigorously without being authoritarian regimes.

Australia needs a productive relationship with Indonesia that acknowledges cultural and historical differences while being mature enough to withstand occasional diplomatic strains.

Dr. Aditjondro's expose adds more weight to the argument that Australia should speak out against gross human rights abuses like those in the scale of the Dili massacre and the subjugation of the East Timorese.

MILITARY ACCUSED OF ABUSES IN TIMOR (AUSTRALIAN GOV'T RESPONSE)

The Sydney Morning Herald, 15 March 1994, By Lindsay Murdoch. Abridged

(This article is similar to The West Australian which we posted already. Anyone still interested please let us know. We will gladly do it. Following is Australian Govt.'s response.

The Australian Government was non-committal last night about Dr. Aditjondro's allegations.

A spokeswoman for the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, said Australian Embassy officials in Jakarta had been asked to try to establish whether there was any substance to Dr. Aditjondro's reports.

Indonesian Embassy officials in Canberra were not available for comment. The embassy is closed because of the Islamic religious observance of Ramadan.

INDONESIA DENIES ADITJONDRO ALLEGATIONS

Voice of America, 3/17/94. By Dan Robinson, Bangkok

Intro: the Indonesian government has denied an allegation by a prominent (Indonesian) scholar 271 people were killed in the 1991 army massacre in East Timor – far more than the official figure given by Jakarta. V-O-A correspondent Dan Robinson has details:

Earlier this month, reported remarks by Indonesian anthropologist and ecologist George Aditjondro re-ignited the controversy over the 1991 incident in East Timor.

An Australian newspaper quoted Mr. Aditjondro – a lecturer at a university in Java – as saying 271 people were killed by Indonesian troops who fired on a funeral procession for an independence activist in Dili.

The newspaper – the "West Australian" – said Mr. Aditjondro gave the figure in one of two academic papers, but also told one of the newspaper's reporters he had the names of the 271 victims.

After an inquiry into the Dili incident, the Indonesian government eventually gave a figure of 50 dead and 57 missing. Human-rights groups, witnesses and Timor rebel representatives said the real toll could have exceeded 200.

An Indonesian Foreign Ministry statement Thursday dismisses Mr. Aditjondro's reported findings. It says they were not

based on facts and that Mr. Aditjondro had never been involved in research on East Timor.

Indonesia's image has been battered since the 1991 Dili killings, which set off a wave of international criticism.

In its latest report, the United Nations Human Rights Commission expresses concern over continuing allegations of human-rights violations in East Timor. It urges Jakarta to continue investigating the missing and calls for humane treatment for prisoners.

However, the report was widely seen as mild – even as a victory for Jakarta. Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas describes it as balanced and soft.

Indonesia has taken a number of steps aimed at satisfying critics of its human-rights policies in East Timor.

Foreign journalists were allowed to visit Dili in February. The government said the international red cross would have access to prisoners.

Indonesia has made it clear it has no intention of pulling out of East Timor, which it annexed after Portugal's withdrawal in 1975.

However, Indonesia and Portugal have been holding UN-sponsored talks on East Timor. The next round is scheduled for May.

INDONESIA DENIES ALLEGATION ON EAST TIMOR DEATH TOLL

Aditjondro "knows nothing," says Jakarta

AP, 17 March 1994. Abridged

(Jakarta) The government on Thursday denied an Indonesian scholar's claim that the military killed 271 pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor in November 1991.

A statement by the Foreign Office said the scholar, George Aditjondro, has never been involved in research in East Timor.

"What has been written by Dr. Aditjondro is solely his own opinion and is not based on facts," the statement said.

"It is surprising that Dr. Aditjondro who has never been involved in research in East Timor has suddenly claimed to be an expert on this area," it said.

In papers reported by Australian newspapers last week, Aditjondro spoke of a 'culture of violence' in East Timor. He also accused Indonesia of economic exploitation in the territory.

"What has been the result of his research is totally valueless and tends to be misleading," the Foreign Office said

IF THERE IS PROOF, ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST HIM

Republika and Jawa Pos, 18 March 1994. Abridged

(Jakarta) It may be necessary to take action against Dr. George Junus Aditjondro, said the Central Java military commander, Major-General Soeyono, if there is strong evidence regarding his statements about the question of East Timor in the Australian press. He said that the lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University does not know anything about the province of East Timor.

He regretted the fact that Aditjondro poses as an expert on East Timor. 'He hasn't even been to East Timor and he hasn't carried out any investigations about the number of casualties in East Timor. So where did the information he gave to the Australian press come from?' said the military commander in an angry voice.

According to the major-general who has himself seen service in East Timor in the 1980s, the casualties fell not because of the Indonesian army. It was because of the civil war which they themselves brought on themselves, plus the factor of hunger. These two things are the primary reasons for large numbers of East Timorese dying. It had nothing to do with any brutality on the part of the Indonesian armed forces. 'And yet, someone who knows nothing about the matter thinks that the casualties were caused by our army,' he said.

Starvation happened because the East Timorese did not have adequate stocks of food and that was because, during the civil war, the people were unable to till the fields. But after the army came to East Timor, they were mobilised to encourage the people to till the fields and to plant rice. Ultimately, they built up food stocks which they could store under their own roofs.

This is why the military commander deeply regretted the statements made by Aditjondro to the Australian press. 'If he knows nothing, it's better to say nothing, particularly to the outside (world).'

The statements by Aditjondro reminded the military commander of the Australia-based publication, 'Progress,' produced by a bunch of anti-government Indonesians and some Australians. It is still being posted to Indonesia, he said.

'The subscribers are students who are unhappy with the government, but I know who they all are. It is very dangerous indeed. To resolve this problem, we have to draw a clear line, between those who follow the government and those who are anti-government.'

The commander compared all this to the 'very pregnant' statements before the G30S/PKI [1965] when the workers and peasants were being armed. Now they are using the pen as their weapon, but the aim is the same, to discredit the Indonesian government.

Mbak Tutut

The chair of the Indonesia-Portuguese Friendship Association Mrs. Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana regretted the fact that an Indonesian should have spoken out about our internal secrets to foreigners. [That is really what she is quoted as saying.]

That's not all, she said, as what he said was very inaccurate. She feels that the person in question doesn't have the courage to speak out about East Timor. 'Why doesn't he speak out in Indonesia? It's because he doesn't dare to do so.'

Mbak Tutut challenged Aditjondro not to feel reluctant to pass on the facts he has to the authorities in Indonesia. If what he says is true, report them here. Why does he only do this abroad?' she said.

Jawa Pos, reporting the same statement of Soeyono, quoted the military commander as saying it would not be up to him to take action against Aditjondro because it was a matter for the Foreign Ministry. 'If necessary, we will report the matter to the Foreign Ministry. It is a matter for them to handle.'

INFIGHT SUPPORTS GEORGE ADITJONDRO

Media Release, March 22, 1994

The Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights on 22 March 1994 released the following Media Release in connection with the response by Indonesian authorities to the recent publication of statements by Dr. Aditjondro based on his research in East Timor. George Aditjondro has strongly criticised the effects of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor both on the population of the island and its ecology.

The problem of East Timor has again come to the fore in recent days as a result of Australian media reports based on interviews with Dr. George Aditjondro, lecturer in post Graduate studies at the Christian University of Satyawacana in Salatiga. Dr. Aditjondro referred to human rights violations taking place in East Timor.

In fact, long before the Australian media reports, George Aditjondro had already actively been researching several impacts of development, both on the environment and on human rights, in East Timor since it was declared part of Indonesia. This research has

been strengthened by his own personal observations while on assignment there as TEMPO journalist in 1974-75.

The results of his research have been presented in an open and scientific manner, both to post graduate students at Satyawacana as well as at other seminars where Aditjondro has taken part either as a member or a speaker. In particular, a very critical paper about 'The Effect on the Environment and on Human Rights in East Timor Resulting from the Protracted War Situation' was presented at an international gathering of the Friends of the Earth, an environmental NGO with world wide membership, including the former Environment Minister of Indonesia, Emil Salim.

Because of the above, it appears strange and reactionary if Markus Wauran of the PDI Fraction in Parliament, Mrs. Siti Hardianti Rukmana, the Head of the Indonesia Portugal Friendship Association, and Department of Foreign Affairs members only just now criticise the results of this research and threaten that they will gag George Aditjondro.

In response to the reaction of the above named three parties, INFIGHT feels it needs to provide the following comments and appeals:

1. It is not relevant to question a publication which is the result of academic research in a country with a political system unable to guarantee freedom of expression, or the freedom to obtain and distribute information. In such a climate political interests are the order of the day, and the principles of truth and the pursuit of knowledge have no place. The Indonesian press inside Indonesia are not easily able to forget the fate of the three Jakarta-Jakarta (a weekly magazine) journalists who were made inactive for reasons which were not made explicit after they published the results of their investigations into the 1991 Dili incident. At the time of the Talangsari and Lampung incidents more than a few journalists were forced to play a game of cat and mouse with the security apparatus in an attempt to conceal the findings contained in their coverage of events. A number of journalists even had their cameras seized and returned again only after the film had been taken.

2. Neither the government nor the parliament should interfere with or pose a threat to academic freedom for such freedom is not a product of political interests, but rather that of healthy thought processes and scientific principles. It is on this basis that research has been conducted in an accountable manner on the 1945 Constitution by a number of Ph.D. candidates. Scientific research should be approached in a scientific manner and not a political one. An overtly political approach of this kind shows up the

excessive intervention of the power holders in the world of academia. "My country right or wrong" is political jargon. The language of human rights, science and democracy states instead: "right is right and wrong is wrong."

3. In the spirit of the above principles, INFIGHT supports the proposal that an open dialogue on the question of human rights violations, not only those perpetrated in East Timor, be initiated. INFIGHT also supports the call for investigations into human rights violations perpetrated in the past, provided that the above are conducted in the absence of pressure and in a climate of openness and freedom. In addition, the investigations should be conducted by a team or body which fulfills the criteria of full independence and credibility.

Jakarta, 22 March 1994

Saleh Abdullah, Coordinator

DR GEORGE ADITJONDRO'S INTERVIEW ON ABC/TV LATELINE, SYDNEY

23 March 1994

Report and comments from Agio Pereira:

Tuesday night, Sydney time, a leading Indonesian intellectual speaks out for Indonesia. For the first time, in a powerful public statement, an Indonesian intellectual speaks out publicly in Australia to honour his nation and his people; to show that the crimes committed in East Timor by the Indonesian military government is something the Indonesian people and intellectuals are not proud of. He spoke eloquently about the crimes committed by the Indonesian military against the people of East Timor, NOT in a gesture against Indonesia, but in favour of an Indonesian nation which he wants to be proud of.

Dr. Aditjondro proved for the first time that supporting East Timor does not mean taking a stand against Indonesia, let alone the Indonesian people; it means taking a stand to also honour Indonesia as a nation. I think that was the feeling that was sprouted from that interview. The image that all Indonesians are murders was, I hope, dismissed by this courageous Indonesian.

Once everything has been said about this historical interview, one can only hope that many more Aditjondros emerge in Indonesia so that peace and justice can return to East Timor sooner, rather than later; and... Indonesia, too, can have a brighter future.

In his final remark last night, Dr. Aditjondro said that Indonesia as a nation can not have a future if it is to be built with fear and exploitation. To fight for the future of Indonesia, Dr. Aditjondro has rightly identified that he must start with justice for the

people of East Timor. We hope his voice can be echoed as much as possible.

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Last night, ABC/TV program LATELINE aired an interview with Dr. George Aditjondro. The interview was made in the previous day while Dr. Aditjondro was in Singapore, on his way back to Jakarta.

Dr. Aditjondro is a well known Indonesian environmentalist and anthropologist; he lectures on research methodology and ecology. He is currently employed as a lecturer by the Sataya University in Salatiga.

In his interview, Dr. Aditjondro showed no hesitation to back the data produced by the Timorese to denounce the massacre in East Timor - Nov. 12 Massacre of Sta. Cruz. He said he is prepared to do that because the data presented by the Timorese have been carefully studied, cross-checked against names, origin, profession and relatives, which, as a lecturer in research methodology, he finds it credible; in contrast, the Indonesians' own data stating that 19 bodies said to be found in a mass grave in Hera, did not have even their names or other particulars about them.

When asked about his expertise on East Timor, he stated that he was in East Timor prior to the invasion in 1974 prior to the invasion as a journalist, covering for Indonesian TEMPO. He recently spent 10 days in East Timor researching for his recently published papers. Apart from these, he has been researching on East Timor over these last eighteen years in libraries of Cornell University in the United States and also in Portugal, using the books in Portuguese to research on the anthropology of East Timor. Therefore, he said, he can claim some expertise on East Timor issue.

Regarding the question of whether the Timorese agree with the integration or not, Dr. Aditjondro asked:

- if the Timorese agree with integration why is that that there are - according to Indonesian own sources - eight battalions in East Timor?
- if the Timorese agree with the integration, why is that that there are so many secret intelligence agents in dili?
- if the Timorese agree with the integration, why is that that the Timorese can't even visit the graves of their relatives in the Sta. Cruz Cemetery?

To tackle the question of "development"

Dr. Aditjondro said that it is true that so much infrastructure have been created in East Timor but, he noted, these infrastructures serve a military purpose; he emphasised the fact that asphalted roads are found mainly along the main roads where population from the mountains have been forced to

live in new settlements for military control and that the asphalted roads coincide with areas where transmigration is occurring. If one look at the areas where no military interest or transmigration occurs, there are no such infrastructures.

To end the interview, he asked for support from Churches, media, and NGOs as he has already been warn by the military that he could face reprisal when he returns to his hometown. He also fears that he could be expelled from the University like his fellow compatriot who also spoke out against their Government.

HOOLIGANS ATTACK LECTURER'S HOME

TAPOL report, 24 March 1994

Unknown hooligans threw stones at the home of George Aditjondro in Salatiga, just hours after he returned home from a ten-day trip abroad. The stones broke windows in the front of the house. The attack occurred just before one in the morning, three hours after he had arrived home, with his wife who had come to meet him at the airport.

There have been many attacks by the government, channelled through the press, since Aditjondro's criticisms of Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor surfaced in the Australian press two weeks ago.

The Central Java military commander is exerting pressure on the rector of the university where Aditjondro works, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, to sack him but it is understood that some members of the academic staff will oppose such an act of repression against one of Indonesia's foremost sociologists

THREAT TO GEORGE ADITJONDRO

From: Gerry Van Klinken, March 24

According to news just received from Salatiga, George Aditjondro experienced no difficulty returning to Indonesia after giving a television interview about East Timor. But last night (23-24 March) unknown persons threw stones at their home, breaking several windows. The rector of Satya Wacana University had earlier (before the interview) told his wife he might not be able to resist military pressure to evict George from the university.

Meanwhile, Australian papers report today that Foreign Minister Senator Evans told parliament the death figures of the Dili massacre that George has quoted have been around for some time, as have a number of other lists, and he had urged the Jakarta government to work harder on clarifying them than it had to date.

The rector's address is Dr. John Ihalauw, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Jl Diponegoro 52-60, Salatiga 507111, Indonesia, fax +62-298-81420. George can also be reached on this address and fax number.

ADITJONDRO DEFENDS THESIS AGAINST CRITICS

Jakarta Post, 24 March 1994

(Jakarta) Noted Indonesian scholar George Junus Aditjondro, whose paper on East Timor has been strongly criticised by the government, insists that his findings on the number of victims of the Dili incident are accurate.

Aditjondro told reporters that he could defend his assertion that the number of victims of the tragic clash between government soldiers and protesters on 12 November 1991 was 271 people and not 50, as was suggested by the findings of a government-sponsored investigation.

He said he also had the list of 250 who had disappeared since the tragedy in East Timor.

The lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, Central Java, said his findings were based on information supplied by a Lisbon-based organisation, Peace is Possible in East Timor which had the names, addresses and backgrounds of all the victims.

He added that of all the investigations of the incident, including the government's official inquest, the group's findings were the most complete and reliable.

'Others had no names and addresses. No other source information is as complete as this one,' he told an impromptu press conference held at the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI)

Aditjondro returned on Tuesday night from a trip to Ethiopia to attend a meeting of Global NGO Forum on Ethiopia.

The controversy about his paper started last week after a number of Australian newspapers reported its findings.

His findings were revealed in two stories (sic) entitled, 'In the Shadow of Mount Ramelau, Some Sketches of East Timorese Cultures' and 'From Memo to Tutuala, A Kaleidoscope of Environmental Problems in East Timor.' The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has categorically denied many of his claims, saying the research was not based on fact. It also questioned the expertise of Aditjondro on East Timor problems.

Aditjondro said he has conducted research on East Timor for more than 20 years, starting when he was a reporter for Tempo magazine in the 1970s.

The information on the victims was compiled by East Timor health and church

officials in Dili and cross-checked by the organisation in Lisbon

URGE DUTCH MINISTERS TO SUPPORT GEORGE ADITJONDRO

From Jusfiq Hadar, March 28, 1994

Dutch Prime Minister R. Lubbers and Minister of Foreign Affairs P. Kooijmans are going soon to Indonesia for an official visit. The precise date has not been released yet but probably in the first or second week of April.

The Dutch NGO's are putting them under pressure to place human rights high on the agenda during that visit and there is a fair chance that they will do, in spite of the intense lobbying for moderation from the Dutch enterprises which have interests in Indonesia.

Given the harassment of the Indonesian military authorities on George Aditjondro, BTS launches an urgent appeal to all solidarity groups working on Indonesia and East Timor to send a fax urgently to R. Lubbers and P. Kooijmans to ask the Indonesian government to give protection to George Aditjondro and to ask the military authorities and other governmental bodies to stop putting pressure on the rector of the Satya Wacana University to dismiss George Aditjondro.

The fax number of Prime Ministers R. Lubbers is +31 70 35 64 683; the Fax number of Minister of Foreign Affairs P. Kooijmans is + 31 70 85 098.

OPEN LETTER TO SUPPORT GEORGE ADITJONDRO

From: Gerry VanKlinken, March 28

Cover letter about Open Letter to Satya Wacana Rector re George Aditjondro

Dear colleague,

Perhaps you saw the interview with Dr. George Yunus Aditjondro on the ABC programme "Lateline" Tuesday evening (22 March), in which he spoke frankly about the situation in East Timor. Following negative comments by the Central Java military commander, the rector of his university told George's wife Esti he may not be able to resist military pressure to sack George for his outspokenness. During the night after his return home (22 March), George and Esti's house was stoned by unknown persons, breaking several windows. George's views have been noted in all Indonesian mainstream media. They provoked a call from a PDI parliamentarian for George's arrest, and expressions of regret from the

Foreign Affairs Department and from Presidential daughter Mbak Tutut, who heads the so-called "London reconciliation process." His name has been eliminated from the list of speakers at a seminar in Dili 4-5 May. But several Indonesian NGOs and academics, including his colleague Arief Budiman, have supported him.

George recently completed a Ph.D. in environmental policy at Cornell University and now lectures in the university's Postgraduate Programme for Development Studies. He likens his concern for East Timor to that of American academics assessing the impact of the Vietnam war.

The suggestion has arisen to collect signatures for an open letter to the Satya Wacana rector in support of George Aditjondro. The letter (below) focusses on the issue of academic freedom. I invite you to respond to me as soon as possible (preferably email) saying you are happy to append your name to this letter. Please be aware it may be quoted in the media.

If I can be of any assistance in providing further information I shall be only too glad.

Regards,

Gerry van Klinken

email: <G.VanKlinken@ais.gu.edu.au>

fax: +61-7-844.1638

Open letter from academics in Australia and elsewhere about Dr. George Aditjondro.

Dr. John O Ihalauw, Rector
Satya Wacana Christian University
Salatiga 50711 Indonesia

Dear Dr. Ihalauw,

Satya Wacana University has built a reputation for excellence within Indonesia and abroad. Both its high educational standards and its important contributions to public debate are well known. International scholars value it as a window on Indonesia. The reason for this reputation is quite simply that Satya Wacana has always allowed its scholars to acquire and exchange knowledge freely.

Recent public statements on East Timor by your staff member Dr. George Aditjondro are entirely in the spirit of that academic freedom, and they have added to the university's reputation. Dr. Aditjondro is himself well known and respected in Australia and elsewhere in both academic and NGO circles. We believe that pressure to forbid Dr. Aditjondro from continuing his work at Satya Wacana, if successful, would do irreparable damage both to the university's standing and to the constructive role of academia in Indonesian public life.

We recognize that academic freedoms are much more costly in your country than in ours, and for that reason also more precious. As scholars with wide-ranging academic

interests in Indonesia we therefore offer our moral support in your difficult task of maintaining those freedoms.

[signed]

COMMENTS ON DR. ADITJONDRO'S FINDINGS

From a colleague who must remain anonymous. March 24, 1994.

Dear readers,

Having read DR. George J. Aditjondro's academic paper which appeared in the West Australian recently, one may wonder what happened with George Aditjondro as questioned by a few people here in the net? As a colleague of George Aditjondro for years, I have no intention to contribute the 'pros and cons' about him, rather an expression of my personal view on what he has done so far in regards to the East Timor issue. Hope this would be of help.

As expressed in his interview with ABC in its 'Lateline' program from Singapore on his way home to Jakarta from Ethiopia, George indeed has long been involved on the East Timor case as a 'Tempo journalist' and in 1974 he went to Dili interviewing José Ramos Horta. (Please have a look at his article papered in Tempo magazine _1974_ sorry, I forgot the exact month). Since then he has been editing news, press coverage and commentary from different sources on East Timor. In reality he has taken a combination of 'low and high profile' on the course of East Timor for almost two decades. As far as East Timor issues are concerned, his findings reveal a 'climax' of a long watchdog microscope.

In my humble view, the source of information he has gathered so far is authentic. Claims from the Indonesian government officials (statements from the DEPLU, and that of Sabam Siagam, Indonesian ambassador to Australia) were somehow too hasty. With a condescending attitude from the government to brush off George's findings, it's perceived that these denials were groundless. Time has come to prove the untold story in the eyes of the international community.

He went to Cornell University, USA, doing his Masters and Doctorate Dissertation. During his period of stay in the US, East Timor is one of George Aditjondro's interests apart from his expertise on the environmental issues in Irian Jaya. (He spent about 5 years working at YPMD_ Yayasan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa_ in Jaya Pura, Irian Jaya, before pursuing his academic career in the US in 1980s and 1990s).

Apart from doing his academic thesis, he had frequent chances of sharing the East Timor tragedy with Prof. Ben Anderson of

Cornell University (a well-known adherent of East Timor who has written numerous articles on East Timor) and other prominent individuals in the US. Prof. Ben Anderson was George Aditjondro's Advisor. In July 1992, a conference on Indonesia and East Timor held by Oporto University, in Oporto, Portugal, which obviously was attended by George Aditjondro and one or two Indonesians. Therefore he knows the 'ins and out' of the whole story. Presumably he got the names of the November 12 massacre victims (271) at that event. By combining with his latest trip to East Timor for 10 days (In August 1993), one may assure that he has convincingly reinforced his findings.

He returned to Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, Central Java, in 1988, working as a lecturer of Research Methodology at the Postgraduate Program and acting as a special adviser (staf ahli rektorat) for the rector. He joined with other prominent intellectuals from that institution (such as DR. Arief Budiman, DR. Liek Wilardjo, Ariel Heryanto, and other big names which I can't mention here one by one) by launching critical comments on related areas (environmental issues, pengurusan tanah, etc.) which are of importance in their eyes. However, his method of approach to the problem of East Timor is different of the ones performed by Arief Budiman, Dr. Juwono Sudarsono and other leading intellectuals.

One should take note carefully, he is an Indonesian, (not a propagandist nor a traitor) who is vehemently criticising the current regime's system in East Timor. One of the interesting features in his recent findings is that he took a radical stance of 'objective and realistic' by displaying facts and impacts of the war in East Timor.

Over the last three years he has been critical to the involvement of LPM UKSW (Community Service Institute of Satya Wacana Christian University) in East Timor. He is very concerned over the implications of environmental degradation across East Timor. His special concerns on environmental issues throughout Indonesia led him to get an 'environmental award' Hadiah kalpataru from President Suharto at Merdeka Palace in 1986.

In a special occasion during which the REPELITA TEAM (a five-year Development planning Team assigned by the Interior Department and Provincial Government with BI as a sponsor) presented their findings at Satya Wacana, it was George who has been vocal and critical on the issue. Since then he has persistently taken critical comments in the two seminars on East Timor held at the Postgraduate Program of Satya Wacana.

Three of his recent critical articles on East Timor entitled :

1. From Memo to Tutuala (1993);
2. Prospek Pembangunan Timor Timur Setelah Penangkapan Xanana Gusmão (The Prospect of East Timor Development after Xanana's capture) (1993)
3. In THE Shadow of Mount Ramelau (1993).

The article number 2 was denied to be published by 'KRITIS' a quarterly journal of Satya Wacana as it was too critical so as avoiding side effects.

The latter is a paper presented at the PIBBI (program Intensive Belajar Bahasa dan Budaya Indonesia) _ Intensive Program of Learning Indonesian Language and Culture (an annual program offered by Satya Wacana Christian University) to Australians in December-January. Having revised the latest content, he sent it to the West Australian recently, as a matter of fact a 'storm' has just emerged.

It's understandable that such a result would never been appeared in the official Indonesian press mainstream. Take a look on what happened with Prof. Mubyarto's findings (of Gajah mada University, Jogyaakarta) their official position is that Indonesian incorporation has been accepted but the integration has been deeply traumatic and alienating experience and that major changes to Indonesia's East Timor policy are imperative. However, they too suffer from reprisals. Their findings which was due to present in Dili (the capital), was barred by the security forces. (I leave the readers guess what 's the reason ?).

Without undermining George Aditjondro's devotion to the people of East Timor, I just admire of his marvel ability to be a brave academic person who takes the opposite stance against the current regime. No wonder he might be facing consequences of reprisals from the security officers, but his move is greatly acknowledged by those who have misfortune to do not express themselves in such a way.

TWO MORE UKSW LECTURERS THREATENED

TAPOL Report, 30 March 1994

We have just heard from Salatiga that two colleagues of George Aditjondro, Dr. Arief Budiman and Dr. Ariel Heryanto, have received letters from the Rector of the University, Dr. John Ihalaw, threatening them with dismissal for speaking out in support of George.

We are seeking further details. In the meanwhile, any campaigning activities

should refer also to the threat of dismissal against these two senior lecturers.

CRITIC OF SUHAR TO'S TIMOR POLICY HARASSED

Green Left #137, March 30, 1994. By Sri Kristianti

JAKARTA - Well-known sociologist and lecturer George Aditjondro has publicly criticised the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Aditjondro, from the prestigious private Satya Wacana University in Java and a popular columnist in Tempo news weekly, told Kerry O'Brien on ABC's Late-line that 271 people were killed in the 1991 Dili massacre, not the 50 or so stated by the Indonesian government.

Aditjondro also told O'Brien that he was trying to break through the veil of secrecy on East Timor in Indonesia.

This is the first time an established and well-known Indonesian has publicly and unambiguously questioned government policy on East Timor. Some student and human rights activist groups, such as INFIGHT in 1991 and Progres magazine, have supported the East Timorese liberation struggle, but these groups, while growing in influence, do not have the media impact or influence of such a figure as Aditjondro.

Aditjondro made it very clear that his researches and visits to East Timor all lead to the conclusion that the East Timorese people did not support integration with Indonesia. "If the people support integration," he told O'Brien, "why are there eight battalions of Indonesian troops in East Timor? Why are there so many intelligence agents in Dili?"

On March 23, Aditjondro held a press conference at the Legal Aid Foundation in Jakarta where he repeated his claims. He stated that his findings on the massacre were based on information supplied by a Lisbon-based organisation which had the names, addresses and backgrounds of all the victims. The data was compiled by East Timor health and church officials in Dili.

The same day the Ministry of Foreign Affairs attacked Aditjondro, categorically denying all his claims.

On March 24 at approximately 11.00pm, Aditjondro's residence in Salatiga, East Java, was attacked by a mob who pelted his house with stones. According to activists here, incidents of this kind have happened before. Some years ago, the house of outspoken critic Arief Budiman was attacked under similar circumstances.

There are reports that the military is now applying pressure on Satya Wacana University for Aditjondro to be sacked.

ETAN/US SUPPORTS GEORGE ADITJONDRO

March 31, 1994

COURAGEOUS INDONESIAN PROFESSOR NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

Speaking Truth to Power can be Dangerous

In March 1994, Indonesia professor Dr. George Aditjondro published several articles in Australian newspapers detailing the scope of Indonesian genocide in East Timor and exposing the true consequences of the Dili massacre of November 12, 1991. His house has been stoned, his family threatened, and his job is in jeopardy.

Dr. Aditjondro's courageous actions are a test for Indonesian freedom - and for the ability of the Indonesian people to learn the truth of their government's actions in East Timor.

If he is able to speak out without serious punishment, it could be the beginning of the end of the widespread Indonesian public ignorance caused by the state-intimidated media.

On the other hand, if he is forced into non-personhood or exile, the signal to other Indonesian intellectuals will be devastating to free expression.

International opinion will make the difference.

Please contact Indonesian consulates in your area to let them know how you feel. Call their Ambassador Arifin Siregar in Washington at 202-775-5200 or fax him at 202-775-5365. Also let the U.S. government - especially your Senators and Representative (202-224-3121) know about this.

The Rector of Satya Wacana University, where Dr. Aditjondro teaches, has said he might not be able to resist pressure from the military to fire him. Please fax or write him to support academic freedom:

Below is a letter which is being circulated among academics in Australia and around the world. If you can sign it or help circulate it, please do. [See Gerry Van Klinken's posting]

Thank you.

East Timor Action Network/US

EDITOR ON GEORGE ADITJONDRO

Editor, 31 March 1994. By Nanang Junaedi. Translated from Indonesian, Abridged

ORIGINAL TITLE: "CONTROVERSY OVER GEORGE'S RESEARCH" <KONTROVERSI PENELITIAN GEORGE>

Remark: The openness with which previously standard accounts are here attributed to people on the wrong side of popular perceptions is quite refreshing. Not long ago it was unheard of to suggest in public that there were any Indonesian troops in East Timor at all at the beginning, let alone that they caused death and injury. Opinions such as George's were previously routinely attributed to anti-Indonesian foreigners with an axe to grind, but not here. G.

The most important points made by George Aditjondro in the West Australian of 12 March are repeated here - including death toll of 60 000 during the first two months following the entry into East Timor by Indonesian troops (sourced to a study by Bill Liddle, who is much read in Indonesian media), and a death toll of 271 at the Dili massacre of November 1991 (sourced to "an official report"). Although Diponegor Soeyono, Indonesia-Portuguese Friendship Association president Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana (Mbak Tutut) and PDI parliamentarian Markus Wauran all regretted George's statement, as did the Foreign Affairs Dept. in an official release of 16/3, George says he had repeatedly presented these results at academic gatherings in Indonesia before they appeared in the West Australian. He was prepared to debate them with anyone. The article suggests George's data could provide input to the next round of UN-sponsored Indonesian-Portuguese negotiations in May.

From: Gerry VanKlinken
<G.VanKlinken@ais.gu.edu.au>

INDONESIA PRESS CLIPS ON GEORGE ADITJONDRO

Local Javanese newspaper reports about George Aditjondro's statements on East Timor, 18 - 31 March 1994.

Remark: These clippings illustrate several things. Firstly that there is often a great deal more life in the provincial press than even in the Jakarta media. Secondly that noone is really seriously threatening George at the moment, though his university's rector is nervous and some government officials are upset. The local military keep passing the buck to Foreign Affairs. Interesting to see if a press ban follows Edy Sudradjat's remarks.

Wawasan and Suara Merdeka are Semarang papers, Kedaulatan Rakyat and Bernas are from Yogyakarta, Jawa Pos from Surabaya. Interestingly, the ABC television interview on 22 March, which unlike the West Australian newspaper was actually seen in Indonesia, has never been commented on in the Indonesian press!

Almost all reports repeat what is regarded as the substance of George's reports in the West Australian, namely the Dili massacre death toll of 271 ("over 200") and the death toll of 60 000 in the first two months after Indonesian troops landed in East Timor.

Gerry.

Jawa Pos 18/3 reports Diponegoro (Central Java) Military Area Commander Maj-Gen Soeyono as saying George is not an East Timor expert, his remarks are misleading. Suffering in East Timor was caused by Fretilin, and was relieved by the Indonesian army. But he said responsibility to act against George lay not with him but with the Foreign Affairs Departments. In another part of his speech he referred to "national traitors" who import "liberal" ideas that would threaten national unity.

Jawa Pos 18/3 quotes Parliamentarian Salvador Januari Ximenes in Dili as saying human rights in East Timor form the biggest diplomatic stumbling block to success at Geneva's Human Rights Commission every year. Human rights abuse in East Timor needs to be taken seriously.

Suara Merdeka 19/3 reports (ex-military) Central Java Governor Soewardi as saying the only correct information on East Timor is that given out by the government. Other reports come only from "people who don't like us."

Jawa Pos 19/3 reports remarks by two academics who defend George's academic credentials - Arief Budiman from Satya Wacana University and Gadjah Mada aca-

ademic Sofian Efendi. Arief says George has followed events in East Timor for 20 years. Sofian says the way to avoid an endless war of words between George and the government is not to take George to court, as Arief had challenged the government to do, but to commission an independent body to conduct fresh research.

Suara Merdeka 21/3 quotes Diponegoro Commander Soeyono, an East Timor veteran, rejecting George's claims of death in the territory. Indonesian soldiers only brought improved corn planting methods. But he admits a lot died of starvation, "we can't say how many."

Jakarta Post 24/3 & Kompas 25/3 report George Aditjondro's detailed defence of his thesis (not mentioning his TV interview that day). He does not claim to be an expert - only the East Timorese are experts - but he knows his stuff.

Kedaulatan Rakyat, Wawasan & Suara Merdeka 25/3 report the stoning of George's house and interview him on his views. The West Australian had merely quoted two papers which he had been circulating in Indonesia since August last year. He had thus not exactly made statements to the foreign press. It is not clear who stoned his house. The university rector had not reprimanded him, but he (the rector) feared for the impact on university projects.

Wawasan, Suara Merdeka & Kedaulatan Rakyat 26/3 quote Satya Wacana rector John Ihalauw as saying George's statements on East Timor are his own views and not those of the university. Publication of George's views could impact negatively on the university's government sponsored projects in East Timor. George had nothing to do with those projects, he said. But staff were free to express their personal views. The same issues quote George at length under the head "I didn't mean to dishonour the government." It was the result of objective research. He is prepared to debate his results with anyone. He regrets insinuations from the provincial Education Department, which has apparently suggested George is not registered with them as a postgraduate lecturer and doesn't know what he is talking about. He confessed he was a little taken aback when the West Australian gave prominence to his views on the number of victims.

Jawa Pos, Wawasan 29/3 quotes George rejecting complaints from the military in Dili (Col. Johnny Lumintang) that he never asked for a permit to do research there. "If that is the case, then East Timor is different

from the other 26 provinces, where you don't need a permit to do research," he said. He admitted he had not sent the military a copy of his research, which mostly concerned the environmental impact of the war. The absence of a permit did not invalidate the data. Wawasan gives more prominence to the complaints, also those from Foreign Affairs Dept.

Bernas 29/3 quotes George rejecting demands by the rector that controversial publications should be cleared with the rector first. It was not the rector's prerogative to decide if something was controversial, he said. The campus was a place for discussion of a variety of views, and the rector's only responsibility was to protect its citizens against outside pressure such as George was now experiencing. A piece of academic work was always the writer's responsibility, not that of the rector.

Suara Merdeka 30/3 quotes Diponegoro commander Soeyono as saying Aditjondro's East Timorese views were an affair for the Foreign Affairs Department, not for the security forces. He wondered if George had Foreign Affairs Depot permission for his research. The same edition says George will ask that the Dili massacre of Nov. 1991 be investigated by the National Commission on Human Rights. He hoped they would go to Dili and repeat the investigations of the National Honour Council of a couple of years ago. Arief Budiman thinks its a good idea. If Marsinah's death warranted investigation, what about the much greater number in Dili?

Kedaulatan Rakyat, Wawasan & Jawa Pos 30/3 report Defence Minister Edi Sudrajat requested the press not to report on George Aditjondro's East Timor papers anymore. "Don't write anymore about him, then only his wife and child will know his movements. Otherwise he'll feel more and more like a hero," he said. George's data on victims was definitely not true, he said. It was not necessary to respond to his report, no matter how scientific it was. "He has defiled the Indonesian nation before the world. Of course we are offended." It was not necessary to act against the West Australian, but against the one who did the talking. But he refused to say what action should be taken against George.

Bernas 31/3 reports Diponegoro commander Soeyono as saying the stoning of George's house might have been "just a trick to seek popularity." Or perhaps it might have been an attempt to discredit ABRI, just as the current fuss about Marsinah was being manipulated to discredit ABRI. But all that was just his "personal opinion." Per-

haps the stoning happened because Aditjondro's research was "wild," i.e. without a permit from the Foreign Affairs Department.

Papers 30/3, in a development that may or may not be related to George, two of George's colleagues have been threatened with dismissal from the university for "discrediting the dignity and good name of the university and university board." The two, Arief Budiman and Ariel Heryanto, both known as sharp social critics, were sent letters [back?]dated 10 March. The one to Arief was marked "final warning." Arief defied the rector to expel him: "My sins are many, not one statement of mine about the current rector or board was ever positive." Arief and Ariel had criticized the manner in which the rector John Ihalauw was appointed late last year.

TO FRIENDS WHO RESPONDED TO AN ETAN APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH GEORGE ADITJONDRO

From Gerry Van Klinken, April 5, 1992

Thank you for your concern for George. The letter has in fact already been sent. Its original intention was to include the signatures of academic Indonesianists from Australia and elsewhere. It was circulated on the Indonesia list moderated by John MacDougall to reach that sector. Circulation elsewhere was not planned. In the end, as the number of Indonesianists' signatories from outside Australia was small, we decided it would be more effective to limit it to the academic community in Australia, which was well represented.

If you feel you would like to express your support for George, as well as for Arief Budiman and Ariel Heryanto who, strangely, are also threatened with expulsion though not over East Timor, you could do so by writing to each of them (not in the wording of this letter) at: Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Salatiga 50711, Indonesia; fax +62-298-81420. Such letters will strengthen their hand in the public debate about academic freedom now going on in Indonesia. In fact it seems the immediate threat to George has passed, though he appears to be still under some internal censorship restrictions.

Kind regards
Gerry van Klinken

"DEATH OF A NATION" PREMIERES

KILLING THEM SOFTLY

Time Out (a weekly London listings magazine), Feb. 16-23 edition. By Sophy Ker-shaw. Slightly abridged

Is anyone out there looking for a cause? A tough, old-fashioned issue to campaign about? Well, you're in luck.

A really heartrending one is about to hit our TV screens, and the man banging the drum is John Pilger, Conscience-Raiser in Chief and scourge of Western governments. The story is the rape of East Timor, the issue British support for its oppressor, Indonesia.

East where? Well you might ask. One map shop in Covent Garden told Pilger they'd never heard of it. Timor is a small island in the Indonesian archipelago about 400 miles off Australia. The west is Indonesian; the east was a Portuguese colony until 1975, when it was granted independence. For a few months East Timor was free. Then, on December 7, the Indonesian army invaded.

Genocide is an overused word, but in this case it fits. In the following years 200,000 Timorese died, a third of the population. They died in battle, in concentration camps, in torture rooms, of starvation or disease.

East Timor was closed to the world and General Suharto, Indonesia's leader, began a rigid 'resocialising' programme, suppressing Timorese culture and flooding the island with immigrants - it's estimated one third of the population was not born there. The guerrilla resistance, Fretilin, fought on and the UN demanded withdrawal, but nothing happened.

Why? Because Indonesia is one of the West's most crucial trading partners. It's rich, right-wing, and vast, an investor's paradise; Indonesia also buys arms like Imelda bought shoes and Britain is its biggest supplier - British Aerospace recently closed a deal worth over GBP 500 million for Hawk aircraft. Our government blithely accepts Indonesian guarantees that the arms are not being used against the Timorese, but Pilger's film has eye-witness evidence that they are. When Pilger pointed out to defence minister Alan Clark that the public may be concerned, Clark replied: "I don't think the majority of people give a damn about it...unless those weapons are going to be used against our own troops."

Meanwhile America, policeman of the world and champion of Kuwait, is strangely silent; the last thing President Clinton wants

is another Cuba or a fragmented Indonesia with left-wing pockets. Australia is scared of riling its powerful neighbour, and has a good deal from General Suharto on the Timorese oil fields. There's really little hope for this tiny nation, unless public opinion explodes.

The first spark flew in November 1991. As 3,000 Timorese demonstrators mourned the death of a local hero the army opened fire, killing over 190 people. Lying with the wounded were cameraman Max Stahl and photographer Steve Cox. Cox's pictures were smuggled out in a tourist's knickers, and Stahl's film of the massacre was broadcast round the world. At last the East Timor story was out.

When Stahl's film came out Pilger decided this should be his next mission. There was to be a three-pronged secret visit: first Pilger and his longtime partner David Munro; then Max Stahl; and lastly Ben, a voluntary aid worker. With four people the chances of success were higher. "This was one of the most dangerous films I've done and the danger to me was for the film to be discovered. I didn't think I'd get in and if I did I thought I'd be thrown out very quickly," says Pilger.

The key question was their disguise. At first they were going to go as Portuguese priests, "but I suddenly realised I might be called on to say mass in Portuguese..." says Pilger. Then they decided to be ornithologists, and invested in a copy of the famous twitchers' book "Birds Of Borneo, Java And Bali," "but it was pointed out to us that a simple soldier might find all this absurd and put us in prison with our bird books, so that was scrapped." In the end they went posing as travel consultants, an ideal cover as Indonesia is desperate for (carefully controlled) tourism and the hard currency it brings.

They flew from Sydney to Bali on a holiday flight, took an internal flight to West Timor, and drove through the mountains to the East. Armed with tiny Hi-8 cameras, hidden in bags with gauze flaps over the lenses, they interviewed members of the resistance and witnesses to human rights abuse. Those who could be identified they got out to Portugal via an escape route.

The end film, a typical Pilger mix of damning evidence and bluster from politicians, is one of Pilger's most powerful to date. Most striking is the West's cynical detachment in a situation which mirrors the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein. The film has alarmed Indonesia and its allies – the FO has been showing marked interest, and the Australian Embassy in Jakarta called Central to find out how Pilger got into East Timor. "I've never done a film where there's

been more anticipation from governments," says Pilger.

One reason for the nerves is the UN Commission for Human Rights, meeting this week in Geneva. Last year it passed a landmark resolution condemning General Suharto's regime, but Western delegations are lobbying hard for Indonesia this year. Pilger's film could swing it back so he's flying in with a copy.

What can you do then, should you so wish? Put pressure on your MP for a start. For a second, think hard about Indonesia. Next time you're dreaming of a holiday in Bali, you might like to know that 100,000 Balinese lost their lives in the '60s - in Indonesia you're as likely to find bones in the sand as gold. And only a few miles away the Kuwait of South East Asia sits waiting for the Marines. What price the UN now

UNDERCOVER IN TIMOR

The Radio Times, 19-25 February 1994. By John Pilger. Abridged: (The article intro. only included here)

Radio Times is the magazine with the largest circulation in Britain

Not surprisingly, the Indonesian Government does not welcome television cameras to occupied East Timor. In 1975 its troops murdered six foreign newsmen, including two television crews and two Britons. According to Amnesty International, the regime maintains a blacklist of 33,000 people banned from entering and leaving the country.

With this in mind, director David Munro and I (i.e. John Pilger) planned our filming with care, and a little enterprise. We considered a number of slightly eccentric subterfuges. Priests was one rejected early, followed by ornithologists, although we did acquire the latest volume of 'Birds of Borneo, Java and Bali.' This was overtaken by "travel consultants." A London travel agent provided us with documents that lauded our business acumen.

David and I flew out first, followed by a voluntary aid worker and cameraman Max Stahl. We each had a tiny Hi 8 video camera, which could operate through a gauze screen in a shoulder bag. We reckoned that two of us would be caught, probably David and myself; but none of us were. Our video tape was sent out through the resistance network and carried out by David and myself, taped to our legs and our crotches.

Of course, the greatest risk was borne by those Timorese who were interviewed in East Timor. None is identified in our film; and we have arranged or the most vulnerable to escape the country. That our filming succeeded at all is a tribute to a remarkable

people who, after 18 years of horror, remain, in their hearts, undefeated.

ON HER MAJESTY'S BLOODY SERVICE

By John Pilger, New Statesman and Society, 18 Feb. 1994.

On Tuesday, ITV will show John Pilger's special report, Death of a Nation. Pilger and his colleagues filmed secretly in East Timor, where 200,000 people have died under Indonesia's occupation. Here he describes the British connection.

The road through the mountains of East Timor was perilous, strewn with tree trunks and overlooked by boulders, as if suspended by fine wire. It was not difficult to understand why an untried Indonesian army had taken years to get the better of the East Timorese guerrillas of Fretilin. Not even the Horn of Africa, in the experience of David Munro and myself, offered such hostile and volatile terrain as the hinterland of forgotten Timor. Descending into a ravine, our four-wheel drive negotiated folds of baked, eroded earth that crumbled in our wake.

Indonesian troops never conquered these mountain passes; American and British aircraft did. The OV-10 Broncos and Skyhawks were used to devastating effect in the years immediately following the Indonesian invasion in December 1975. Cannon fire, bombs and napalm saturated the mountain roads and hillsides where the civilian population had fled behind its guerrilla army. "Ours was the last Fretilin village to fall" said Abel. "The bombardment never stopped, day in, day out; I can still hear it."

After 1980, British Hawk ground attack aircraft were used. Based at the former Portuguese resort town of Baucau, British Aerospace's exports have left indelible impressions upon the memories of their victims. José Gusmão, a Timorese now in exile, said: "I watched a Hawk attack a village in the mountains. It used its machine-guns and dropped incendiary bombs. The Hawk is quite different from American planes; it has a particular nose. You can tell it anywhere."

Another eye-witness told me: "I first saw the Hawks in action in 1984. They were standing at the airport at Baucau, where they are based. They are small aircraft, not at all like the OV-10 Bronco and the Skyhawk from the US. They are perfect for moving in and out of the mountains. They have a terrible sound when they are coming in to bomb, like a voice wailing. We immediately go to the caves, into the deepest ones, because their bombs are so powerful. They fly in low . . . and attack civilians, because the people hiding in the mountains

are civilians. Four of my cousins were killed in Hawk attacks near Los Palos.”

This man came to London in November 1993 and presented his evidence at the Foreign Office. He said: “I met a senior official and told him exactly where the Hawks were based in East Java and East Timor. He said they were only trainers. I replied that if they were used for training, it was on live targets in East Timor. He could give me no categorical assurance that the Hawks were not being used in East Timor.” In 1992, a spokesman for the East Timorese independence movement described Britain as “the single worst obstructionist of any industrialised country” in promoting international action on East Timor. The Foreign Office has played a leading, some would say traditional, role in this process since Indonesian paratroopers dropped into Dili, the East Timorese capital, on 7 December 1975. Using shared intelligence from a top-secret monitoring station near Darwin, M16 knew all about the Indonesian plan code-named “Operation Komodo.” The British Embassy in Jakarta advised the Foreign Office that “if it comes to the crunch and there is a row in the United Nations, we should keep our heads down and avoid siding against the Indonesian government.”

Keeping their heads down was not always successful. Following one of the few press reports of the post-invasion atrocities - in the Times in 1977, headlined “Indonesia accused of mass murder in East Timor” - the journalist responsible was called to the Foreign Office and asked to explain his interest. “It was obvious,” said David Watts, a South East Asia specialist, “that I was being warned off the story. It had the opposite effect.”

When people write to the government or their MP about East Timor, they receive replies that not only deny any British complicity, but imply that the scale of suffering of the East Timorese is less than reported. J L Wilkins of the South East Asia Department of the Foreign Office is the author of a number of these replies. “No one really knows the truth” about the death toll is his message, because some estimates “are sometimes so dramatically different” from the British government’s that they “cannot help but suspect them to be exaggerated.” The same devotion to historical accuracy was demonstrated by another Foreign Office official who, when asked about a death toll of 200,000 people, said: “Yes, but it didn’t happen in one year.”

As outlined in this space last week, the aid-for-trade-for-arms scandal derives as much from Indonesia as Malaysia. The difference with Indonesia is that British weapons are being used to kill people in East Timor, which the Suharto dictatorship oc-

cupies despite United Nations resolutions ordering it to get out “without delay” - resolutions similar to those the west so vigorously and violently upheld against Saddam Hussein.

The British arms industry has been a vital prop for Suharto since 1978, when the British Labour government signed the first deal with Indonesia for four Hawk aircraft. When asked about the implications for East Timor, the Foreign Secretary, David Owen, said the estimates of the killings had been “exaggerated” and that “the scale of fighting since then has been greatly reduced.”

Owen’s statement coincided with Indonesian propaganda, and, far from the scale of fighting being “greatly reduced,” the genocide was then actually reaching its height. Moreover, Western - mainly American - military equipment was now the main instrument of terror. At the time that Owen wrote his letter, eye-witnesses to the onslaughts in East Timor spoke of scenes reminiscent of Dante’s Inferno. “After September [1978],” wrote a priest, “the war intensified. Military aircraft were in action all day long. Hundreds of human beings die daily, their bodies left as food for the vultures. If bullets don’t kill us, we die from epidemic disease; villages are being completely destroyed.”

Since then, Britain has sold, or agreed to sell, Indonesia a further 40 Hawks, which are part of a British-supplied war industrial base that includes a fully-equipped Institute of Technology for the Indonesian army and training for Indonesian officers in Britain.

When a Foreign Office minister, Baroness Trumpington, was asked about the military potential of Land Rovers sold to the Indonesian army, she said derisively: “My farmer friends would laugh . . . to think that they were offensive weapons!”

British Aerospace, which until recently owned Land Rover, described it as one of “the world’s most successful pieces of defence hardware.” I saw Land Rovers used widely in East Timor by the occupying forces. It is likely that the bodies of the young people murdered or wounded in the Santa Cruz cemetery massacre in November 1991 were thrown into the back of British Land Rovers.

The massacre of hundreds of young people who marched peacefully to the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991 remains like a presence in Dili. They had set out to place flowers on the grave of a student, Sebastião Gomes, who had been shot dead at the church two weeks earlier by Indonesian agents.

When they reached the cemetery, they were shot down by waiting troops, or they were stabbed or battered to death. There was no provocation. What was different

about this massacre was that foreigners were present, including two with cameras.

However, it was after the foreigners had been arrested and expelled from East Timor (one, a New Zealander, was murdered; several others were badly beaten) that a second, unreported massacre took place. In our film, *Death of a Nation*, survivors recount how the wounded were systematically murdered by Indonesian troops and their agents. One of them, José, (a pseudonym) told me that, after the shooting in the cemetery had stopped, “those who could have been saved, because they were only wounded in the legs and arms, were stabbed with bayonets [while others] who were still breathing but lying on the ground, their heads were crushed with rocks until they died.” Another survivor, Mario, told my colleague Max Stahl: “I escaped being hit. So I pretended to be dead. The soldiers came and searched all the bodies and me, and hit me on the head so that I bled. They threw me with the other bodies on to a pick-up truck. They took us to the mortuary, locked the door and went upstairs. Some of my friends were still alive, crying. They were calling out for water. I told them the only water was dirty, so we must pray together. I saw with my very eyes that among the bodies were children and old people. Suddenly I heard steps approaching and I lay down again, pretending to be dead. Two soldiers came in. One of them picked up a big stone, and the other got a tablet from a jar. They then said out loud that if anyone was able to walk they had to stand up.

“When some of my friends got up, one of them was hit on the head by the soldier with the stone; he died later. I heard the blows, and it sounded like coconuts cracking as they fall from a tree on the ground. As they got close to me I stood up so suddenly that the soldiers were taken aback. I told them I was an informer, that I really worked for them. I didn’t want to lie, but this saved my life. The soldier with the jar of tablets was making the injured take them; it made me vomit.”

We passed several of these tablets to Scotland Yard’s forensic laboratories, which found them to be paraformaldehyde. When vaporised this is a powerful industrial disinfectant that must not, in any circumstances, be ingested; it can cause serious internal bleeding.

In underpinning one of the world’s most barbaric regimes, British ministers will say almost anything, it seems. Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has been at pains to describe the cultural and economic “differences” that make the “western concept of human rights” difficult to “export” to Indonesia. He chooses to ignore, of course, Indonesia’s own independence movement in the 1940s

for which people died and went to prison defending, not a western, but a universal concept of human rights. As the historian Mark Curtis has pointed out, if ever Indonesia produced a government that put the interests of the majority of its people before that of its ruling clique and foreign “investors,” the British government would be the first to demand strict adherence to the “western concept of human rights.”

This week, the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva will again call Indonesia to account, principally for those “missing” following the Santa Cruz massacre. So far, Jakarta has identified only eight on a list of 207. It is likely that a total of 400 were killed. At last year’s hearings, a posse of Foreign Office officials allied themselves with the Indonesians in an attempt to divide the EC vote and prevent a resolution condemning Jakarta. Only when this “disgraceful bullying role,” as one observer called it, was clearly failing, did Britain fall in with its European partners and vote for the resolution. The FO was acting with extra urgency. The British Aerospace Hawk deal – worth at least 800 million – is at the heart of continuing “warm relations” extolled by both Jakarta and Whitehall.

“The point of selling Hawk aircraft to Indonesia,” the armed service minister, Archie Hamilton, told parliament in 1993, “is to give jobs to people in this country. There is no doubt in my mind that a Hawk aircraft can do nothing to suppress the people of East Timor. The aircraft is not suitable for that purpose and we have guarantees from the Indonesians that the aircraft would not be used for internal suppression.” This was an astonishing statement even by modern parliamentary standards, and is constantly echoed. (British Aerospace, incidentally, has since sacked more than 4,000 workers).

The government has promoted the Hawk as a mere “trainer.” British Aerospace, however, says it “has been designed from the outset with a significant ground attack capability.” The Indonesians appear to be in no doubt. According to the research and technology minister, B J Habibie, the Hawks “will be used not only to train pilots but for ground attack.”

As defence procurement minister under Thatcher, Alan Clark was responsible for the sale of Hawk aircraft to Indonesia in the deal that recently came to fruition. I put it to him that ministers had talked about guarantees from the Indonesians that the Hawks would not be used in East Timor. I asked what exactly these guarantees were.

“Well I never asked for a guarantee,” he said. “. . . a guarantee is worthless from any government as far as I’m concerned.”

JP: Shouldn't the public be cynical about all this after what happened over Iraq?

Shouldn't the public be cynical about assurances, guidelines and denials from government about the sale of arms?

AC: Well, I don't know what you mean by the public, but I don't think the majority of people give a damn about it. Unless those weapons are going to be used against our own troops.

JP: But it's the assumption that the public doesn't give a damn that allows ministers and officials to deceive; isn't that correct?

AC: Why should they want to deceive if the public doesn't give a damn?

JP: In your view, are there categories of arms that should never be sold?

AC: Yes. Nuclear, ballistic missile technology, chemical/biological precursors, and the like. But in the conventional arms marketplace, as far as I'm concerned, it's open season.

JP: You have said that where a regime is oppressively outrageous, as the gassing of children is, an army supplier should back off. Do you consider the mass slaughter of children in East Timor oppressively outrageous?

AC: Do you mean, lined up in front of a ditch?

JP: Yes. One of the examples used is of children and their mothers being burnt alive in a house, trapped there and burnt by the Indonesians. What's the difference?

AC: I think gassing is dreadful. It's one of those techniques that actually breaks through one's protective indifference and is upsetting. But the other things that you mentioned . . . they just occur in combat or violent occupation situations.

JP: I'm still not sure of the difference. Why is gassing any worse than shooting, burning, torturing?

AC: I can't tell. There's something about it that deeply offends one's natural instinct, I suppose. It's a different threshold of violence. The other things, the examples you've given . . . I'm not familiar with the situation in East Timor. . . . I mean you can look anywhere, so what's all this about East Timor suddenly? I mean, how many people are there in the world? A billion or something? I mean, if you want to rush round and say gosh, look how dreadful this is, whatever it is, you won't have any problems. British military equipment is being used in Sri Lanka. We don't live in an ideal world.

JP: The fact remains that British aircraft kill and maim people in East Timor, and the government allows the sale of them on

flimsy assurances that they won't be used there.

AC: Flimsy, no. I mean, they are given in proper diplomatic context. [But] I attach very little value to such assurances.

JP: Isn't all this, in broad terms, about the right of a small country not to be invaded by a large neighbour?

AC: Yeah, but they weren't British, were they?

JP: That makes a difference?

AC: Of course it makes a difference.

JP: The Indonesian regime has perhaps one of the bloodiest records of the 20th century.

AC: Well, that's a very competitive sphere.

JP: This regime has competed well in that league.

AC: Has it? There's Stalin, Pol Pot and others.

JP: In East Timor it has killed more people proportionately than Pol Pot killed in Cambodia. Isn't that ever a consideration for the British government?

AC: It's not something that often enters my . . . thinking, I must admit.

JP: Why is that?

AC: My responsibility is to my own people. I don't really fill my mind much with what one set of foreigners is doing to another.

JP: Did it bother you personally when you were the minister responsible [and] that British equipment was causing such suffering, albeit to a set of foreigners?

AC: No, not in the slightest. It never entered my head.

JP: You don't lose sleep over it?

AC: No.

JP: I ask the question because I read that you were a vegetarian and you are seriously concerned about the way animals are killed.

AC: Yeah.

JP: Doesn't that concern extend to the way humans, albeit foreigners, are killed?

AC: Curiously not.

Death of a Nation, a film by John Pilger and David Munro for Central Television, will be shown next Tuesday on ITV at 10.40pm.

INDONESIA EMBASSY RESPONDS TO PILGER FILM

The following Press Release was issued by the Indonesian Embassy in London on 18 Feb. 1994

DEATH OF A NATIONS? (sic)

The government of the Republic of Indonesia deplores the intended showing of a film on British television that would blacken the reputation of Indonesia in the eyes of the world.

While we have not seen the film in question, we have read press reports on accusations levelled against Indonesia. We wish to categorically state that these accusations are false and without foundation. There is no question that the outcome of the demonstrations that occurred in Dili, East Timor, on 12th November 1991 is deeply regrettable. But, there is also no question that the government of Indonesia moved swiftly to gather the facts surrounding the incident. In doing so, Indonesia was guided by the principle of due process. Those who violated the law, whether they were demonstrators or security personnel, were brought to trial before the appropriate Court of Justice. As we have been said (sic) on numerous occasions, this was a tragic incident and clearly not an act ordered by or reflecting the policy of the government of Indonesia or its armed forces.

There will be no end to the inventions of the fertile imagination of Indonesia's detractors but all these will never distract Indonesia from the mission to address the need for the economic development of a province that was neglected for hundreds of years when it was a colony of Portugal.

Indonesia remains committed to human rights. The Indonesian government has consistently endeavoured to adhere to the humanitarian precepts and basic human rights and freedom embodied in its state philosophy, Pancasila, its 1945 constitution and its national laws and regulations. These precepts, rights, and freedoms, as embodied in the constitutional and legal system, derive from age-old traditions, customs and the philosophy of life of the Indonesian people.

Finally, we should like to quote a comment by the Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating on one of those involved in producing the film in question. According to the February 14 issue of the Australian newspaper, *The Age*, he said, "I am afraid Mr. Pilger's credibility is always under a cloud as his views on Cambodia last year revealed very starkly." We ask those who may be exposed to the sensationalism of this film to analyse the charges objectively and verify

the credibility of its purveyors before questioning the commitment to human rights and the rule of law of a nation of 186 million people.

PROTEST FOR EAST TIMOR MARKS LAUNCH OF JOHN PILGER'S FILM

British Coalition for East Timor press release, 21 Feb. 1994

The Coalition for East Timor will hold a protest vigil outside the church of St.-Martin-in-the-Fields, London WC2, from 12:30 to 2 p.m., Tuesday February 22, to mark the television premiere of John Pilger's new documentary, *Death of a Nation*. The documentary will be networked on ITV later that evening. The vigil will focus on Britain's complicity in the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, looking particularly at British aid and arms sales to Indonesia, such as the recently-signed contract for 24 Hawk fighter jets.

"This film has already generated protests and inquiries from the Indonesian government," said Maggie Helwig of the Coalition. "It is a powerful presentation of information that has been suppressed until now, and it includes crucial testimony about British involvement in the Indonesian military occupation. It is important to keep the issue of East Timor before the eyes of the British people at this time in particular."

The Coalition, which helped Pilger with research for the secretly-filmed documentary, has been advocating for unconditional peace talks and for a withdrawal of Indonesian military forces from East Timor since it was founded in 1991, in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, and has suffered under occupation since that time. It is estimated that about one-third of the population has died as a result of the occupation Q "more, proportionally, than in Cambodia under Pol Pot," says Pilger.

Members of the Coalition are available for interview both before and after the screening of *Death of a Nation*. For more information, call:

Maggie Helwig, 071-274-2500 or 071-278-3344

Jonathan Humphries, 071-639-4700, mobile phone 0956-254-186

Carmel Budiardjo, TAPOL, 081-771-2904 (note: after 10:30 p.m. on February 22nd only, call 071-737-6215)

BBC WORLD SERVICE ON PILGER FILM

Newshour, 21 February 1994. Presenter, Oliver Scott

Report on Central Productions Film Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy, by John Pilger, to be broadcast on ITV, 22 February 1994:

Introduction:

The Channel Four Network on British television will be broadcasting a new film by John Pilger, the well-known campaigning journalist, known for his hard-hitting documentaries on Cambodia. This time, though, his subject is East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975. The film, much of it secretly shot in East Timor, includes eye-witness accounts of recent human rights abuses by the Indonesian army, and accuses Western governments of supporting Indonesia's occupation with aid and arms supplies. Our reporter Jonathan Head has seen the film:

"We found a country that was totally in the grip of Indonesia. People were frightened to talk to us, people would not talk to us when we were watched by other Timorese or by the Indonesians, people were desperately frightened to have anything to do with us, because they knew that once they had spoken to us, there would be repercussions. They or their families are likely to be taken in or imprisoned and probably disappear."

David Munro - the producer who accompanied John Pilger to East Timor last year - tells a familiar tale.

Ever since Indonesia relaxed its ban on foreign visitors to the territory in 1989 similar accounts of fear and intimidation have emerged from East Timor. By contrast, the isolation of the proceeding 14 years allowed out only sketchy reports, which told of continuing war and the death of perhaps 200,000 people - one third of the population. Even today, journalists visiting East Timor are constantly monitored by Indonesian intelligence officials and not allowed to move freely.

What's new about John Pilger's film is that by going to East Timor secretly, his team was able to interview members of the clandestine guerilla movement and witnesses to alleged Indonesian atrocities. Combining these interviews with archive material he has made a powerful documentary, which accuses Indonesia of genocide and its Western allies of indifference to the fate of the Timorese. One charge is, that after Indonesian troops fired at pro-independence demonstrators in November 1991, killing dozens

of people, many of the survivors were subsequently murdered by the security forces. This is the account of one eye witness:

“After they stopped shooting, those who had survived, the ones that could have been saved, because they were only wounded in the legs and arms, they were stabbed with bayonets, the ones still inside the cemetery, who were still breathing, but lying on the ground, their heads were crushed with rocks until they died.”

The Indonesian Government says these allegations have no foundations. Its own enquiry found that only fifty people died in the Santa Cruz incident, although the impartiality of this enquiry has been challenged by Amnesty International and other human rights organisations.

The other central argument in the film is that Western governments, particularly Britain, the United States and Australia have done nothing to stop Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, even though it's been condemned by the United Nations.

Arms sales come under particular scrutiny and allegations that British Hawk aircraft have been used in combat in East Timor. José Amorim was a member of the pro-independence movement in East Timor up until the late nineteen eighties:

“I can distinguish from the nose of the Hawks and Sky Hawks F15, F16 and the Broncos. I saw two Hawks on the ground along the airport of Baucau and I asked people ‘What about these Hawks?’ and they said ‘Well, why are you surprised? These Hawks are bombing the mountains of Matebian every day.’”

Most of John Pilger's arguments have been made many times before. But films about East Timor are rarely seen on television. And this one will surely bring much greater attention for one little known international issue.

That report by Jonathan Head.

Presenter Oliver Scott again:

And to find out the British Government's position I spoke to a minister at the Foreign Office Alistair Goodlad.

Q. How do you respond to these allegations that Hawk aircraft have been used in East Timor?

A. Against the civilian population?

Q. Yes.

A. To our knowledge they have not. I'm advised that the Hawk footage in Mr. Pilger's film, which as you know I haven't seen, was not shot on location in East Timor, and the so-called eyewitness account of two Hawks sitting on the tarmac, even if it were true, is hardly evidence of active service against the civilian population. The rest of the allegations are based on hearsay.

No-one has put a time, place or date on the alleged bombings. We put these specific questions to the person now making the allegations when he called on the FCO last November, and he couldn't come up with the hard facts about time, date or place to substantiate what he was saying. The Hawks owned by the Indonesians are two-seater trainers. They're based at a flying training school on Java out of range of East Timor.

Q. Now you say to your knowledge the aircraft haven't been used against the civilian population - you're obviously not absolutely certain. Has the British government sought assurances from the Indonesian government that they're not being used for this purpose?

A. We have specific assurances from the Indonesians that the aircraft will not be used against the civilian population in East Timor. The Indonesians know our views and we have no reason to doubt their assurances.

Q. Well that may be, but your former colleague in government, the former Defence Minister Alan Clark says that assurances along these lines are completely worthless.

A. Well Alan Clark is entitled to his views, but he cannot claim to speak for the British government. We do have assurances from the Indonesians, and we have no reason to doubt them.

Q. It still seems rather unclear. Shouldn't you, the government, be sending an investigating team to find out for sure whether they're being used or not?

A. I'm not sure how you propose they should do that. Our embassy staff, including the Defence attaché who knows a Hawk when he sees one, visit East Timor. So do non-governmental organisations, human rights representatives including Asia Watch, and the International Commission of Jurists, and foreign journalists, including Portuguese journalists. There are no, I repeat no, reports from these visitors of Hawk sightings either in the air or on the tarmac. We've said many times that we are ready to consider any hard evidence that Hawks are being used for repressive purposes in East Timor, but no-one has come up with any.

NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE OTHER PART OF EAST TIMORESE STRUGGLE

From Peace News, London. Feb. 1994

John Pilger's television film *Death of a Nation* has returned East Timor to public notice, with articles in several major news-

papers and magazines in Britain and Australia. Most of the coverage has concentrated on the horrors of the Indonesian occupation, with a brief look at the FALINTIL guerrillas and perhaps at the Catholic Church. The still-untold story is that of the unarmed resistance, covert, urban, student-based; though the Timorese themselves know that this wing of the resistance plays a role at least as vital as FALINTIL.

Pilger's film does include a clip of Constandino Pinto saying, “The November 12 [1991] demonstration was organised by me ... Peaceful demonstrations, for us, are the only way.” (Pinto, briefly a guerrilla, became a key organiser of the nonviolent resistance, escaping from Timor in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre.) And we briefly see the extraordinarily brave demonstrators filmed that day, the teenage marshals keeping the march under control and peaceful even up to the point when the troops opened fire. Many of those young marshals are now dead or “missing.”

But even after the post-massacre crackdown the unarmed resistance has continued to operate. We know of two demonstrations in the capital, Dili, in the last eight months – one during a visit by the Vatican ambassador, at which 26 people were arrested, and one during a fact-finding tour by Swedish MPs, which resulted in 40 arrests (more arrests were made in the city of Lospalos on the same day as the first demonstration, suggesting another protest may have been held or planned). Two months ago, a Timorese youth was sentenced to 22 months in prison for ripping an Indonesian flag in public. Information continues to be smuggled out to Amnesty International and other human rights groups.

On 18 February, Father Domingos Soares was summoned to the army intelligence headquarters in his parish for “interrogation” – that is, torture. Fr. Domingos has been actively involved with the clandestine resistance for years; in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre, he was subjected to regular torture and interrogation for a period of at least three months. This most recent summons may be linked to Fr. Domingos' recent appearances in the international media – he allowed himself to be quoted in an article by Max Stahl in an Australian newspaper, and on 19 February his photograph appeared beside an interview in the weekend section of the Guardian.

The summons to Fr. Domingos may also be related to a supervised visit by nine foreign journalists which ended that day. The journalists, who were accompanied by Indonesian security at all times, were not permitted to meet with Timorese priests, but instead heard soothing talk from Fr.

Marcus Wanandi, a Chinese-Indonesian priest with government ties.

In particular, the journalists were not allowed any contact with Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, who has become a sort of spiritual father to the unarmed resistance. But during their visit, an open-air mass was held at Belo's house, a gathering which may have been intended as a public protest. And there are reports that prisoners chanted from inside the jail in Dili when the foreign journalists were nearby.

Bishop Belo and the Timorese Catholic Church have recently been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for their role in East Timor's nonviolent resistance.

John Pilger's "Death of a Nation" opened 15 February at the National Film Theatre, London, was broadcast in Britain on ITV on 22 February; and is scheduled for cinema release in the USA and Australia.

Letters can be sent, saying that it is internationally known that Fr. Domingos is undergoing interrogation and that there is widespread concern for his health and safety, to the Indonesian embassy in your country.

SOMETHING HAPPENED HERE LAST NIGHT ...

By John Pilger, The Independent. Feb. 22

Shirley Shackleton is a witty, angry, and tenacious Australian woman whom a faraway nation will one day honour. Since her husband, Greg, and five other journalists were murdered by the Indonesian army in East Timor, she has refused to avert her gaze from those responsible. "Sometimes I wake up in the night," she said, "numb with horror thinking of the fear Greg must have gone through. But the more I learn about what has been done to the people of East Timor, the less able I am to let go."

Indeed, it was Shirley Shackleton's gentle insistence that led me to East Timor, to film in secret. I found a land of unsmiling, terrified and courageous people, and of crosses. Etched against the sky, spilling down hill-sides, overlooking almost every bend in the road, crosses mounted on white gravestones litter the earth and crowd the eye. The dates on them reveal the extinction of whole families since 7 December 1975, when Indonesian troops annexed the Portuguese colony in defiance of 10 United Nations resolutions demanding their withdrawal - resolutions strikingly similar to those that authorised the UN to expel Saddam Hussein from Kuwait.

Shirley's life changed on 16 October 1975. At 4am on that day Indonesian special forces secretly came ashore in East Timor near the town of Balibo. Two Australian television crews were waiting for

tralian television crews were waiting for them. They were Greg Shackleton, 29, and Tony Stewart, 21, both Australians, and Gary Cunningham, 27, a New Zealander, with Channel 7, Melbourne; Malcolm Rennie, 28, and Brian Peters, 29, both British, with Channel 9, Melbourne.

From the battlements of the old Portuguese fort they had filmed the Indonesian warships approaching. They had reason to believe that, if they were captured, they would be released quickly, given a much proclaimed "special relationship" between the Indonesian dictator, General Suharto, and Australia's prime minister, Gough Whitlam. The journalists were unarmed and dressed in non-military clothing; and Greg Shackleton had painted a large "Australia" sign and an Australian flag on the white-washed wall of the house where they were based.

But they must have known that staying on was very dangerous. As Greg Shackleton's last recorded words indicated, he felt deeply about helping the East Timorese. This is an abridged version of his last "camera piece," filmed on the eve of his murder:

"Something happened here last night that moved us very deeply. When we arrived we were the target of a barrage of questioning from men who know they may die tomorrow and cannot understand why the rest of the world does not care. Why, they ask, are the Indonesians invading us? Why, they ask, are the Australians not helping us? I said we could ask that Australia raise this fighting at the United Nations. At that, we were applauded. That's all they want - for the United Nations to care about what is happening here. The emotion here last night was so strong that we, all three of us, felt we should be able to reach out into the warm air and touch it. This is Greg Shackleton at an unnamed village which we'll remember forever, in Portuguese Timor."

The next day, the Indonesians entered the village. One cameraman almost certainly was shot immediately; the others pointed frantically to the "Australia" sign, and were made to face the wall of the house with their hands up. Shirley Shackleton has spoken to eyewitnesses.

"What happened," she said, "was that most of them were strung up by their feet, their sexual organs were removed and stuffed into their mouths, and they were stabbed with the short throwing knives that Indonesian soldiers carry. Nobody knows for sure whether they choked to death or whether they choked on their own blood, whether they just died from their wounds or whether they bled to death."

The bodies were dragged into the house, where one was found to be still alive. This may have been Tony Stewart, the young

sound recordist. Although terribly wounded, he tried to say something into his tape recorder. According to one report, a Timorese reached out to him but was ordered back by an Indonesian officer, who then shot dead the wounded man. The bodies were stripped and dressed in military uniforms and the corpses propped up behind a captured machine gun in front of the "Australia" sign. An Indonesian soldier took photographs which were intended to "prove" that the journalists had been fighting for the guerrillas. The bodies were then burnt.

There seems little doubt that the journalists were killed because they would have exposed Indonesia's plans for a full-scale invasion, which Jakarta was then denying and which Western intelligence knew about. "What is particularly disturbing," wrote James Dunn, the former Australian consul in East Timor, "is that five days later US intelligence analysts, using information to which Australia had access, advised their government that the attack would be launched in a few days. Thus, the Australian government had at its disposal enough information - and enough time - to warn Australians in East Timor of the impending risks at the border."

No formal public protest was made to Jakarta. "They asked diplomatic questions," said Shirley, "and received diplomatic answers." Two of the dead were Britons; the British government also said nothing publicly. The official Australian response at first was to try to blame the victims. The former ambassador to Indonesia, Richard Woolcott, told me recently that the journalists had been "unwise to be where they were."

On 28 April 1976 Australian embassy officials flew from Jakarta to East Timor. Witnesses to the killings had already been moved out of Balibo by the Indonesian army and the "Timorese" the Australian officials met were Indonesian soldiers who, wrote James Dunn, "were specially selected from among the troops originating from neighbouring islands where the people resemble [those] of the Balibo area." Others were known collaborators. Not surprisingly, the official report was inconclusive. An official of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Canberra told Shirley on the telephone that if she wanted Greg's body brought back to Australia, she would have to pay for it.

But Shirley refused to let go, and successfully travelled to East Timor in 1989. In the Hotel Turismo she confronted General "Benny" Murdani, who commanded the invasion and whose troops had killed her husband and his colleagues. "He was having breakfast in the dining room," she told me. "People were genuflecting and grovelling to him. After drinking a double-strength coffee I walked over to his table and said, "Gen-

eral, my name is Shirley Shackleton. I've always wanted to ask you what exactly happened to my husband and his colleagues.' He said, 'I wouldn't know; we weren't there.' I said, 'Come off it!'

"At this he stood up to go; and I realised that for once I had absolute power over this man, because everyone was watching and he wouldn't dare be rude to me. So I put my hand on his elbow and said, 'Sit down, because we're not going to get anywhere with that, but I'd like to tell you what I've seen in the time I've been in East Timor.' I said the Timorese would never accept the Indonesians in any circumstances. He said nothing. Well, he knows who I am now."

Giving the Timorese a voice has been Shirley's vocation. On their behalf, she has written letters, articles, poetry and now a novel. She and Greg have a son, Evan, who was eight at the time of his father's murder. He is now 26.

When we last met, in Canberra, she had just accompanied Amelia Gusmão, wife of the imprisoned Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, to a meeting with Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans, a staunch supporter of the Indonesian regime. "The minister refused to say he would speak up for Xanana," she said. "That did it, I broke down. I said to him, 'My husband's dead, but this woman's husband is still alive. You do something for him.' I didn't want to cry, I tell you I didn't want to cry, not there, not in front of him. Because then they would have me typecast; I'm the widow, you see, and I can be dismissed. But I won't be."

Travelling in East Timor, David Munro and I made our way to Balibo. We found the road that wound past the church where Shirley planted a tree for Greg in 1989. She had struggled to get permission for this, because the Indonesians believed that by agreeing to it they would be admitting liability for the murders. Finally, a priest offered the yard behind his church, and prepared a plot; and Shirley was allowed to plant the sapling with Indonesian troops surrounding her, sealing off the vicinity.

"They had not allowed any Timorese to be there," she said. "But as I knelt, saying a few words to Greg, the most wonderful singing washed over me. On the other side of the road, a young people's choir had timed its practice to my being there. I shall never forget those beautiful voices. They came through the barrier the Indonesians had set up between us and they comforted me. They will never be defeated."

PORTUGUESE REACTION TO PILGER TIMOR DOCUMENTARY

Catholic Radio Renascença, in Portuguese, Feb. 23. Translated.

Even Portuguese Foreign Minister Durão Barroso was somewhat surprised with some of the revelations of the documentary [on East Timor shown on 22nd February on British and Portuguese TV]. He expressed his disgust and said that the witness accounts of the Timorese are a new negotiating weapon for Portugal.

[Barroso] I was disgusted with the pictures but not surprised by the information. We had already received the information directly from the Timorese resistance and we had, precisely based on that information, requested an international inquiry to ascertain fully who is responsible for that situation. Already two years ago in the UN Human Rights Commission [changes thought], last year a resolution was approved condemning Indonesia, so at the moment we think it is time to proceed with an impartial investigation by international authorities in order to find those responsible for that situation.

[unidentified reporter] Will the information that the survivors of Santa Cruz [massacre] were massacred influence in any way the next talks between the Portuguese and Indonesian governments on the future of East Timor?

[Barroso] "Well, obviously they may have some influence. As I said, we - er - in terms of pictures it was indeed new and it was striking - what we saw and what the RTP documentary showed yesterday. But we already had that information and we had already presented it to international organizations. Now, I hope, obviously, that this will strengthen the belief of those who sometimes have reservations about the need to be very firm when it comes to this matter of human rights in East Timor."

Prime Minister Cavaco Silva reacted to the documentary on East Timor denouncing a second massacre by the Indonesian troops. The prime minister was speaking at a press conference under way in Sao Bento [prime minister's official residence]. Cavaco Silva is giving a joint press conference with his Israeli counterpart. Raquel Abecassis reports.

[Abecassis] This was the first question Cavaco Silva had to answer. He spoke without any problem about the documentary shown on television on the second massacre in East Timor:

[Cavaco] Once again we receive shocking images of Indonesia's behaviour in Timor. We hope that these images will help the

international community to be even more aware of the need to pressurize the Indonesian government as much as possible to respect human rights in the territory. I can also say that we were already working with information very similar to that revealed yesterday [22nd February]. Information we have received from the resistance, and which was channelled to our diplomatic services.

Excerpt from report

Twenty-four hours after the showing of the documentary on the second massacre perpetrated on the survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre, the reactions are still coming in. [President] Mario Soares said this evening that he was saddened but not at all surprised by the brutality of the Indonesians. The president of the republic said that he hopes the matter will now receive greater attention from all those who were beginning to forget Timor:

[Soares] I was very shocked, once again, although from Indonesia I expect anything. Indonesia is ruled by a brutal dictatorship and anything they may do in the way of violence, oppression and crimes against the individual surprises me not at all. So I was saddened by what happened there and was shown in those pictures, but on the other hand I found it an extraordinary service rendered to the cause of East Timor by those fearless reporters who managed to capture a reality that will jolt the conscience of the entire world. And I hope that today many people who were indifferent to the cause of East Timor will feel the duty to protest and commit themselves to the patriots who in East Timor are fighting for the independence of their country.

Omitted: resistance leader Xanana Gusmão sent Soares a painting of his through the UN. See Xanana section of this Document compilation.

INDEPENDENT REVIEWS PILGER FILM

*The Independent on Sunday, March 6 1994.
By Norman Lewis*

CHANNEL 4 [actually ITV] last month presented John Pilger's revelatory and disturbing film *Death of a Nation*, on the war in East Timor. Its contents will have surprised and shocked many viewers, if not certain of our rulers, who knew only too well what happened behind the scenes back in 1975, although few details of the tragedy of this Portuguese ex-colony seem to have filtered through to the public.

The film's story is largely of massacres which, in proportion to the population, exceed those perpetrated by Pol Pot in Cambodia. But the death of the small nation

of East Timor has attracted little attention, and almost none at all until two years ago when 400 young people were killed at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, the Timorese capital. But this was absolutely nothing compared to the waves of slaughter that followed the invasion by Indonesian troops 19 years ago.

What has naturally escaped publicity is the complicity of the United States and Australia in President Suharto's decision to invade. The American motive was mainly doing a favour to an ally in the Cold War; the Australians were after oil. One of the world's greatest untapped reserves lies under the sea in the channel between East Timor and Australia. This, although officially Portuguese property, was to be shared between Australia and the incoming Indonesians.

The whole operation was known in diplomatic circles as The Big Wink. Britain was involved, too, in a lesser way, for the Indonesians had let it be known that huge arms purchases were envisaged, in particular planes for use in counter-insurgency operations which the UK could supply.

In the years since, about one third of East Timor's former population of 650,000 are said to have perished. As I discovered when I went there in 1991, almost every square yard had been fought over. Every single coastal village had been blown off the face of the earth by naval bombardment. Crops had been doused by flame-throwers and sprayed with defoliants. The peasants starved. When Saddam Hussein went for the oil in Kuwait, the UN and the Western powers had him out in months, but the UN's 10 protests in a decade over Indonesia's illegal occupation fell on deaf ears, and the West looked the other way.

The British government remains congratulatory. Pilger's film shows a meeting between Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Suharto. "We are proud to be with you," she says. We were supplying Indonesia with millions of pounds of aid and selling it billions of pounds of arms. Former junior defence minister Alan Clark brushes the diplomatic flim-flam aside and comes clean in typical style. Of course we were selling them Hawk Trainers for counter-insurgency use. Anyone knew they could be converted for legal purposes almost in a matter of minutes. Pilger asks Clark if, as a well-known animal lover and vegetarian, he can extend his concern to human beings? To which Clark replies: "Curiously, no."

It was a kind of outraged curiosity that drove me three years ago to visit East Timor. I flew there with my daughter Claudia. At Bali we had to change planes and stay the night. The taxi driver spoke English. He had two policemen friends who had

volunteered for service in Timor. They were billeted in villages where the whole population was assumed to be hostile. "So what happened?" "My friends decided they had to go." "What, they killed all of them?" "Yes, all of them. Too many of our people were dying," the taxi driver said. "I think if we are policemen you or I will do the same."

Dili, the Timorese capital, is one of the sinister places of the world. At the hotel, I gave offence by thanking the receptionist for the room key in Portuguese, and my daughter's room was searched while we were out. We went for an evening walk along the seafront, still littered with the rusting hulks of the landing craft that carried the assault troops ashore on the day of the 1975 invasion. It was here that the civilian population was assembled and made to count the suspects standing on the low sea wall as they were shot and toppled into the sea.

Subsequently, most of Dili's Chinese minority are said to have been shot, having always been unpopular in Indonesia on religious grounds and because of the business competition they offered. Six British and Australian journalists were murdered around the same time.

Our evening walk was to be cut short for we soon realised that we were being followed. A moment before a single light showed in the distance of the darkening and deserted shore road, and now, 15 yards behind, an obscure figure trailed us in soft-soled shoes. We turned back and at 6.05 with the fall of night we found ourselves confined to the Turismo Hotel's dim interiors, its silence, and its mosquitoes. Braving the veiled hostility of the receptionist I asked about the possibility of travel and was told that I could hire a taxi to take us to most destinations but we should have to return by it the same day. There were no hotels apart from one at Baucau some 80 miles away. All journeys required sanction by the police.

Our rescue from this depressing situation seemed almost miraculous. On the plane from Bali, Claudia had struck up a friendship with two Italian nuns engaged in running an orphanage in the mountains in the east of the island for children whose parents had been killed in the war. They stayed in our hotel, and next morning offered us a lift in the truck that was taking them back to the orphanage. "We sign police papers for you," Sister Paola said. "Is OK"

Within minutes we were on the coast road to Baucau, and thence across the mountains to Venilale and the orphanage. The landscape's emptiness was of an extraordinary kind. Black, seemingly fertile earth stretched away to the horizon, but nothing grew on it. There was no sign of a house, but once in a while we looked down on faint

rectangular patterns in the earth like those that might have been left by the long-vanished settlement of a prehistoric tribe. There had been fishing villages along the shore but they had gone, leaving nothing but blackened boat remains embedded in the shingle of the beach.

At the entrance to Baucau, the Flamboyant Hotel awaits not only the luckless traveller but prisoners taken there for interrogation in a special wing when other detention centres in the town are filled to capacity.

Venilale, 25 miles away in the mountains, stands apart from all this, remaining in its shattered condition defiantly Portuguese. Fine old trees shaded the many open spaces left by the bombs, and a couple of authentic Portuguese houses had survived with coloured tiles on their facades and wide verandahs with hammocks.

At the far end a building came in sight that looked like a Roman ruin but proved to be a Portuguese school built in the classic style in 1905. The bombs had carried about a third of it away, despite which it managed to retain a considerable dignity. The administrative building of the orphanage was a bleakly modern breeze block affair, and in this we were given a room and made welcome.

Matebian, known as Soul Mountain in the language of the Timorese, stood a few miles off. It was a magnificent, awe-inspiring and solitary peak, like Vesuvius although double its size. Its dense forests and clefts and gorges have been a place of refuge throughout history for the Timorese. In times of trouble villagers would leave their homes, travelling often great distances to reach the mountain and take shelter in its sandalwood forest in which they believed they were invisible to their pursuers.

A few miles to the south the second mountain, Bibelevu, appeared as a mist-washed isosceles triangle soaring up from juniper thickets, and it was here, as well as on Matebian, that panic-stricken villagers began to hide when news of the massacres at Dili following the invasion began to trickle through.

The army's move into these mountainous areas was nevertheless delayed. Apart from the elite Green Berets and paratroopers the invasion force was poorly trained and lacking in combat experience. Soldiers largely recruited from the flatlands of Java, many of whom had never seen a mountain before, had to be guided like crocodiles of school-children through the dense tropical forest. Resistance to the occupation was in the hands of the Falintil. This was composed of small, lightly armed and highly mobile groups on their home ground in these surroundings, although much hampered by

hordes of terrified civilians that they had been obliged to take under their wing.

Nevertheless, talk of stale-mate began to be heard – a situation that changed only after the Indonesians' successful approach to the British and Americans for the supply of counter-insurgency aircraft. This country's contribution, the British Aerospace Hawk Trainer, was described in a press release as "ideally suited for use against ground forces in difficult terrain."

Indonesia's troops could now stand back and wait for saturation-bombing of the mountains to do its work. Venilale and all the other small towns in their highland redoubt now found themselves in the front line of combat, and many soon ceased to exist.

In January of this year I received a letter from a Portuguese officer, now retired to Portugal, who had once been stationed in Ossu, south of Venilale. This man was puzzled by the news that this large town with its "church, covered market, football pitch, schools for boys and girls, and Chinese shops" should appear to have vanished off the face of the earth. "What were your nuns doing in Venilale when they had a big and beautiful building in Ossu? The only explanation must be that every important town has been destroyed, and only small places like Venilale have more or less survived!" What my correspondent had not understood was that all the villages had gone as well.

We explored several miles of a once well-used track but all we saw were two recently built shacks housing women and children near an area of mass graves. John Pilger was able to photograph a site of this kind where a number of large crosses had been cut in a rock-face. In the Venilale region such memorials were discouraged. Substantial crosses were removed as soon as they appeared, but in this case clusters of small ones about four inches in height had been overlooked. Placed round them were animist offerings for the children beneath, tiny plastic toys of the kind contained in cheap Christmas crackers, and tins containing a little honey.

With the beginning of the air offensive panic became general. News that the Indonesian ground troops had broken the Falintil defences drove the last of the villagers from their homes and into the mountains. With the arrival of the soldiers all abandoned houses went up in flames. Many who were too old or sick to be moved were burned to death. I was assured by members of the European religious community, who had been eye-witnesses of atrocities committed at this time, that the soldiers had found ways of making children kill their parents and parents their children.

At Matebian the first of a series of encirclements was put into practice. A large

number of civilians including many children were forced to march ahead of the Indonesian troops as they closed in on the mountain, after 700-800 bombs a day were dropped on it, in raids round the clock.

About 500 people who had come out of hiding to assemble at the foot of the mountain in the belief that they were surrendering were executed by Indonesian troops. In the neighbouring village of Taipo, 300 villagers were killed, a number of the elderly people being, as before, burned alive. Children were reportedly executed in front of their parents, who were tied together and shot.

A woman described being caught with her two children in the air attack in Matebian. "The plane saw us – all of us women with children running and trying to keep together – and a bomb landed in the middle of us. I had to climb over the bodies. Some were blown to pieces, and the bits were all mixed up. I saved one girl and lost the other. I had to find some part of her to take back to bury. A hand or a bone, or even a piece of her dress with blood on it. There was nothing I could be sure of, so I carried everything I could. At least some of it might be her."

The successes at Matebian and Bibelevu inspired further operations on an expanded scale. Operasi Kamanan, known as the "fence of legs," was an encirclement, not of single mountains but vast areas of the country. Up to 80,000 males between the ages of eight and 50 were snatched without warning from their homes, and formed into lines stretching across much of the island before the great marches began that were to go on for three months. Special army groups went ahead burning villages and crops. Behind them came the civilian lines, then the main body of the troops.

Christiano Costa, a conscript who later escaped to Portugal, was one of numerous refugees interviewed by John G Taylor, whose book *Indonesia's Forgotten War* is full of their harrowing accounts. Costa was present for the final mopping-up. "There were a great many bodies, men, women, children strewn everywhere, unburied along the riverbank and on the mountain slopes. There were so many decomposing bodies the stench was unbearable."

One of the nuns took us to see the orphans in the barracks built to house them; the youngest of the 100 was a boy of two, and the oldest a girl of 17. Two mothers were included in somewhat exceptional circumstances, one being Justin, wife of Xanana Gusmão, at that time – shortly before his capture – the Falintil commander. Most of the women who had taken refuge with their men in the forest eventually contracted tuberculosis and when Justina was found to be suffering from it Gusmão persuaded her to return with their child to oc-

cupied territory in the hope of being able to receive medical treatment.

The sector was encircled by troops. Justina was shot, then hauled off to prison where, as a result of inevitable rape, she gave birth to a child by a jailer before eventual release. Now by some arrangement the orphanage had been able to reach with the military she was here with Gusmão's three-year-old, plus the jailer's off-spring – still a baby in arms.

The second mother was Selina, a demure-looking girl, also with a baby, with a touch about her of the studied innocence of the performer in a nativity play. For all that, she was exceedingly brave.

Part of the military's policy was to devise some way of depriving the resistance fighters of the solace of their women-folk while leaving them encumbered by children. A phase of intensive bombing might be interrupted by a pause in which it was hoped that women might attempt to surrender. The problem was to hold the children back and in this instance Selina found herself involved in an obscure deal by which 40 mothers would be allowed to come out, bringing with them one child apiece.

By accident or design the original plan fell apart and when Selina appeared she was not merely the only mother, but had brought with her 15 children, entrusted to her by friends who were determined to stay on. A Catholic priest had managed to be present at this confrontation. The Indonesian commander's first impulse, he said, was to shoot the lot – a course of action in this war almost to be expected. However, for once, and probably due to the unexpected witness, there was no slaughter. Selina went to jail, was subject to routine rape, but finally, in an advanced state of tuberculosis, was released with her child into the care of the orphanage.

There were many problems in the orphanage. Almost all the children suffered from tuberculosis or malaria, or both, and the cups and plates they used were painted in different colours to avoid cross-infections. The sister could not conceal her admiration for the four Timorese that looked after them, who slaved away all day and were up half the night dressing wounds and doing their best to replace the love of lost mothers and calm dreams.

There were 100 little boys in this small barrack-room. "It all seems very quiet," I said.

"It always is," the sister said. "The children show very little emotion. They neither laugh nor cry, and there's not even any fuss when their wounds are dressed. What struck me as very strange at first was that they don't play with toys."

Next day we left. At Dili later that year a mass killing took place, so meaningless even from the Indonesian standpoint that the world came finally to hear of the most brutal small war of the century. The capture of the Falintil leader Xanana Gusmão followed, but is unlikely to affect the issue.

It is 19 years since the Falintil took to the forest, and their numerical strength is believed to have changed little since then. They are still in action, but now that the mountains have been emptied of fugitives there are few targets for the planes except small well-dispersed guerrilla groups. Unless the Indonesians decide the game is not worth the candle, this could be a conflict without end.

"INDONESIA DESERVES BETTER"

Letters page, The Guardian, March 4 1994

John Pilger's film *Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy*, shown on ITV on February 22, should be challenged. Mr. Pilger's thesis was that the government of Indonesia is a brutal dictatorship which treats the human rights of its citizens with contempt. It was consistent with the view the liberal establishment have taken of Indonesia while being at variance with the truth.

The Indonesian government has never hidden or excused the killing of 50 demonstrators at Dili on November 12, 1991, even though the troops involved had been subject to extreme provocation. As a result of a National Commission of Enquiry set up by President Suharto, two high-ranking generals were relieved of their posts and one was later dismissed. A further 10 members of the military were brought before a military court and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from eight to 18 months. How many Third World countries or former Eastern block countries would have responded in that way?

Mr. Pilger claims that he has now found eye witnesses to a "second massacre." If there are eye witnesses let them be properly interviewed, but we should also understand the context in which these "eye witnesses" have emerged.

There has never been a shred of credible, impartial evidence that a "second massacre" occurred. Indonesia is a fairly open society and it is inconceivable that had any such incident occurred western diplomatic missions would not have unearthed some evidence.

Even the assertions that 200,000 Timorese have been killed does not stand up to examination. The fact that this was a John Pilger film may reassure Indonesians.

Mr. Pilger misread the situation in Cambodia for 10 years.

Indonesia is the largest Islamic nation and the fourth largest country in the world. It has dramatically increased the condition of its people and has made herculean efforts to improve its position on human rights.

A country which has had to cope with decolonisation and the power vacuum left by the Portuguese in East Timor, deserves better.

It is a country which has made valiant efforts to westernise its attitudes to human rights [sic] and if it is to be helped further it will be by recognising what Indonesia has achieved, not by traducing it before the bar of world opinion.

Patrick Nicholls MP (Con., Teignbridge)
Chairman, All-Party Indonesian Parliamentary Committee; House of Commons,
London SW1

THE NATURE OF TRUTH IN AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON A BRUTAL REGIME

The Editor, Letters Page, The Guardian, March 8.

Dear Editor,

Patrick Nicholls' letter [March 4th] on John Pilger's 'Death of a Nation' invites questions on the nature of truth in political discourse.

I am not sure what he means by 'the view the liberal establishment have taken of Indonesia recently' but as a member of TAPOL, one of the oldest groups working on human rights in Indonesia. I do want to make our position clear.

Certainly an ideological element is inevitable in our work, but we hold that we best correct this by recognising its existence and by using generally acceptable rules of evidence in our investigations. The full truth will never be available but a minimum dimension will emerge if we are scrupulous in what we do. This must apply to any political discourse. Unless the possibility is accepted, rational debate cannot proceed and all we get is propaganda.

So in East Timor, we have tried to collate names, photographs and biographies of victims of Indonesian brutality since 1975, not just since the Dili massacre in 1991, and wherever possible, to cross-reference by interviews and testimonies from survivors and relatives. Far from inflating our figures, we tend to understate them. The figure of 50 deaths announced by the Indonesian commission of inquiry set up to investigate the Dili massacre and still used by Mr. Nicholls, is not regarded as credible by anyone who has looked beyond what the Indonesian government has claimed.

Sadly since 1965, the Indonesian regime has provided us with many opportunities to improve our techniques. The massacre of real or alleged communists which was instigated by Suharto's men remains, like the Holocaust, mind-numbing in its enormity, which makes it difficult to counter arguments that either it never happened or has been much exaggerated. The detailed documentation needed to measure is properly is never likely to become available.

But with the Indonesian army's operations in West Papua, Aceh, and East Timor, we have a well authenticated catalogue of atrocities and injustices perpetrated on largely defenceless populations which Jakarta has done little to deny or disprove.

We are confident that as honourable men and women, Mr. Nicholls and his colleagues on the All-Party Indonesian Parliamentary Committee will not wish to be seen to be apologists for a corrupt and brutal regime. We would be happy to discuss our methods with them.

Yours sincerely,
Tom Soper,

45 Shirley Way, Croydon, CR0 8PJ

SILENCE COVERS A GREAT CRIME IN EAST TIMOR

Letter page, The Guardian, March 7, 1994

It was Primo Levi who said that perhaps the greatest fear of the inmates of the Nazi camps was that the world would not believe what had happened to them. He predicted correctly that the scale of the horror would attract a particular breed of detractor. This is also true of East Timor, where at least a third of the population have died brutally in what one survivor has described as "Indonesia's island concentration camp."

A priest who recorded the names of 287 people massacred by the Indonesian army in just one village, wrote: "The great crime committed in East Timor has been covered in silence, giving the propagandists an opportunity to deny the truth of our suffering."

Patrick Nicholls MP played this role in his shameful letter (March 4), in which he described the barbarity of the Suharto regime as my "thesis ... consistent with the view of the liberal establishment" and "at variance with the truth." He dismissed "assertions" that 200,000 East Timorese had died and gave no evidence to support this. My film, *Death of a Nation*, could not be believed, he wrote, because I "misread the situation in Cambodia for 10 years."

Coming in the week that the Khmer Rouge further consolidated their hold in Cambodia, his smear was surely ironic. That unpalatable events in Cambodia are not considered news is no more than a reflection

of the long silence over similar events in East Timor. The rest of Patrick Nicholls's apologia used words and phrases to be found in current Indonesian government handouts, let's examine his denials of truth:

Nicholls claimed that the Indonesians had "never hidden or excused the killing of 50 demonstrators" in the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12 1991 "even though the troops had been subject to extreme provocation."

Fact: Suharto set up a "commission of enquiry" solely to withstand international pressure for an independent investigation of the massacre; Amnesty concluded that the mandate and methods of the commission "were fatally flawed and its finding unacceptable: and principally directed at "the appeasement of domestic and international critics and the suppression of further dissent in the territory."

In its initial announcement on December 26, 1991, the commission gave a figure of 19 dead. When diplomats in Jakarta friendly to the regime expressed astonishment, the figure was revised to "around 50 dead" although the commission's report contained nothing to back up this new claim. When, in July 1992, a final report was issued the figure of 50 had disappeared altogether and 19 had reappeared.

As for the "extreme provocation," there is extensive videotape of the march that ended in the cemetery, and it is clear that the demonstrators posed no threat and were unarmed. Foreigners who witnessed the killings describe the provocation story as ludicrous.

Nicholls lauds the Jakarta regime's "punishment" of low-ranking officers for "disobeying orders" at the cemetery.

Fact: Amnesty's reports, and those of other human rights organisations and foreign eye witnesses, leave little doubt that the massacre was a planned military operation; Nicholls omitted to say that the "punishment" of the soldiers was dismissed by human rights organisations as almost black farce. Most of the "punished" were out of custody after a few months; one spent his "sentence" on holiday in Bali.

In striking contrast, eight East Timorese survivors of the massacre were tried by a kangaroo court for participating in the demonstration and given sentences ranging from five years to life. Not surprisingly, Nicholls made no mention of this.

Nicholls wrote that there "has never been a shred of credible, impartial evidence that a 'second massacre' occurred" following the cemetery killings.

Fact: Bishop Carlos Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor and a current nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize, twice gave evidence at to the Indonesian commis-

sion of enquiry that people were killed in the military hospital after the first massacre. "They showed no interest," he said. "The military authorities (wanted) to give the Timorese people these extreme lessons. We think there is no justice ... no justice."

Nicholls wrote: "If there are eye-witnesses, let them be properly interviewed."

Well, they were properly interviewed in my film, and last week the same eye witnesses were properly interviewed in Lisbon and Geneva during the hearings of the UN Human Rights Commission, which is still waiting for Jakarta to produce 207 people "missing" after the first massacre. What now seems likely is that the Indonesians murdered a total of some 400 people."

Nicholls wrote that the death toll over 18 years of 200,000 "does not stand up to examination."

Fact: a demographic study by James Dunn, former Australian consul in East Timor and advisor to the Australian parliament, found that the figure of 200,000 dead was a minimum. "It's incredible," he said. "It's worse than Cambodia and Ethiopia." Last November the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee in Canberra reported that "at least 200,000" had died under Indonesian rule.

There are numerous other sources. It will take more than the dutiful sophistry of Patrick Nicholls to conceal such a crime against humanity.

John Pilger,

Central Productions, London W1

CONDEMN VIOLATIONS

Mar 8, 1994

Patrick Nicholls (Letters, March 4) challenges the thesis that the Indonesian government "treats the human rights of its citizens with contempt." Since when have the East Timorese been Indonesia's citizens? Mr. Nicholls further solicits our sympathy with Indonesia for having "had to cope with decolonisation and the power vacuum left by the Portuguese in East Timor." Indonesia had no business invading East Timor. The people there should have been left alone to decide for themselves where their future lay. But what disturbs me most is the awe with which Mr. Nicholls refers to Indonesia's size and power among the nations. Should the size of a country ever intimidate us into condoning any of its atrocities and killings it perpetrates against other people? Violation of human rights is to be condemned whatever its scale or extent.

(Dr.) Fred Kaan Birmingham

LETTER FROM HONG KONG INDONESIAN CONSUL

Eastern Express, March 4.

Comment from Margin Wesley-Smith: Last month the "Eastern Express," a new Hong Kong English-language newspaper, published an article by John Pilger about his clandestine visit to East Timor last year. As far as I'm aware, it was the only Hong Kong newspaper to mention Pilger's claim that there was a second massacre in Dili in November 1991.

On March 4 1994, the "Eastern Express" published a letter from S. Rahaju Daryatno, the Indonesian Consul in Hong Kong. Daryatno writes:

The government of the Republic of Indonesia regrets that Britain's Independent Television Network elected to broadcast a very biased and factually incorrect film on the complex subject of East Timor on February 22.

It had been our hope that ITV would recognise the film for what it is, an effort by anti-Indonesian propagandists to use sensationalism that cannot be objectively supported by facts to seek to influence international opinion. Unfortunately, that was not the case.

While we have not seen the film in question, we have read press reports on accusations it reportedly includes. We wish to categorically state that these accusations are false and without foundation.

There is no question that the outcome of the demonstrations that occurred in Dili, East Timor, on November 12, 1991, is deeply regrettable.

But there is also no question that the government of Indonesia moved swiftly to gather the facts surrounding the incident and in doing so, Indonesia was guided by the principle of due process.

Those who violated the law, whether they were demonstrators or security personnel, were brought to trial before the appropriate courts of justice.

As we have said on numerous occasions, this was a tragic incident and clearly not an act ordered by, or reflecting the policy of, the government of Indonesia or its armed forces.

Such baseless charges as those contained in the film will never divert us from our primary mission, which is addressing the very important needs for the economic development of a province that was neglected for hundreds of years when it was still a colony of Portugal.

Indonesia remains committed to human rights.

The Indonesian government has consistently endeavoured to adhere to the humanitarian precepts and basic human rights and freedom embodied in its state philosophy, its 1945 constitution and its national laws and regulations.

These precepts, rights and freedoms, as embodied in the constitutional and legal system, derive from age-old traditions, customs and the philosophy of life of the Indonesian people.

Finally, we should like to quote a comment made by the Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating on one of those involved in producing the film in question.

According to the February 14 issue of the Australian newspaper, "The Age," he said: 'I am afraid Mr. Pilger's credibility is always under a cloud as his views on Cambodia last year revealed very starkly.'

We ask all those people who have seen this sensationalistic film to analyse the charges objectively and to verify the credibility of its producers questioning the commitment to human rights and the rule of law of a nation of some 186 million people.

S. Rahaju Daryatno, Indonesian Consul in Hong Kong

VESTED INTERESTS HIDING TRUTH

Letters to the Editor, p15, "Eastern Express," Friday April 1 1994

In denying that a second massacre of East Timorese demonstrators occurred in Dili in November 1991, S Rahaju Daryatno accused "anti-Indonesia propagandists" of using sensationalism that could not "be objectively supported by facts" ("Giving the wrong impression," "Eastern Express," March 4).

I invited him to supply an alternative, believable account.

His response ("Improvements ignored," "Eastern Express," March 25) merely quotes a pro-Indonesia propagandist, British Conservative MP Patrick Nicholls, whose government has sold Hawk fighter jets and other arms to Indonesia and who has, therefore, a vested interest in playing down the human rights abuses to which these arms have contributed. Nicholls claims that the "Indonesian government has never hidden or excused the killing of 50 demonstrators ... even though the troops involved had been subjected to extreme provocation."

With his help, it is now hiding the killing of at least 221 demonstrators whose names have been documented by respected Indonesian academic Dr. George Aditjondro.

Max Stahl, the cinematographer who brought the horror of the Dili massacre into the world's living rooms, says that when the unarmed demonstrators arrived at the ceme-

tery there was not an Indonesian soldier in sight.

Suddenly a truck load of soldiers arrived and immediately started firing into the crowd. This doesn't sound to me like "extreme provocation."

Nicholls claims that a dozen Indonesian soldiers were disciplined, with 10 being given jail sentences of up to 18 months. He neglects to mention that East Timorese demonstrators were given jail sentences of up to 10 years.

Fernando Araujo, for example, was given nine years for "undermining the Indonesian government and disgracing the nation in the eyes of the international community."

"Even the assertions that 200,000 Timorese have been killed does not stand up to examination," says Nicholls.

Consider this: Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik admitted that 60-80,000 were killed in the three months following the 1975 invasion.

Shall we say, then, 100,000? No-one disputes that the highest casualty period was the war-induced famine and disease of 1978-79, which led to well over 100,000 deaths. There are your 200,000, Mr. Nicholls.

How many have died in the 15 years of arrests, torture, "walls of legs" operations, disappearances and massacres since then?

How many in the well-documented Lakluta (1981) and Kraras (1983) massacres?

According to witnesses, the Dili massacre was only the tip of a very large iceberg - we heard about it only because it was witnessed by Western journalists.

"Indonesia is a fairly open society," Nicholls says.

East Timor was completely closed to the outside world for 13 years. Even now, only some outsiders are allowed in. Journalists are either banned completely or so tightly controlled that they have no way of discovering the truth.

Any citizen who talks to a visitor is immediately interrogated by the military, with some never being seen again. This is an open society?

How can the rest of the world know what has gone on - and is going on - in East Timor when it has been denied open access?

Witness reports are often the only hint that the picture is different from that painted by the organs of government propaganda.

If the world could freely determine the truth, then Mr. Pilger's "lies" would be exposed - wouldn't they, Mr. Daryatno?

Martin Wesley-Smith
Pokfulam

PILGER: AUSTRALIA'S ROLE IN TIMOR TRAGEDY

Green Left #134, March 9, 1994

Death of a Nation, the new film on East Timor narrated by Australian journalist JOHN PILGER, has had a major international impact - and has been attacked by the Australian government even before it has been shown here. Pilger, in London, was interviewed by phone for Green Left Weekly by HELEN JARVIS.

Question: What was your intention in making the film?

What lay behind the film was a long-standing wish to draw together all the available strands of the East Timor story over 18 years and give them a worldwide airing on television. There had been some very fine documentary films about East Timor, notably Gil Scrine's *Buried Alive*, but none of them have had an international audience, apart from *In Cold Blood*, and that concentrated quite rightly on the horrific scenes in the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991.

Perhaps more than the Middle East, more than Indo-China even, the horrors visited on East Timor tell us very succinctly about how the world is run. One only has to look at the complicity of governments, of all stripes, in the bloody events in East Timor to gain a very clear perspective of the so-called new world order.

Question: Did you find things that you were not expecting or did you anticipate from the work beforehand what you were going into?

I didn't anticipate the atmosphere in East Timor. I don't think I've experienced anything like it. To say it's oppressive is an understatement. People are unsmiling, clearly terrified of having contact with foreigners and of straying from an invisible line they must all walk.

There's an extraordinary landscape of crosses everywhere. David Munro and I spent some time examining the gravestones of cemeteries all over the country. We drove extensively through the mountains, across the border from West Timor right to the east of the country. There's a terrible story of extermination of families and whole communities. I've never seen anything like this.

It's a place at once fearful and menacing, but also there's a remarkable courage, and I don't say that lightly. The civilian resistance is everywhere. It seems to be able to multiply itself whenever it wants to. It seems to have people in practically any village.

The network is made up of the generations who grew up under the Indonesians and were meant to have been "resocialised" by the regime. The fact that they now form

a vociferous opposition must be intensely galling for the military.

Question: What are the possibilities for Indonesian reaction? This continuing opposition internationally is something they thought they would have thrown off by now. Do you have any feeling for the possibilities of a response on their part?

The pressure is critical, and I think there's considerable hope there. I was in Geneva last week at the UN Human Rights Commission, and more than a hundred people watched the film. A number of them were members of the commission, diplomats, Indonesians and others, and it was quite clear that East Timor is an urgent issue and there is a feeling that something must be done.

The reason is the pressure coming, however obliquely, from the United States, from Portugal and from the UN Secretary-General's office. Something is moving, and with the reawakening of public opinion in Western countries and elsewhere, I think the momentum will continue.

Question: That leads on to the question of the possibility of Australia playing some sort of a positive role.

Australia has sunk so low in the swamp of "relations" with Jakarta that how the government extricates itself is something we can only wonder at.

Portugal is taking Australia to the World Court over the Timor Gap Treaty. I interviewed Professor Roger Clark, the expert on international law at Rutgers University, and he was confident that Australian government would certainly lose in the Hague and would have no choice but to back down.

That could be a very positive development. It's a form of outside pressure and again it will highlight the complicity of the Australian government with the Indonesians.

There seems to be real stupidity in Australia's rush to please the regime in Jakarta. Others have done it with some sophistication and so might be able to extricate themselves. But Keating and Evans have rushed headlong into an embrace with Suharto, leaving behind a trail of quite extraordinary declarations, such as Evans' description of the Dili massacre as an aberration and his recent denial of evidence of a second massacre in Dili.

I heard him on the radio - just a clip from parliament - saying that the "specific allegations" in the film had already been raised some time before, had been bought to the attention of the Australian government and had been dismissed out of hand.

For the East Timorese it's a horrific tragedy. For Australia it's a small tragedy because this was and still is one international

incident that Australia could have influenced, and it failed. Its failure makes mockery of any pretensions of an independent Australian foreign policy.

Question: This brings up the role of Australia in Cambodia.

The two are linked. There is a myth, which exists only in Australia, that something called an Australian peace plan has triumphed in Cambodia. This is simply not true.

There have been elections in Cambodia. A coalition government is in power. According to a secret United Nations assessment, the Khmer Rouge have, as a direct result of the process, doubled their strength. The fact that the media have declared Cambodia a Western triumph and decided not to report what is now happening doesn't make the extreme dangers that exist any less.

In media terms Australia is a very controlled society. When something is declared good by the government, generally the media will go along with it, and so it has gone along with the myth of an Australian success in Cambodia. The peace plan is essentially an American plan and Gareth Evans' role is regarded with some derision in Washington.

Had the Australian government in the 1970s decided to stand up to the Indonesians and defend the right of the East Timorese to self-determination, the Americans might well have gone along at a time when the American public were hostile to any new confrontations in South-East Asia. I think the Americans in the 1970s were prepared to listen and even at some times to be guided by Australian actions over East Timor. But Australian actions fell in with the ambitions of the Kissinger group in Washington.

Question: What's been the reaction to the film where it has been shown?

Immediately after the film was shown here on network television, British Telecom reported 4000 calls a minute to the number shown at the end of the film. The Foreign Office has been inundated with letters. I was told by a Portuguese ambassador that response in Portugal was the equivalent of a football match.

In the film the president of Portugal says that the Indonesians are guilty of genocide. That's an extraordinary statement for a head of state to make. He also attacks the British government and says that the Timorese will never forgive them backing the Suharto dictatorship and supplying arms.

The Australian reaction has been almost tragicomic because the film hasn't been shown there. Keating and Evans' attack on it merely reminds us that Australia is a wonderful country run by very small ma-

chine politicians who, when the argument seems to go against them, behave like thugs.

When Evans said in parliament that the evidence is not new, he's quite right. He doesn't seem to understand that he is saying he has known about this because substantiated evidence has been available among the East Timorese community since shortly after the massacre took place in November '91.

For Evans to write a little script for Keating to go on and attack my credibility over Cambodia is extraordinary and shameful. It publicly allies the Australian government with the apologists of genocide.

I've been reading statements by [Indonesian foreign minister] Ali Alatas that use the same words as Evans in press releases put out by Indonesian embassies all over the world. They quote Evans and Keating and use their terms of abuse. So here you have an Australian government writing the script for a regime that has committed genocide at its doorstep.

Death of a Nation will be shown at the International Green Left Conference in Sydney, March 31-April 4.

GENOCIDE ON OUR DOORSTEP

The Sydney Morning Herald, 10 March 1994. By Margot Date and David Langsam

John Pilger's film about East Timor will shock Australian complacent about our foreign policy record. At least, he hopes it will.

John Pilger's *Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy* is advertised as "The film Paul Keating doesn't want you to see," and for good reason.

This documentary is not going to please Indonesia, our close neighbour, which is accused by being responsible for the death of 200,000 East Timorese civilians since its forces invaded in 1975.

Significantly, it is the first time that the history of the occupation of East Timor has been pieced together in a feature-length documentary, exposing a genocide on our doorstep. When the film has its Australian premiere in Sydney tonight, it will reveal for the first time to many Australian what has happen so close to home.

Pilger is here to promote it by speaking before screenings at the Mandolin and Valhalla cinemas.

Pilger and his partner, David Munro, searched the world for archival footage and with a cameraman, Max Stahl, and a voluntary aid worker, slipped into East Timor late last year to undertake secret filming. They went in pretending to be travel to be

travel agents and left with the film strapped to their backs and legs.

In the film, senior diplomats state clearly that the Whitlam Government knew that the 1975 invasion by Indonesia was going to take place and when it did, did nothing.

The film's most visually shocking moment is not Max Stahl's footage of a young man dying in the Dili cemetery in November 1991, but Foreign Minister Gareth Evan's 1989 propaganda video in which he and his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas, in a jet above Timor, toast the successful redistribution of East Timor's resource wealth with the signing of the Timor Gap Oil Treaty.

Pilger said in Sydney this week that it was his favourite scene in the film. "It says the most about the betrayal of the Timorese people."

Thousands of feet below the foreign ministers in their jet, the blood-soaked island has lost about a third of its population, an estimate made not by Pilger but by Australia's former Consul to East Timor, James Dunn, and the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, which in November 1993 said: "...at least 200,000 East Timorese have died from causes directly or indirectly attributable to integration by Indonesia." The Portuguese President calls it genocide.

Although the film has already been shown on British television, Pilger preferred a cinema release here and in the United States because of his increasing belief in the power of film in the cinema.

"In the US, it's very difficult for foreign films to break a virtual embargo that exists on network television, whereas there is an extensive network of independent cinemas across the States," Pilger said. The film will be released there in about a month in 157 independent cinemas. [Not true.]

One of the most encouraging aspects of Australian cinemas in Pilger's mind is that documentaries are actually screened in them. He is presently considering offers from Australian television networks and said the television version of the film would eventually be screened.

Pilger said he was satisfied with the film. Of the 12 major films he has made with Munro, including *Cambodia Year Zero* and *Heroes*, this one demanded the most planning.

"It took a long time to plan our secret filming (in East Timor), how we would do it, how we would get others in, and to trawl the world for archive film...We tapped into this extraordinary network that has kept alive the issue of East Timor in many countries, particularly Australia," he said.

The Australian producer Gil Scrine is also the distributor here, and according to Pilger, he contributed enormously to the success of the film.

After the meticulous planning, Pilger interviewed diplomats and politicians from all sides of the picture, from Australia to Portugal and Indonesia, plus Timorese exiles and people still in Timor. They all spoke openly but Pilger said that was because he worked on the basic journalistic practice of asking questions that he thought the audience would ask.

So much material was gathered that he will reissue his book *Distant Voices* in May, with nearly 100 pages about East Timor.

After the deaths of six foreign newsmen in 1975, East Timor was closed to outsiders until 1989 and has been off limits to journalists.

Pilger said he and Munro, Stahl and the aid worker never really felt they were in physical danger while in East Timor late last year, but were worried that they would be caught and their film confiscated.

"I felt that of the four of us who went, that David Munro and I would probably be caught. That wouldn't be a bad thing," Pilger said. "If we were caught that would distract from the others.

"So we went in with four of us, at different times, assuming that perhaps half of us would be caught and that one or two cameras would be successful. In the end all of us got in and out."

Pilger's career has taken him to the world's trouble spots, including Africa, the Middle East, India and Cambodia, but he said he had never been to a place where the atmosphere as so oppressive.

"It's very strange. It is like walking across a giant grave. There are crosses everywhere."

He had been told that you could tell an East Timorese person - child or adult - anywhere because they don't smile, but thought it was just something people said. He found out it was true.

He said that despite their country being militarised by the Indonesians, the people have a combination of fear, courage and defiance.

When Amelia Gusmão, the wife of the imprisoned resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, finally was forced into exile from East Timor, young schoolchildren materialised out of nowhere and lined the road to honour her. Then they disappeared again.

To do that in a country where there is so much overt oppression is an extraordinary act of courage and organisation similar, I imagine, to many European countries that were occupied during World War II," Pilger said.

The Dili massacre took place in 1991 after young people organised a peaceful demonstration in honour of one of their friends who had been killed.

Claims in the film, that survivors of the massacre were later killed by Indonesian troops, have drawn criticism from Senator Evans and the Prime Minister, doing nothing to improve Pilger's frosty relationship with the Australian Government.

His response to their criticism is that he hopes members of the Government watch this film.

"They have had a lot to say about it without having seen a single frame," he said.

"Any light shone on the issue of Timor poses a real threat to politicians in the Australian Government because East Timor (has been) the Achilles heel of Australian foreign policy over many years.

"It's indefensible. They know it is indefensible. They know that the Timorese could have been helped, lives could have been saved without endangering relationship with the Indonesian. But they chose to remain silent.

"They also chose to sign a treaty over East Timor's oil and gas with the Indonesians, effectively to steal the resources of another country."

After the television debut of the film in England, a special telephone reaction line received 4,000 calls a minute through the night and the Australian High Commission was inundated with abusive calls.

Pilger hopes Australian who see the film will be angry and upset.

"I think what isn't generally known is Australia's moral debt to the Timorese, going back to World War II," Pilger said.

Australia's relations with the Indonesian Government, the East Timor people and the riches reaped from oil and gas reserves are brought into sharp focus by the story of Arthur (Steve) Stevenson, Celestino dos Anjos and Operation Sparrowforce.

A veteran of the World War II mission, Stevenson told Pilger that Australians were saved by the East Timorese when they parachuted in to stop the Japanese building airfields for attacks on Australia, just 600km away. Forty Australian commandos were killed in the operation but 40,000 Timorese were killed, mainly in Japanese retribution. Stevenson spent years organising an Australian service medal to be awarded to his comrade, Celestino dos Anjos, recognising the contribution.

In 1983, along with his son's pregnant wife, Celestino was forced to dig his own grave by the Suharto forces in Kraras, the Village of the Widows, where nearly 300 people were killed.

Pilger said when local audience think of this and see Senator Evans and Ali Alatas toasting each other as they fly over East Timor with its mass graves, they will then understand the nature of the betrayal.

SYDNEY OPENING OF DEATH OF A NATION

Report from ETRA. 13 March 1994

The film DEATH OF A NATION: The Timor Conspiracy opened in Sydney by John Pilger on the 10 March in both cinemas, the Mandolin (6pm) and Valhalla (7.30pm).

Both cinemas hold approximately 430 people and both were full.

ETRA (East Timor Relief Association) & AETA (Australian East Timor Association) combined forces to distribute postcards made by Artists for East Timor. The latest issue of Matebian News as well as ETRA brochures were distributed widely in both cinemas.

At the end people were asked to sign the cards so that the Artists could forward to Gareth Evans. It read:

(front) HELP PUT IT RIGHT.

200,000 East Timorese dead. Indonesia's annexation of East Timor not recognised by the United Nations. Yet recognised and supported by Australia. If you agree that our record on East Timor is a bloody outrage, use the reverse of this card to help put it right.

(back) I reject Australia's recognition of the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia and demand that the Australian government changes its position on this issue now.

Signature..... Address.....

Our gratitude must go to Gil Scrine, Margherita Tracanelli, ETRA members and others who worked hard to make this night very successful.

TIMOR FILM ON SWEDISH TELEVISION

John Pilger's new documentary film about East Timor will be shown on Swedish television Channel Two: Tuesday, March 29, at 21.50 hours.

There is a second showing on Sunday, April 3, at 23.25 hours.

I think this is the first time a film about East Timor is shown on Scandinavian television.

Torben Retboll, Aarhus, Denmark.

DEATH OF A NATION IN HONG KONG

On Wednesday March 30, the Hong Kong chapter of Amnesty International arranged the showing of John Pilger's film "Death of a Nation" at the Foreign Correspondents Club, Hong Kong. This was followed by the Indonesian Consulate showing an Indonesian government film about East

Timor. There was then discussion, questions from the floor etc. ...

DEATH OF A NATION IN IRELAND

Source *Southside News*.

John Pilger's documentary will be screened on R.T.E. 1 on Thursday 31 March. It is expected that the Irish government will come under pressure from N.G.O.s and other agencies to press for sanctions against the Indonesian regime.

THE SECOND MASSACRE IN DILI, 1991

PRINCEN WANTS CLARIFICATION

Original document. 16 February 1994.
Translated.

H.J.C. Princen, who chairs the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM) in Jakarta, sent the following letter on 16 February 1994 to General Faisal Tanjung, commander-in-chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces:

It has been reported in Australia that after the 12 November 1991 incident at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, victims were murdered at the hospital in Dili and outside Dili. But the report has been denied by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

As we have heard about this report via the intermediary of the foreign press, the LPHAM would like to obtain clarifications from you about the accuracy of the report. Furthermore, we ask that, if the reports are accurate, firm measures should be taken against those responsible.

We hope to receive an early response and express our gratitude in advance for your attention and willingness to oblige.

(signed) H.J.C. Princen

Copies to the LBH, INFIGHT and the National Commission on Human Rights

SECOND MASSACRE EVIDENCE

Wollongong Mercury 19 Feb., by James Dunn.

In the past week two articles on the Dili massacre in November 1991 have diverted some attention from Sarajevo to nearer home. A British journalist, Max Stahl, has thrown new light on the fate of the so-called "missing" Timorese - the more than 90 people who were unaccounted for by Indonesia's official inquiry. The entire issue is about to

reopen in John Pilger's forthcoming documentary, which promises to embarrass both the Indonesians and governments like ours who have been pressing us to accept the unacceptable.

The Indonesian inquiry which followed the shooting found that 50 Timorese were killed and about 60 were missing, an account that won eager acceptance from the Suharto regime's friends. Of course it should never have been accepted at all. To anyone following those events it seemed that what the Indonesian authorities did was to divide the casualty list into "killed" and "missing" in order to diminish the size of a massacre, which in reality cost more than twice as many lives as the recent Sarajevo killings which shocked the international community into threatening air strikes against Serb forces.

While Max Stahl has come up with fresh evidence of a second round of killing, for a long time it has been clear that the slaughter did not end with the firing on the demonstrating students by Indonesian troops. It included the later brutal killing of some injured demonstrators, whose bodies were disposed of by the Indonesian military in locations that a serious inquiry would have quickly discovered. In the event Timorese parents could only guess at what had happened to their murdered student children, some of them in their mid-teens. The use of the word "missing" was thus a sick joke, for in a small area like East Timor, then controlled by more than 10,000 troops, it would have been impossible for such a number to simply disappear.

The prospect of another provocative film about Timor is evidently causing anxiety in Jakarta. Hence the appearance on our media of a Father Marcus Wanandi, an Indonesian priest who claims he witnessed the Dili killing and who refutes the allegation of a second massacre. But Wanandi is no ordinary priest. His family has strong links with the military. His brother was a key member of the intelligence team which planned the seizure of East Timor in 1975. And in 1988 when the Timorese Bishop began speaking out about Indonesian oppression it was Father Wanandi who was sent to Dili to try to head off his protests. If in fact Wanandi had witnessed the event why was he not called by either the prosecution or the defence in the show trials of the demonstrators in 1992?

The Timor question remains a haemorrhage on our relations with Indonesia. Let's dispense with cover-ups and go for a durable solution, with UN involvement. Our Government's continuing defence of the indefensible merely further discolours an already murky episode in this country's foreign policy.

AUSTRALIA UNCONVINCED OF NEW TIMOR MASSACRE CLAIMS

Reuter, February 21. slightly abridged

(Canberra) Australia is not convinced by new claims that Indonesian troops murdered as many as 200 injured survivors of the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said on Monday.

A documentary, titled "Death of a Nation," alleged that 50 to 200 East Timorese injured in the November massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili were brought back to a military hospital and murdered by Indonesian troops and medical staff.

British filmmaker Max Stahl and expatriate Australian journalist John Pilger made the documentary, which is due to be broadcast in Britain in February.

"We've never attained any evidence to suggest that the number of deaths was anything like the scale that's now alleged in the latest Pilger documentary," Evans told parliament.

Evans said Australian diplomats in Indonesia in 1991 had said a second series of killings might have been conceivable but "we found then, and we still find, any evidence for a second series of killings to be quite sketchy and quite circumstantial."

The Australian government remained concerned however about the difference between Indonesian government reports and independent reports about people missing after the killings.

Evans said the Indonesian government reported 56 missing while an independent commission of inquiry reported 91.

"We have urged the Indonesian government to clarify the status and number of those missing," he said. "We remain concerned about the absence of final and conclusive evidence about these questions."

AUSTRALIA URGES INDONESIA TO CLARIFY THE NUMBERS

2BL ABC, 21 February 1994

Newsreader: Australia says it's urging Indonesia to clarify the number of East Timorese missing following the Dili massacre of November 1991. Foreign Minister Gareth Evans says Indonesian Government told the United Nations Secretary General that 56 people remain missing. He says the previous statement from the Indonesian armed forces put the total figure of those missing at 64. Senator Evans told Parliament there were discrepancies between those figures and the estimate of Indonesia's commission of inquiry which found 91 East Timorese missing.

EVANS: That is part of the reason why for example the Commission on Human Rights last year, we voted in favour of a resolution expressing concern about the lack of information on the number of people killed in November 1991 and urging Indonesian Government to account fully for those missing. We remain concerned about the absence of a final and conclusive evidence on this whole question.

'SMEAR CAMPAIGN' CANNOT HIDE EVANS' SHAMEFUL ROLE ON TIMOR

The Age, 24 Feb. 1994. By John Pilger.

Subhead: Senator Gareth Evans' dismissal of reports was too hasty, writes John Pilger

"The Age's story 'No proof of second killing after Dili' (21 February) reports in full remarks by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans, about the evidence of eyewitnesses to a second massacre in November 1991. This evidence was reported by my colleague Max Stahl in 'The Age' recently.

Senator Evans, having not seen our documentary film, 'Death of Nation,' or had an opportunity to examine the evidence, has denied that further killings took place in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz cemetery and the military hospital in Dili. His kind of blustering denial, bereft of any counter facts, ought to alert people to the truth of the evidence - given by those who were there, who were called upon to take part in the killings and who barely escaped with their lives.

But Evans has now revealed the falsehood and fear behind his bluster. Up to his neck in the murk of "relations" with the dictatorship in Jakarta, he has embarked on a personal smear campaign against me. Coming from one in such a position, this is a disgrace - even by the standards of the machine politics that underpins the government of which he is a part.

"The Age" reported his remarks on television last weekend in which he derided my "track record of distorted sensationalism." Evans clearly had written the script for Paul Keating, who last week sneered at my "record" on Cambodia. It was my film 'Cambodia' Year Zero,' in 1979, that was credited with alerting the world to the horrors of Pol Pot and calling for worldwide help for the Cambodian people. It was my film 'Cambodia Year Ten,' in 1989, that was credited with putting the long-neglected issue of Cambodia back on the international agenda.

More to the point, it was this film that stirred the Australian Government into pro-

ducing its so-called "peace plan" for Cambodia. Of course, Evans would never say this publicly; but he has said so privately, specifically to senior foreign affairs advisers to the Thai Prime Minister in 1990.

I am glad my work appears to have such an effect. However, it has never been my aim to appease politicians and my last Cambodia film, 'Return to Year Zero,' told an unpalatable truth - that the so-called "Evans peace plan" was not as it appeared: that, according to the UN's own classified estimates, the Khmer Rouge have more than doubled the territory they hold since the start of the "peace process." A vigilant media ought to have challenged the West's "triumph" in Cambodia and questioned myths about a "weakened" Khmer Rouge. Pol Pot, of course, is in no hurry.

Evans now converts his principal part in these myths to abuse, in order to convert the responsibility he shares for the continuing suffering in East Timor. It is shameful that Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, a skillful apologist for genocide, should be using a language of smear against me and my colleagues, fed to him by Australian officials in Canberra and Jakarta.

One of the most vivid scenes in my film, 'Death of Nation,' is that of Evans and Alatas toasting each other with champagne as they fly over Timor, having just signed the Timor Gap oil and gas treaty and effectively divided the spoils provided by the deaths of 200,000 East Timorese - or "at least 200,000," to quote the recent report by the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee. Evans has said Australian companies could make "zillions" out of East Timor's oil.

Clearly, Evans must now dismiss any evidence of a second massacre - because he dismissed the first massacre as an "aberration." You can't have two of these - even if other "aberrations" have added up to 200,000 dead. Evans went on to congratulate Jakarta for setting up a "commission of inquiry" described by Amnesty International as "totally lacking in credibility and designed to appease international criticism."

When I was in Australia recently, I several times requested an interview with Senator Evans, so that could put new evidence before him and get his response. His office gave some excuse. Fearful of proper journalistic scrutiny, he now unites with Jakarta in a craven campaign of smear that shames his high office, not to mention the memory of those Timorese who endured the silence of his Government.

UNHRC TESTIMONY ON SECOND MASSACRE

*Testimony before the UN Human Rights Commission, Geneva, March 1994.
By João-Antonio Dias of East Timor*

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Human Rights Commission:

I offer you my greetings, and those of the people of East Timor.

My name is João-Antonio Dias. I am 26 years old and, until last December, worked as analyst in the laboratory at the Military Hospital in Dili. Two months ago, I left my country to escape the repression of Indonesia's military forces and police.

I am grateful for this opportunity to give my testimony before this Assembly, on the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12th November 1991, when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on peaceful demonstrators, killing and wounding many people. After the massacre, most of the victims were loaded into 18 trucks (10 Mercedes and 8 Hinos) and driven to the Military Hospital, where I was working. Other wounded people, who had been taken to the civilian hospital in Dili, were later removed by soldiers from that hospital and also brought to the Military Hospital.

When the morgue at the Military Hospital became full with the bodies of the victims, some of whom were still alive, the newly arrived victims were brought in and thrown onto the veranda and even on the ground in front of the morgue. The trucks kept arriving with more bodies. They drove right over the ones that were on the ground. Some of the wounded gesticulated, moving their arms or legs to show that they were still alive, but the trucks did not stop.

As a worker in the Military Hospital, I saw all this happening, but could do nothing about it, as the slightest reaction on my part would have exposed me to the same fate.

The military were looking for a quick way to get rid of the bodies and the survivors. At first, they asked the hospital laboratory for injections of sulfuric acid, but their apprehension about the noise from the victims' cries of pain made them abandon the idea. Then they went to the storeroom of the Military Services' Health Centre (DENKES), took jars of pills, and started giving two pills and a glass of water to each wounded person. After taking these pills, the wounded started to lose their strength and their breathing became weaker. I know the names of the four people who distributed the pills: two soldiers, whose names were Pamabas and Nyoman, and two civilian auxiliaries (TBOs) called Chico and Araujo.

After a while, the soldiers returned to check whether they were dead. They killed anyone who was still alive by crushing their skulls with huge stones.

A large number of Indonesian soldiers had assembled there: 744 Battalion, 433 Rostra, the Mobile Brigade, Polwil police, Military Police, and the Intelligence Service, Intel-SGI. They stopped the civilians from going anywhere near the hospital. I saw everything because, as a hospital worker, I was already inside when it all started, and my presence there was justified. But, in order to hide my emotions and revulsion, I had to go into the toilet, and there I dried my tears. When I came out, they were undressing the bodies, so that anything that might help to identify them could be burned. They loaded the bodies into the trucks, but I do not know where they were taken then.

Witnesses to all of this, and probably collaborators who recommended and supplied the pills, were: Dr. Nyoman Winyata, the Director of the Hospital; Dr. Banban; Nurse João Kota; Nurse Yohanes, and other Indonesian doctors, practicing in Timor for a six-month period, whose names I do not know.

Two years after the massacre at Santa Cruz, the situation is still tense, and freedom for the Timorese is non-existent. All kinds of meetings are prohibited: the head of a family who wishes to have more than four visitors in his home at the same time, must inform the military beforehand, otherwise, he would be taken for interrogation, which is always accompanied by physical and/or psychological torture.

In schools, pupils cannot talk about politics. Some of the teachers are agents for Indonesian intelligence services, and they purposely encourage political conversations in order to detect those who most strongly oppose Indonesia.

Even Catholic priests are kept under surveillance while they carry out their religious duties. They have to obtain authorization for any pastoral activity, such as celebration of mass and processions.

Young people are not allowed to go near foreign reporters or tourists visiting Timor. The Indonesian authorities choose the individuals who are to accompany such visitors. These individuals supply the visitors with information which has been previously selected, and tell them how the Timorese support Indonesian presence there. Recently, the Indonesians organized a trip to Jakarta for 30 Timorese leaders, so that they could make public statements there in favor of East Timor's integration into Indonesia, although this was not the true feeling of the leaders, who had been forced to make the statements.

The repression, persecution, and torture all still continue. So I appeal to the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, and to all the other Governments represented here, to put continuous pressure on Indonesia to respect the fundamental rights of the people of East Timor.

We want to defend our freedom and our right to independence. We have no desire to destabilize the Indonesian nation, or any neighboring country.

I thank all those Governments and peoples who endorse true peace for East Timor. Thank you.

For additional reports to the UNHRC, as well as resolutions, see its section below.

RELIVING SANTA CRUZ IN LISBON

Publico, 24 Feb. By Adelino Gomes & Joaquim T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese.

Most of them were in the cemetery at the time of the shooting. Three were seriously wounded there, fled to the house of friends, were arrested, and escaped again. Two years later, nine Timorese, who had participated in the Santa Cruz demonstration, watched the Pilger/Stahl documentary at Publico's editorial office. None of them has any doubt that the wounded and those who had managed to escape were still being killed by Indonesian security forces after 12th November.

Young Timorese exiles, who took part in the 12 November 1991 demonstration in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery, confirm that Indonesian security forces executed numerous people who had been wounded in the cemetery shooting. This confirmation corroborates the testimonies of their compatriots in the film "Death of a Nation," shown on Tuesday by RTP-1, and by the British channel ITV. Hours later, in Lisbon, their statements were gone into in more detail by two further eyewitnesses, one of them an employee in the Dili military hospital.

"They either choked the surviving wounded, who were in the hospital, or they gave them slow-acting pills (a method which the Resistance alleged was used in the early 80's with children)," said José Manuel de Oliveira e Sousa, who was himself wounded in the chest as he jumped over the cemetery wall. He said he was quoting the testimony of a nurse, whose name he wished to keep confidential.

Another survivor, seriously wounded at the time of the demonstration, Mateus Brito Ximenes, said that in some hospital wards, at least for the first two days after the massacre, the wounded were looked after by

untrained staff, who just cleaned their wounds and gave them water. His information was based on first-hand reports he received at the time from a stretcher-bearer (whose name he also wished to be kept confidential). He added that for weeks after the massacre the paramilitary group "Railaka" was active in the neighbourhood in which he himself had taken refuge. They were capturing and torturing individuals suspected of having taken part in the demonstration.

Porfirio Oliveira, also a surviving demonstrator, joined Mateus and José Manuel to watch the film. Wounded in the groin and shoulder-blade, he first took refuge in a church, then hid in the boot of a taxi, was arrested on two occasions within weeks, but managed to escape twice. They are just three of a group of nine participants in the demonstration, who met in Publico's offices to see the film and listen to the testimonies, filmed under cover in East Timor and Jakarta by John Pilger, Max Stahl, and a third person, whose real identity has been kept secret for security reasons.

PLAYING WITH WORDS IS ALSO RESISTANCE

For a moment, there is silence. Then follows whispering of the names of recognised places. Florencio appears on the screen. He is one of the Timorese present in Publico's offices where, minutes before, the "Reporters" programme began. The hushed voices become louder again. The sudden appearance of General Murdani provokes a wave of "uughs," quickly replaced by respectful silence and frowns which accompany the description of the murder of the Australian journalists. Some of these young Timorese had not even been born when that happened.

Eyes glisten at the scant images of guerrillas, and it seems they can hardly contain their excitement. Further boos for Alatas and Evans toasting their sharing of the Sea of Timor with champagne. Now, well into the programme, the Santa Cruz demonstration causes great commotion. Some see themselves in the crowd. Others pick out their friends, and shout out the names of those they recognise. "There I am!", "Look, there's José!", "He died..." They have already been called historic pictures. For each of these young men, they are pictures of an event that radically changed their own history.

A few hours before the beginning of the film, around a dinner table, the young Timorese, mostly students, told stories about their native land in which, for the two years between the massacre and their arrival to Portugal, they lived as fugitives, prisoners, and asylum seekers.

One of them tells of the small Timorese children, who repeatedly ask the Indonesian soldiers (who do not understand the question) "When are you going home?," "When are you going home?," as if it were a nursery rhyme, while for adults just going near an Indonesian uniform is a danger in itself.

For a while, the atmosphere is relaxed. The sadness will come later, when the drama of Timor on the TV screen brings back other memories. For the time being, they are just young men in their early twenties, telling stories, amid laughter and back-slapping. Or almost just that. In the midst of the merriment, celebrating the mere pleasure of being together, free to speak, and out of reach of the "Javas," the bitter taste of possible revenge sometimes comes to the fore, as in the story of the cigarette.

"Cigarette?" One of them offers around Indonesian cigarettes, behind which there's a story. "See this name?," and he points to the trade name on the packet, which is a five letter word beginning with "S." "The 'S' stands for Shanana (Xanana)," the Timorese explains jokingly, and then goes on to turn the other letters into the initials of words forming a resistance slogan. "See this number?," and there is the number 12 to indicate there are 12 cigarettes in the pack, and it also recalls a certain day in November...

The cigarettes are offered around. Cigarettes which the Timorese fill with symbolism, just as Indonesian industry has filled them with cloves. Old aromas that lead on to more stories. The story of a Timorese who called his son Talik, which read backwards means "weapon" in Bahasi. Endless pro-independence plays on words with the initials "Tim-Tim" - the way the Indonesians refer to Suharto's 27th province. Playing with words is also resistance. The talk comes to an end, as it is time for the film.

"Marvelous," repeated João, a former neighbour of Bishop Ximenes Belo, in the taxi taking him, in the early hours of the morning, to his new address in exile, on the outskirts of Lisbon.

STAHL: THERE ARE NEW FRONTS AND NEW GUERRILLAS

Publico, 24 February 1994. By Adelino Gomes, translated from Portuguese

The political situation in East Timor is one of "total failure" for General Suharto's Indonesian regime, according to British reporter Max Stahl, recently arrived to Lisbon from the territory, where he had met secretly with guerrilla leaders, for the second time since 1991. In spite of the capture of Xanana Gusmão, and his successor Ma'Huno, "the guerrilla movement has

reorganised, has new leaders now, and has opened up new fronts," Stahl explained during a press conference, intended to publicise the March issue of the magazine "Grande Reportagem (GR), featuring Stahl's report from the Timorese mountains, where he encountered the new guerrilla commander, Konis Santana, and the publication of new testimonies on a second Dili massacre, which followed the shooting in the Santa Cruz cemetery.

According to Stahl, the guerrilla movement received a new lease of life late in 1991, when "young and old, who had previously given up" took to the mountains, indignant at the cruelty of the Indonesian security forces. In spite of the fact that they are unable to defeat Jakarta militarily, as Xanana himself has already acknowledged, the persistence of an active guerrilla movement prevents complete integration of the former Portuguese colony into the Republic of Indonesia.

Max Stahl was accompanied at the press conference by two young Timorese, who managed to escape East Timor in mid-December last. In faltering Portuguese, Abilio and José (pseudonyms used for the safety of their respective families still living in East Timor) related their experiences in the morgue and the laboratory of the Dili Military Hospital, in the hours immediately following the shooting in Santa Cruz, on 12 November.

The two Timorese stated that they witnessed the murder in cold blood of wounded people who had been brought to the Hospital by Indonesian soldiers in Mercedes and Hino trucks. Abilio, a graduate from Dili secondary school, had pretended to be dead in Santa Cruz but, once in the morgue, he told them he was a police informer. He said that he saw a soldier in camouflage uniform beating the dying with large stones, and another administering pills. He himself had to swallow two pills, which he managed to bring up again. He gave the names of four of his acquaintances whom he saw die in this way: Eulalia, Adu, Eduardo and Francisco ("Chico" Rinaraga, a well-known champion weight-lifter).

José, a laboratory technician for 8 years, who was on duty at hospital number 4 of Wiru Hueda, told how the soldiers started asking him for "a poison which would kill people quickly," but how they later dropped the idea, after they learned that the only one available, sulfuric acid, would cause the wounded to cry out in agony, and that is what they wanted to avoid.

What followed, implicated the military doctors of the Dinkes (health services). This witness said that they had supplied pills which, when administered to the wounded, caused them to die by asphyxiation within

about a quarter of an hour. Max Stahl sent some of these pills (taken away by José on the day of the massacre) for analysis at the Forensic Science Laboratory of the London Metropolitan Police. Results showed them to contain paraformaldehyde, a poisonous substance used as a disinfectant in hospital wards.

Max Stahl met with two different guerrilla groups while he was undercover in the territory: one group in the mountains, and the other based near the coast, "in a narrow area full of Indonesian troops," as he reports in *GR* magazine. It was with the first group that the British reporter met the "commander of the fight," Konis Santana, a short, energetic, 39-year-old, in "an immaculate uniform, with polished boots, - impeccable, as if he had just stepped off the parade ground." But "he is no poet philosopher, and neither does he have any intellectual inclinations," like Xanana Gusmão, "his model and mentor in the mountains."

D. Quixote publishers, the main shareholders in *GR* magazine, took advantage of the press conference opportunity to give the reporters copies of José Ramos-Horta's book "Tomorrow in Dili," an updated version of the original in English, published in New York in 1986, which includes "unedited documents from Xanana Gusmão," including his defence statement for his trial, and a letter from Konis Santana addressed to Portuguese President Mario Soares.

ECONOMIC AND LABOR ISSUES

LABOUR PANGS SIGN OF ADOLESCENT ECONOMY

By Yuli Ismartono

JAKARTA, Feb. 15 (IPS) - Indonesia's present labour pangs are a symptom of an adolescent economy going through the painful transition from low-income to mid-income while still trying to be competitive for foreign investors.

East Asia's newly-industrialised dragons and its emerging economies have all gone through it - the paradox that low income initially invites foreign investors but accompanying economic growth boosts income levels and makes the country less attractive.

"The key contribution made by East Asian governments to creation of an attractive climate for foreign investors was the repressive control of the working class, which drove the wages of workers below the market value of their labour," says Walden Bello, author of the book, 'Dragons in Distress.'

Bello argues that authoritarianism and suppression of labour rights went hand-in-hand with the explosive export-oriented industrialisation of South Korea and Taiwan.

But as economic progress in these countries raised wages, transnational investors simply moved to cheaper south-east Asian neighbours like Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. These countries are now competing with China and Vietnam where wages are even lower.

Indonesia has become the spotlight because on Tuesday the U.S. government is to decide on trade sanctions on for violation of labour rights. Faced with the threat of losing some 640 million dollars in export privileges to the United States, Jakarta has been trying frantically to clean up its act ahead of the deadline.

Last year, it revoked a law that authorised the military to crackdown on strikers. In the past, workers at Indonesian plants producing goods for exports have been subject to harsh crackdowns.

And on new year's day, the government lifted the daily minimum wage by nearly 30 percent to 1.80 dollars.

Indonesia also allowed a delegation from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to visit the country in November to recommend measures to protect labour rights. Indonesia is a member of the Geneva-based ILO, but has not ratified its convention which allows workers the freedom to organise.

But Indonesia still recognises only one trade union body, and in the run up to the U.S. deadline the opposition trade union federation Indonesian Prosperity Labour Union (SBSI) has stepped up its campaign to put pressure on Jakarta to yield. A call for a nation-wide strike on Friday fizzled out, but SBSI leaders have vowed to keep up their struggle for a further hike on minimum wage to 3.20 dollars per day.

The government arrested 17 leading activists, including SBSI chairman Mochtar Pakpahan, on the day before the strike. Police have since released him and seven others.

The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) and international human rights organisations protested the detentions. Sidney Jones of the Washington-based Asia Watch human rights group says the demand for greater labour rights in Indonesia is an indigenous demand and not something imposed from outside.

"The modest efforts that the Indonesian government has made since last year can be seen as an effort to placate domestic concerns as much as to respond to pressure from America," she says.

The Indonesian Manpower Minister, Abdul Latief, describes the daily wage hike

as "irrational." He adds: "Strikes will only inflict losses on workers, businessmen, the public and government."

To show he means business, Latief has also gone after offending employers found to be paying less than minimum wage to their workers. He says the government plans to raise the minimum wage gradually to give time for factory owners to comply.

The number of strikes in Indonesian factories has more than doubled in 1994 compared to the first two months of 1993 - mainly because most businesses have not even implemented the wage hike announced Jan. 1.

Analysts in Jakarta says that despite the failure of Friday's strike call, the movement could snowball unless the government gets tougher on errant employers. It also shows that labour leaders now have political savvy, and know how to use international attention that goes with the U.S. government deadline to their advantage.

In the past few months, a number of U.S. congressional and government delegations have visited Indonesia to see first hand labour conditions here.

Jakarta-based diplomats predict that Indonesia's General System of Preferences (GSP) privileges in the United States is likely to be extended. Said one: "It is in the interest of both countries."

Sidney Jones cautions against revoking the GSP benefits as too harsh and extending it unconditionally as too lenient. She advocates keeping up the pressure on Indonesia to comply, and postponing decision till July.

"The best decision would be one that gives both the Indonesian government and Indonesian labour activists more time to get results, not just changes on paper," she adds.

INDONESIA AND CUBA AGREE TO BOOST TRADE TIES

JAKARTA, March 9 (Reuter) - Indonesia and Cuba agreed on Wednesday to boost trade and economic ties and form a commission of senior officials to oversee the development of commercial links.

"We have just exchanged documents of agreement on economic and trade cooperation," Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters after talks with visiting Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina.

"We hope this will provide a strong framework to increase trade relations and boost cooperation in several areas, such as joint ventures between Indonesia and Cuba.

"We have agreed to form a commission of senior officials to oversee this development," he said.

Robaina, on a three-week trip to seven Asian countries in the latest diplomatic offensive to win support for Havana, praised Indonesia for its political support and said he hoped trade and economic relations would blossom.

"The time has come, the opportunity has arrived, to give substance to our good political relationship through economic cooperation," Robaina, who is scheduled to meet President Suharto on Thursday, told reporters.

Cuba, plunged into economic chaos after the collapse of its major trading partners the Soviet Union and the former East European bloc, has been seeking new trade links around the world.

Robaina, quoted by the official Antara news agency, said shortly after arriving on Tuesday that his visit to Asia was aimed at enhancing economic relations.

Indonesia and Cuba had already started negotiations over trade in rice and palm oil, he added.

Alatas said he and Robaina also discussed regional and international issues, especially problems concerning the 108-member Non-Aligned Movement, which Indonesia chairs.

"We agreed that NAM, more than ever, is needed to contribute

country that is enjoying breakthroughs in aircraft manufacturing. Indeed, they say the region's aerospace industry as a whole seems to be finally taking off.

Confidence is so high in the world's most economically dynamic area that some South-east Asian leaders are convinced they are rich enough to be on the cutting edge of aerospace technology.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, for instance, has moved his country aggressively into the aerospace business in the belief that acquiring expertise in such ventures would help propel the country into the world of high-tech wizardry.

Malaysia has bought an Australian company that has given the country its first light aircraft and the means to develop a composite-material industry that can be applied not just to the aerospace but also to the consumer goods industry.

It plans to build a composite manufacturing zone to house an aerospace industry centre, a non-aerospace product manufacturing centre and an advanced composite research laboratory. Says Mahathir: "These are just small beginnings. In a century's time, we may have our Boeing and McDonnell Douglas counterparts."

Analysts say the motivation is not sole technological one-upmanship as a desire to capture some of the action in the Asia-Pacific region's fast-growing aerospace industry.

While the industry is facing difficulties in the developed countries with defence cutbacks and protracted economic recession, the demand for aerospace services is booming in the Asia-Pacific.

The region already accounts for one-quarter of the value of future sales of the entire aircraft industry, according to a market report by the Airbus Industrie aircraft manufacturing concern released here last week.

Passenger traffic is expected to increase by about eight percent annually between 1994 and 2006, compared with 5.1 percent in Europe and 4.4 percent in the United States.

The Asia-Pacific is expected to surpass the United States as the world's largest commercial market averaging 16 billion dollars a year in delivery of new aircraft after the turn of the century, says an official of the U.S. airplane giant Boeing.

Aerospace ventures in the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) have already benefited from this exploding demand for civilian and military air services.

Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia all have growing aerospace industries covering such activities as manufacturing, repairing, retrofitting and refurbishing under

collaborative ventures with established aircraft manufacturers in the West.

Singapore has found a profitable niche in aircraft maintenance and parts manufacturing through the state-owned Singapore Aerospace Ltd. Last year, investment commitments in the industry grew by 44 percent to 108 million dollars and output exceeded two billion dollars, according to Deputy Minister Lee Hsien Loong.

The island republic clinched a number of big agreements at its big air show early this month, an annual extravaganza of aviation mega-deals patronised by Western producers eager for Asian orders.

The U.S. aircraft engine maker Pratt & Whitney signed three deals with SIA Engineering and Singapore Aerospace to operate aircraft repair and overhaul services. Pratt & Whitney Canada is investing 12 million dollars to construct a customer support centre.

The French-based Aerospatiale and Taiwanese officials are exploring possible ventures using Singapore's commercial aircraft maintenance expertise.

Malaysia is also nailing down contracts for aircraft maintenance joint ventures. Last month, it inaugurated a joint venture between a Malaysia Airlines subsidiary and MTU - Maintenance GmbH of Germany for the repair and overhaul of low pressure turbine blades.

The 10-year-old Airod, Malaysia's first aerospace company, is a joint venture with the U.S. Lockheed for the servicing of military aircraft. With the country's planned purchase of the Russian MiG-29 jetfighter, the company is set to venture into the servicing of Russian fighters as well.

But of ASEAN's emerging aerospace powers, the Indonesians have by far the biggest plans, with ambitions to produce a new aircraft every 10 years.

Not content to find niches for aircraft repair and parts manufacturing, Jakarta wants a chunk of the world's business in commercial jets, estimated to be worth 250 billion dollars over the next 15 years.

The N-250, costing 13.5 million dollars each, is its initial bid for that market. Habibie said 233 N-250's had been ordered by domestic airlines and 24 by foreign operators. The plane will make its maiden flight early next year and enter service in 1996.

British Aerospace has agreed to sign a joint venture to manufacture the planes under licence and market it jointly, said Habibie. PTN is set to penetrate the U.S. market by setting up a company in North America to produce, assemble and sell the aircraft there.

But mindful of the technological ambitions as well as huge market right in his own

SOUTH-EAST ASIA: AEROSPACE INDUSTRY GOES INTO ORBIT

By Leah Makabenta

KUALA LUMPUR, Mar 22 (IPS) - In 1974, Indonesian President Suharto gave a young German-trained Indonesian aeronautical engineer the go-ahead to design and make Indonesia's first airplane.

Nearly 20 years later, Indonesia has done it.

"We have developed our own airplane, the N-250 - by ourselves," proclaimed Research and Technology Minister Bucharuddin J. Habibie, the architect of Indonesia's drive to become an economic and technological power, in a recent interview with a Singaporean newspaper.

Though the state-owned National Aerospace Technology Industry (IPTN) has made and sold over 350 airplanes, Indonesia has in the 64- to 68-seat N-250 commercial jet the first plane that is designed and built indigenously.

It is reputed to have the latest aeronautical features, including the fly-by-wire system very few countries can boast of.

But some giddy industry observers say Indonesia is not the only South-east Asian

backyard, Habibie is talking of a possible aircraft consortium involving Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and possibly Thailand to develop an 'Asian Airbus.'

U. N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION REACHES CONSENSUS

INDONESIA'S CONTEMPT FOR THE UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Statement from C.N.R.M. National Council of Maubere Resistance, February, 1994

50th Session of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva

Item 12- Human Rights in dependent territories will come up for discussion in late February. East Timor is scheduled for 23 February. Voting is somewhere around March 7.

On 23 February, the yearly meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva will discuss the question of human rights violations by Indonesia against the population of East Timor. Indonesia has illegally occupied East Timor for the last 18 years in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

In 1992, in order to avoid a strongly critical resolution against it, Indonesia bound itself to abide with the terms of a consensus statement agreed to by all Commission members. The statement called upon Indonesia to improve the human rights situation in East Timor, and to facilitate access to the territory for additional humanitarian organisations, as well as for human rights organisations. The consensus statement achieved nothing. It had no impact whatever on the East Timor situation, since its terms were not complied with by Indonesia.

The worsening human rights situation in East Timor prompted the Commission in 1993 to adopt (by a large majority) a strongly worded resolution highly critical of Indonesia.

The resolution:

- Regrets disparities in the severity of sentences imposed in connection with the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre on civilians not indicted for violent activities (which it notes should have been released without delay), and the military involved.
- Calls upon Indonesia to honour the commitments undertaken in the consensus statement agreed upon the previous year by the Commission.

- Calls upon Indonesia to ensure all East Timorese in custody, including main public figures, be treated humanely and with their rights fully respected, that all trials be fair, just, public and recognise the right to proper legal representation in accordance with international humanitarian law, and that those not involved in violent activities be released without delay.
- Calls upon Indonesia to further expand access to East Timor for humanitarian and human rights organisations.
- Encourages Indonesia once again to implement 1992 recommendations by a Special Rapporteur on torture, and to inform on progress in this respect.
- Urges Indonesia to invite to East Timor Special Rapporteurs on torture, extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions; Working Groups on arbitrary detention, and enforced or involuntary disappearances; and facilitate the discharge of their mandates.

It is deeply regrettable that to date Indonesia has not complied with any of the above points. Instead, the Jakarta government has attempted to deceive international opinion through a number of insidious moves, whose real intention has been easily recognised and dismissed. The reality has once again been that the human rights situation in East Timor continues to deteriorate further.

- Civilians not indicted for violent activities have not been released. On the contrary, the numbers of political detainees has increased. Sentences imposed to military Santa Cruz Massacre perpetrators have been unjustly light, while their East Timorese civilian victims have been handed harsh sentences.
- Commitments undertaken in the consensus statement agreed upon by the Commission in 1992 continue not being honoured.
- East Timorese in custody, including main public figures, such as captured Resistance Leader Xanana Gusmão have not been treated humanely nor their rights respected. Xanana himself, as well as the International Commission of Jurists and the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation have denounced the unfairness, injustice, lack of openness, violation of procedure and lack of proper legal representation, which characterised his trial. Other, less prominent political prisoners, have made even stronger complaint statements.
- Indonesia has not enabled further access to East Timor for humanitarian and human rights organisations beyond the minimal previously existing levels. On the contrary, access has been further

restricted. For example, the International Committee of the Red Cross was forced to publicly denounce Indonesian military impediments to its work in mid 1993. Australian parliamentarians were denied visiting permission. Few foreign visits took place during 1993. Visits by a Swedish Parliamentary delegation and US Congress staff members resulted in mass detentions and mistreatment of East Timorese youths.

- Neither the Special Rapporteurs on torture, extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions; nor Working Groups on arbitrary detention, and enforced or involuntary disappearances have been able to visit East Timor to discharge their mandates. Past recommendations by the Special Rapporteur on Torture have been ignored, while reports of torture, executions, arbitrary detentions and disappearances have continued to be received during the past year.

In the light of this ongoing display of Indonesian recalcitrant contempt for international norms and its offensive derision of members of the international community, CNRM urges Commission on Human Rights member states to strongly condemn continuing Indonesian human rights violations against the people of East Timor, and take all corrective action within their means to bring an end to this intolerable situation.

Current UN Commission on Human Rights member states are:

Angola, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Barbados, Brazil, Bulgaria, Camerons, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Ecuador, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Libya, Malawi, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

"FACT AND FICTION" FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

INDONESIA & EAST TIMOR:

FACT AND FICTION – IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

February 16, 1993

Introduction

In March 1993, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) expressed deep concern at reports of con-

tinuing human rights violations in East Timor and offered several concrete recommendations for improvement. Most of the recommendations had been enumerated in a consensus statement by the Commission in the immediate aftermath of the Santa Cruz massacre of 12 November 1991, and in a series of later resolutions by United Nations bodies.[1] Specifically, the Commission urged the Government of Indonesia to:

- Clarify the fate and the number of those killed and “disappeared” after the Santa Cruz massacre.
- Bring promptly to justice all members of the security forces responsible for the massacre and related human rights violations.
- Ensure that all civilian detainees arrested on that occasion be created humanely, that any trials meet international standards of fairness, and that those not involved in violent activities be immediately released.
- Implement the recommendations contained in the January 1992 report of the UN Special Rapporteur on torture, prepared following his visit to Indonesia and East Timor in late 1991, and report back to the Commission on the steps taken.
- Facilitate access to East Timor by humanitarian and human rights organizations.
- Invite four of the UNCHR’s human rights monitoring mechanisms to visit East Timor, and welcome a second visit by the UN Secretary-General’s Personal Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako.

This report briefly reviews the Indonesian Government’s record in implementing each of these recommendations. It also assesses the impact of government actions relating to the human rights situation on the ground both in East Timor and in Indonesia itself. It concludes that while the government has taken a number of welcome human rights initiatives since late 1991, it has failed to implement, either in substance or in spirit, the most important of the recommendations made by the UNCHR. The measures taken so far appear to have been principally aimed at improving Indonesia’s human rights image internationally rather than at squarely addressing the root causes of human rights violations. Consequently there has been no significant improvement in the human rights situation on the ground and, unless concrete measures are taken, no such improvement can be expected in the near future.

This document also evaluates the 1993 UNCHR resolution itself, and outlines a program for action by the Commission and by member states of the United Nations. It

concludes that, while most of the UNCHR’s recommendations refer specifically to East Timor, the problems they identify and the proposals they offer are equally relevant to Indonesia itself. By viewing the human rights situation in East Timor in isolation - and in particular by treating the Santa Cruz massacre as an isolated incident - UN member states have overlooked the problem of systematic and institutionalized human rights abuse by Indonesian government forces throughout the archipelago. By turning a blind eye to systematic violations in Indonesia and East Timor over nearly three decades they have contributed to the problem. Accordingly, this report urges the UNCHR to reiterate the recommendations enumerated in last year’s resolution, and also to broaden the scope of its concern to encompass Indonesia as well as East Timor.

1. The Fate of the Dead and the “Disappeared”

The Commission on Human Rights...Expresses its Concern at the lack of information about the number of people killed on 12 November 1991 and at the persons still unaccounted for and urges the Government of Indonesia to account fully for those still missing since 12 November 1991. (Resolution 1993/97, paragraph 3)

The Indonesian authorities have made only a perfunctory effort to identify those who died or “disappeared” during and after the Santa Cruz massacre. In the past two years they have provided clarification to the UN of the fate of only a small fraction of the people reported to have “disappeared” on or about 12 November 1991.[2] The government has located the remains of only 19 of the dead, and only one has been positively identified. They have failed to account for the whereabouts of some 200 others reported as “disappeared,” and as many as 250 feared dead, after the massacre. Government claims to have complied with the Commission’s recommendation, therefore, cannot be accepted.

In March 1993 the government released a list of 84 East Timorese, 66 of whom were said to be missing.[3] The list contained a number of factual errors, which raised doubts about the care with which it had been compiled, and about the veracity of the information it contained. For example, at least one of those named as dead or missing, Afonso Maria, had reportedly been arrested in late 1992, and was believed to be in Indonesian custody at the time the list was compiled. The list had other peculiarities as well. No more than 29 of the 84 names on it were mentioned in the far more extensive lists compiled by independent sources, thereby raising doubts about whether the

majority of those on the official list had, in fact, “disappeared” at all.

The list of 84 was said to include 18 people who died in the massacre but, for reasons which remain obscure, the government has failed to identify them publicly. Only one of the dead (the New Zealander, Kamal Bamadhaj) has been positively identified by his relatives following exhumation. A more fundamental problem with the official list - and particularly the suggestion that only 19 people were killed in the massacre - is that it contradicts the findings of the government’s own National Commission of Inquiry (KPN) that roughly 50 people were killed.[4] It is also at odds with the bulk of independent evidence that at least 100 and possibly as many as 250 died, on or shortly after 12 November 1991.

The government has attempted to evade its responsibility, and to mask its inability, to account for the dead and “disappeared” by publishing information which is false and misleading. For example, after seven young East Timorese sought political asylum at two embassies in Jakarta in June 1993, military authorities said that there was a “strong possibility” that two of them - Profirio da Costa Oliveira and Clementino Faria Oliveira - were among the 66 then considered missing.[5] In fact, none of the seven appeared on the government’s own list of missing and dead. In another instance of apparently deliberate misreporting, in April 1993, one day after the second visit of the UN Secretary General’s Personal Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako, the Commander of the Armed Forces announced that 32 of the 66 reported missing had “already returned from the jungle.”[6] This claim was contradicted by the government’s own announcement, three months later, that only 2 of the 66 missing had been located. Most seriously, in letters to the UN’s Assistant Secretary General for Human Rights (dated 13 September and 29 November 1993), the Indonesian Government claimed that, as a result of its investigations, the number still missing after the massacre had been reduced from 66 to 56. The revised figure was based on some dubious arithmetic. Of the ten the government claimed had reappeared, only two were actually on the government’s own list of 84 dead and missing.[7] Of the remaining eight people that the government claimed had reappeared, four were actually unidentified corpses, with no known connection to the Santa Cruz massacre. Even the government, in a separate passage of its letter of 13 September 1993, admitted that “..it could not be ascertained if these were the remains of persons considered missing after the Dili incident.”[8]

To its credit, the government has cooperated with the UN Working Group on En-

forced or Involuntary Disappearances. Unfortunately, its replies to date have not been wholly satisfactory. In 1992, the Working Group submitted the names of 207 "disappeared" East Timorese to the government for clarification. By late 1993, the government had supplied responses concerning only 20 of those cases. Moreover, the Working Group considered only five of the government's replies to be satisfactory,[9] noting that: "In the remaining 15 cases the names of the persons contained in the Government's reply did not correspond to the names...contained in the lists of the Working Group." [10] In three cases, the government response claimed that the person in question had been released from custody in late 1990 - that is roughly one year before they were reported to have "disappeared" - thereby obscuring the essential question of what happened to them after November 1991.

These are serious shortcomings, but the failure of the Indonesian authorities to account for the victims in this case is only a symptom of two more general problems: first, the government's systematic failure to remedy past violations; and second, its failure to bring the perpetrators of such violations promptly to justice. The identity and fate of many thousands of people extrajudicially executed or "disappeared" by Indonesian forces over the past three decades in both East Timor and Indonesia remain a mystery. The victims include an estimated 100 people killed by security forces in Tanjung Priok, Jakarta, in September 1984, at least 5,000 alleged petty criminals killed in cold blood by government death squads between 1983 and 1985 in various parts of the country, scores killed in an assault by government forces in Lampung on the island of Sumatra, in February 1989, and at least 2,000 killed in the course of government counter-insurgency operations in Aceh at the northern tip of Sumatra, from 1989 to 1993, not to mention the hundreds of thousands of civilians killed by, or with the acquiescence of, military forces in the immediate aftermath of the 1965 coup.

In the absence of any concerted international outcry, these violations have never been properly investigated and their perpetrators have not been brought to justice. Not only does this send a frightening message to the victims, their families and to ordinary citizens, it also contributes to a climate of impunity. If members of the security forces are not brought to justice for criminal acts constituting human rights violations, the chances are great that such crimes will continue to be committed. The problem has been compounded by the lack of any effective domestic avenues through which ordinary people can seek redress, or institutions for the impartial investigation of such viola-

tions. It remains to be seen whether the newly established National Human Rights Commission will fill this need for the victims of future violations. With respect to the right to redress, it seems unlikely that the new body will be able to provide an effective mechanism, since Commission members have already indicated that it will not examine past violations.

Given the inadequacy of the government's efforts to date, Amnesty International believes it would be appropriate for the UNCHR once again to urge the Indonesian authorities to account fully for those who died or "disappeared" during and after the Santa Cruz massacre. It believes, furthermore, that the Commission must urge the government to establish effective mechanisms which will ensure that the victims of violations and their relatives, both in Indonesia and in East Timor, can seek redress and compensation for human rights violations, including those committed in past years.

2. Bringing the Perpetrators to Justice

The Commission on Human Rights...Regrets the disparity in the severity of sentences imposed on those civilians not indicted for violent activities - who should have been released without delay - on the one hand, and to the military involved in the violent incident, on the other. (Resolution 1993/97, paragraph 4)

While 13 civilians involved in peaceful protest during and after the Santa Cruz massacre were sentenced to terms of up to life imprisonment in 1992, the ten police and military officers tried in connection with these events received sentences ranging from just eight to 18 months for disciplinary offenses.[11] Despite substantial evidence of deliberate killing and torture, none of those tried was charged with murder and only one was charged with assault. Moreover, the higher ranking military officers, who were ultimately responsible for the actions of their troops, have not been brought to justice and there is no indication that they will be. The decision to transfer some of them from their posts may have served to divert international attention, but it hardly satisfied the Commission's call, in paragraph 3 of its 1992 consensus statement, for "...the Indonesian Government to bring to trial and punish all those found responsible." [12]

The extreme disparity in the treatment of the military perpetrators of abuse and their civilian victims highlights two serious shortcomings of government human rights policy and practice. First, as noted by the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, in Indonesia and East Timor "...the perpetrators of hu-

man rights violations continue to enjoy impunity." [13] Second, civilians may be imprisoned for the exercise of fundamental rights to freedom of conscience, expression and association. The prosecutions of military and police officials that followed the Santa Cruz massacre were an exception to the general rule insofar as some members of the security forces were tried and sentenced. Yet in most respects these trials reflected the general problem of impunity. To those familiar with the government's record on punishing the perpetrators of human rights violations, and with the workings of the Indonesian system of military justice, the inadequacy of the measures taken against those involved in the Santa Cruz massacre came as no surprise. The pattern of impunity is especially clear where those responsible are members of the army and where the victims are alleged government opponents. Police and prison officers, as well as police-trained security guards, accused of torture and other human rights violations are somewhat more likely to be tried, but even when they are convicted, they tend to receive light sentences, thereby diminishing their deterrent value. The exceptions to this pattern - limited in scope though they may be - have occurred where serious violations have become the focus of international attention. Amnesty International would therefore urge the UNCHR, at a minimum, to reiterate its concern at the failure to bring to justice those responsible for the Santa Cruz massacre, and at the disparity in sentencing between members of the security forces and their civilian victims. In view of the fact that the failure to bring to justice the perpetrators of human rights abuse is a general problem in Indonesia and East Timor, it would suggest that the Commission also call upon the Indonesian authorities to establish a mechanism through which thorough and impartial investigations are conducted into all reported violations of human rights, and to ensure that all those believed to be responsible for such violations are tried by a civilian court, with due regard to legal safeguards, and punished in accordance with the severity of their crime.

3. Political Imprisonment

The Commission on Human Rights...Also calls upon the Government of Indonesia to ensure that all the East Timorese in custody, including main public figures, be treated humanely and with their rights fully respected, that all trials be fair, just, public and recognize the right to proper legal representation, in accordance with international humanitarian law, and that those not involved in violent activities be released without delay. (Resolution 1993/97, paragraph 6)

The government has paid lip service to the UNCHR's call for the fair and humane treatment of political prisoners but, in practice, that call has been ignored. In the two years since the Santa Cruz massacre, at least 400 East Timorese have been held without charge for periods ranging from a few days to several months. Many have been denied access to their relatives, lawyers and to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Some have also been required to undergo "political guidance" while in military custody and to swear oaths of allegiance to the Indonesian Government as a condition of their release. The conditions of detention in East Timor have left detainees vulnerable to torture and ill-treatment by police and military forces; and despite claims to the contrary by the Indonesian authorities, torture continues to be practised.[14]

In addition to those held without charge, there are currently some 20 East Timorese serving sentences of up to life imprisonment for subversion and other political crimes; they include three men who have been in detention since 1984. Without exception, these prisoners were sentenced in trials which failed to meet international standards of fairness.[15] In this respect, the unfair trial and ill-treatment of the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, documented by Amnesty International and other human rights organizations, were hardly unique.[16]

Xanana's treatment by the authorities, even after sentencing, has also highlighted the vulnerability of political prisoners in Indonesia and East Timor to restrictions and punishments that are at odds with UN standards for the treatment of prisoners.[17] In early January 1994 the government "temporarily" suspended ICRC and family visits to Xanana Gusmão, after it was discovered that he had written letters to the International Commission of Jurists and the Portuguese Government in which, among other things, he described the unfairness of his trial, asked for a re-trial in an international court, and expressed his wish to consult with lawyers of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH). Following strong protests from domestic human rights organizations, the ban on visits by the ICRC and relatives was lifted on 9 February 1994. However, the authorities have continued to prevent Xanana Gusmão from meeting LBH lawyers. When asked to explain this decision, the Director General of Corrections reportedly said: "What is Xanana's interest to meet lawyers of the LBH? If all people who want to [are allowed to] visit him, his cell will be full"[18]

Among the East Timorese recently sentenced to long prison terms in unfair trials

are several who had neither used nor advocated violence. They include a number of young men tried for taking part in the procession to the Santa Cruz cemetery, and others tried for organizing a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta to protest against the massacre one week later. Comments made by the judges and prosecutors in some of these trials indicate that they were punished principally because the Santa Cruz massacre had caused the government international embarrassment. For example, in his verdict in the trial of Fernando Araujo, sentenced to nine years for subversion in 1992, the judge said that the defendant was guilty of "undermining the Indonesian government and disgracing the nation in the eyes of the international community," because he had sent information about human rights violations to the ICRC and to Amnesty International.[19]

Political imprisonment is not unique to East Timor. The New Order government has made a habit of jailing its political opponents in Indonesia as well. Since 1966 several thousands have been jailed following political show-trials. Tens of thousands more have been detained without charge or trial for up to 14 years, and some have "disappeared" in custody.

Today some 400 political prisoners are held in jails throughout Indonesia, many of them prisoners of conscience. In addition to East Timorese, they include university students, farmers, community leaders, human rights workers, trade unionists, advocates of independence for Aceh and Irian Jaya, Islamic activists, and former members of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). They are in prison for "crimes" such as possessing banned novels, criticizing the electoral system, peacefully resisting eviction, disseminating information about human rights violations, holding peaceful flag-raising ceremonies, advocating closer ties among Muslims, criticizing the state ideology (Pancasila), belonging to legal political organizations and organizing peaceful demonstrations. At least thirty political prisoners have been in jail for more than a quarter of a century, six of them on death row.[20]

Within the last three months alone, at least 22 human rights activists and as many as 19 trade unionists have been detained for the peaceful exercise of their internationally-recognized rights to freedom of expression, association and assembly. Most of the trade unionists were released within a few days, but Amnesty International considers all of those still in detention to be prisoners of conscience and has called for their immediate and unconditional release.

One of 22 human rights activists detained in recent months, Nuku Soleiman, is currently on trial in Jakarta, on charges of insulting the President (Article 134 of the

Criminal Code), a crime punishable by up to six years in prison. He was arrested in front of the national parliament in Jakarta on 25 November 1993, during a peaceful demonstration at which the President was blamed for past and continuing human rights violations. A further 21 young people were arrested in Jakarta on 14 December 1993, during a peaceful demonstration in which they called for Nuku Soleiman's release, and urged parliament to hold a special session to look into the President's responsibility for past human rights abuses. The authorities have said that the 21 are to be charged with publicly expressing feelings of hostility toward the government (Article 154), a crime punishable by up to seven years in prison.

The 19 trade unionists - all of them officials and members of Indonesia's largest independent trade union federation (Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia, SBSI) - were arrested in the days leading up to a national strike, planned for 11 February 1994. They included the SBSI's national chairman, Mochtar Pakpahan, a member of the union's national executive council, Sunarty, and the chairman of its provincial council for Central Java, Trisjanto. Most were reportedly released shortly after the strike date, but two remained in custody as of 14 February 1994. The releases were welcome but, at the same time, tended to confirm suspicion that the original arrests were arbitrary and had been intended mainly to intimidate people from taking part in peaceful trade union activities.[21]

The UNCHR has been right to call for the immediate release of East Timorese prisoners who were not involved in violent activities, and to urge the proper treatment of all East Timorese prisoners in accordance with international human rights and humanitarian law. Amnesty International would strongly urge that the Commission continue to insist that the Government of Indonesia meet these standards. But the Commission's preoccupation with East Timor, and particularly with the Santa Cruz massacre, has obscured the breadth and scope of the phenomenon of political imprisonment in Indonesia. Amnesty International would therefore urge the Commission to extend its expression of concern, and its recommendations, to encompass the problem of political imprisonment throughout Indonesia.

4. Recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on Torture

The Commission on Human Rights...Encourages once again the Indonesian authorities to take the necessary steps to implement the recommendations presented by the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture in his report

(E/CN.4/1992/17/Add.1) following his visit to Indonesia and East Timor and to keep the Special Rapporteur informed of the progress made towards their implementation (Resolution 1993/97, paragraph 8)

The Special Rapporteur's 1992 report concludes that torture is commonplace in Indonesia and East Timor,[22] and offers eleven concrete recommendations for its prevention, including the following: the government should accede to major human rights covenants like the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the Convention against Torture (CAT); an arrested person's right of access to a lawyer should be rigorously upheld; illegally obtained evidence should not be admissible in court; the sweeping Anti-Subversion Law should be repealed; officials found guilty of committing or condoning torture should be severely punished; jurisdiction over human rights offenses committed by members of the armed forces should be given to the civilian courts; and a national commission on human rights, with independent investigative powers, should be established.

As of January 1994, a full two years after the report was published, the Indonesian Government had begun to implement only one of these recommendations, with the establishment of a National Human Rights Commission. The government's decision to invite the Special Rapporteur to visit Indonesia and East Timor in 1992 was a positive initiative, but its failure to act upon his recommendations inevitably raises questions about the sincerity of the government's stated commitment to upholding international human rights standards. More important, the failure to act has meant that the root causes of torture and ill-treatment, as identified by the Special Rapporteur, have yet to be addressed.[23] As a consequence, the problem of torture remains. In a letter to a friend, dated 14 January 1994, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo of Dili, wrote:

With this letter I would like to let you know that torture continues in East Timor. On January 4, 1994 in Dili, the military were waiting for a young man named Salvador Sarmiento, who is a student at the Pastoral Institute. When he left the classroom they took him, stuck him in a military vehicle and took him to a place where he was kicked, beaten, tortured until he was almost dead. Then they forced his parents, who are illiterate, to declare that they had seen their son participate in subversive meetings. With these kind of injustices, they want to force a declaration that Father Sancho Amaral is a priest who is against Indonesia.

Indonesia's National Human Rights Commission was established by Presidential Decree in June 1993 and its full complement of members was decided only in December

1993. It is therefore too early to judge whether it will meet the minimum standards for such bodies spelled out by the UNCHR in March 1992.[24] However, available information about its mandate, terms of reference and composition gives rise to concern that it may fall short of those standards.

The mandate of the Commission is limited. Its main functions are to provide advice to the government about human rights issues, to engage in human rights education, and to monitor the human rights situation in the country. While it may look into specific cases of human rights violations, the government has no obligation to accept its recommendations or advice. To date, the Commission appears to have interpreted even this limited mandate rather narrowly. In one of their first official acts, five members of the Commission visited eleven of the 21 young people who had been arrested during a peaceful protest on 14 December 1993. In comments to the press, members of the Commission noted that the youths had been well-treated by police, but they conspicuously failed to comment upon the fact of their arrest and detention.[25] Apparently, the Commission did not consider imprisonment for the peaceful expression of political opinions to fall within their mandate. Moreover, as noted earlier, statements by the Chairman and other members of the Commission indicate that it will not be looking into past violations of human rights.

The composition of the Commission has given rise to concern about its independence. The presidentially-appointed Chairman, Ali Said, is a retired military officer who has served as a military court judge, Minister of Justice, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. In the aftermath of the 1965 coup he was Chief Justice on the Special Military Court (Mahmilub) which convicted former Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Subandrio, of subversion and sentenced him to death.[26] The trials conducted in these Special Military Courts failed utterly to meet international standards of fairness; at least 30 of those convicted by these and other courts, including Dr. Subandrio, remain in jail, six of them on death row.

The Secretary General of the 25-member Commission is the current Director General of Corrections in the Ministry of Justice, a fact which raises serious problems of conflicting loyalties. The potential for conflict surfaced just weeks after the Commission was formed, when the government announced that it had suspended visits to Xanana Gusmão by the ICRC and relatives. Despite the fact that the ban infringed UN principles for the protection of persons in detention, the Director General defended the

decision saying "I have to discipline him for disgracing the people and the nation of Indonesia." [27] On the positive side, some members of the Commission are respected lawyers and legal scholars with no direct connection to the government or the military. It is nevertheless striking that the Commission does not include any of the country's best known human rights activists. According to available reports, prominent human rights activists declined to serve on the Commission because they were not confident that it would be able to function freely and independently.

Additional concern about the Commission's independence arises from its legal status. Because it was established by Presidential Decree, Indonesian legal experts have expressed concern that its survival remains subject to Presidential approval. In their view, both the perception and the reality of independence would be better guaranteed if the Commission were incorporated through an act of the legislature. A related concern is that the Commission is entirely funded by the government's State Secretariat, thus raising questions about its likely impartiality in investigating alleged government wrongdoing.

In view of the above, Amnesty International believes that the UNCHR should once again call upon the Indonesian authorities to implement the recommendations of the UN Special Rapporteur on torture, and urge them to take immediate steps to ensure that the recently created National Commission on Human Rights meets the standards of impartiality and independence enumerated in the UN's own Principles relating to the status of national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights.

5. Access to Human Rights Monitors

The Commission on Human Rights... Welcomes the greater access recently granted by the Indonesian authorities to human rights and humanitarian organizations, and calls upon the Indonesian authorities to expand this access further. (Resolution 1993/97, paragraph 7)

In the two years since the Santa Cruz massacre the Indonesian Government has frequently stated its commitment to improving access to East Timor by human rights and humanitarian organizations. That commitment was reiterated following a meeting between Indonesian and Portuguese government representatives at the UN headquarters in New York in December 1993, and in a meeting between President Suharto and seven members of the US Congress on 8 January 1994.[28] It must be said that there has been progress on this front; East Timor is now more open to outsiders than it has ever been since the invasion of 1975. Never-

theless, in the past year, military authorities have continued to impose unacceptable conditions on the work of the ICRC, to closely monitor visits by foreign delegations and journalists, and to restrict access by international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International. Just as important, the government - and in particular the military - has continued to restrict the activities of domestic human rights activists and journalists, not only in East Timor but throughout Indonesia.

The government record with regard to the ICRC has been mixed in recent years. On the positive side, it has gradually improved the organization's access to political detainees both in East Timor and Indonesia. Whereas in 1989 ICRC representatives were only permitted to visit prisoners still detained in connection with the 1965 coup, by the end of 1993 they had been granted access to most categories of political prisoner, including those from East Timor, Aceh, Irian Jaya, and to Muslim prisoners in Java and Sumatra. However, in the past two years the government, or more precisely the military, has continued to deny access - or to grant it only after some delay - where matters of "national security" are deemed to be at stake. The ICRC was able to conduct confidential prison visits in East Timor only sporadically between March and December 1992. In June 1993 it suspended visits to political prisoners in the territory for the third time in six months because of unacceptable restrictions imposed by the military. These had occurred despite assurances from civilian authorities that ICRC representatives would have unrestricted access to prisoners.[29] Since then the organization has apparently been able to work without undue interference in East Timor, but the potential for problems remains as long as military authorities have ultimate authority over political and security issues in East Timor.

A number of government and parliamentary delegations have been granted permission to visit East Timor in the past two years. This is a positive sign. However, as in previous years, such visits continue to be tightly controlled by military authorities, making it difficult for visitors to obtain a clear picture of the human rights situation. Just as important, ordinary East Timorese who speak to foreign delegates are likely to be detained for questioning. Visitors who speak critically about their impressions of East Timor - like the Swedish Parliamentarians who visited in September 1993 - are condemned in official statements by government officials, while the words of those who echo the official position are paraded at international meetings and in the press.

Amnesty International was officially barred from visiting Indonesia for more than 15 years following the 1977 publication of a report on political imprisonment in the country. Relations have improved somewhat in recent years, but the government has continued to characterize Amnesty International as a subversive organization, and to regard its campaigns against human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor as unwarranted interference in the country's internal affairs. In January 1993 the government permitted an Amnesty International delegate to attend the UN human rights workshop in Jakarta, but imposed restrictions which prevented any serious human rights investigation or dialogue. The delegate was allowed to stay in the country for only five days. Requests for a visa extension were denied, as were requests to hold substantive talks with government officials. The government also refused the delegate permission to travel to East Timor to observe the trial of Xanana Gusmão. More worrying still, Amnesty International's visit was subsequently exploited by the government for political purposes. When improved access by international human rights organizations was under discussion at the 1993 UNCHR, the government falsely claimed that Amnesty International had already been allowed to visit without restriction.

In a more positive development, an Amnesty International representative was able to visit Indonesia for two weeks in July 1993 to conduct research into human rights developments in selected areas of the country. The government was informed of this visit in writing, and a formal request was extended to meet government representatives in order to discuss issues of mutual concern. Unfortunately, the government officials contacted by the Amnesty International representative after arrival in Jakarta were not available.

The preoccupation with access to East Timor by international organizations and delegations has obscured an even more basic problem: continued restrictions on the work and freedom of domestic human rights monitors and activists. As noted above, notwithstanding President Suharto's recent call for greater political openness, at least 22 people have been arrested in Jakarta since late November 1993 in connection with their non-violent human rights related activities, and one of them is currently being tried on political charges.

In view of the above, Amnesty International urges the UNCHR to encourage the Government of Indonesia to further improve access to East Timor by human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, and to put an end to the legal and

other obstacles that continue to impede the work of international and domestic human rights and humanitarian bodies, both in East Timor and Indonesia.

6. Visits by UN Mechanisms and Representatives

The Commission on Human Rights... Urges the Government of Indonesia to invite the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture, the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to visit East Timor and to facilitate the discharge of their mandates. (Resolution 1993/97, paragraph 9)

The Commission on Human Rights... Welcomes the agreement given by the Government of Indonesia to the proposal of the Secretary-General for a new visit to Indonesia and East Timor by his Personal Envoy in the coming months, and invites the Secretary-General to consider transmitting the full reports of Mr. Wako's previous and next visit to the Commission on Human Rights. (Resolution 1993/97, paragraph 10)

In early 1994, the Indonesian Government invited the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions to visit East Timor later in the year. This was a welcome initiative, but it fell far short of the recommendation made in paragraph 9 of the Commission's 1993 resolution. There was no indication, for example, that any of the other three human rights theme mechanisms had been invited to visit. Nor was it clear whether the Special Rapporteur himself would be able to visit different parts of Indonesia as well as East Timor. In view of the fact that, in recent years, extrajudicial executions and other serious violations have been committed throughout the country - and particularly in Aceh, North Sumatra, West Java, East Java, Madura, Irian Jaya and Jakarta - Amnesty International believes that it is of the utmost importance that the Special Rapporteur, and any other UN theme mechanism that may eventually be invited by the government, visit these areas as well as East Timor.

In the year since the Commission's recommendation was made, these UN monitoring mechanisms have continued to receive reports of human rights violations both in Indonesia and in East Timor. While the government has answered inquiries by these bodies, its responses have not always been satisfactory. In some cases the government has simply issued a blanket denial of reported violations. Responding to a letter from the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, concerning Aceh, the government claimed that "the

allegation of disappearances in Aceh as reported to the Working Group is clearly a fabrication, as there is no such thing as a 'general pattern of disappearances' in Aceh." [30] Following a long-established pattern, the government has also sought to question the integrity and impartiality of those who have submitted the reports to the UN, rather than address the substance of the allegations. In the communication cited above, the government said that it was:

...displeased that partisan observers have submitted reports to the United Nations on allegations of human rights violations in Indonesia which are one-sided, unsubstantiated and not supported by the facts. Moreover, the allegations are exaggerated and based only on second-hand sources whose reliability is questionable. [31]

The government has taken a more positive attitude toward the work of other United Nations officials and bodies. The UN Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako, visited East Timor in February 1992 and April 1993. United Nations representatives were permitted to attend at least one session of the trial of Xanana Gusmão and, in January 1994, the government accepted a visit to Jakarta and Dili by a delegation from the UN Secretary-General's office. These moves suggest that the Indonesian Government has taken expressions of UN concern about East Timor to heart, and they should therefore be welcomed.

Yet, for a number of reasons, visits by the personal envoys or staff of the Secretary General do not serve as a satisfactory replacement for the visits by the UN's human rights monitoring mechanisms recommended by the Commission. Because their mandates do not generally encompass human rights fact-finding, and their findings are generally not made public, they do not provide the Commission or the international community with a basis for assessing the human rights situation in the territory. The decision not to release the findings from such visits also means that information about the conditions under which they are conducted cannot be made public. As a result, there is no reliable way to verify allegations made by East Timorese political prisoners that they and their relatives were threatened, detained, and otherwise interfered with, both before and after being visited by Mr. Amos Wako in February 1992, and April 1993. [32] Nor is there any public account, from the UN side, of reported attempts by the Indonesian military to prevent one of its delegates, as well as a number of diplomats and journalists, from reaching East Timor in time for a session of Xanana Gusmão's trial in May 1993. [33] A more general problem is that such visits do not provide concrete recom-

mendations, based on specific expertise, through which the human rights situation might be improved.

For these reasons, Amnesty International believes that the UNCHR should urge the Government of Indonesia to invite all four of the UN theme mechanisms to visit both Indonesia and East Timor in the near future, and to facilitate the discharge of their mandates. It also recommends that the Commission continue to seek a full report, at its next session, by the UN Secretary General, regarding the results of the two visits to East Timor by his Personal Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Indonesia became a member of the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1991. As such, it bears a special responsibility to implement the recommendations enumerated in that body's statements and resolutions. Yet, with some minor exceptions, it has not done so. Indeed, it has indicated that it does not feel bound to abide by the provisions of that resolution. [34] If the Government of Indonesia trusts the role of UN bodies - and particularly the UNCHR of which it is a member - to discharge its mandate in promoting and protecting human rights, then it should comply and cooperate fully with the suggestions and recommendations of that body. To do so selectively raises questions about the sincerity of the government's commitment to these principles and institutions. The government has also failed to become a party to the most important international human rights conventions, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights or the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

The principal responsibility for improving the human rights situation in Indonesia and East Timor rests with the Indonesian Government. But member states of the UN also have a role to play. By encouraging Indonesia to allow international monitoring of the human rights situation, and by insisting that the government abide by international human rights standards, the international community has recently begun to have an impact, albeit limited, on Indonesian Government policy and practice. That success, however modest, is one of the strongest arguments for the reiteration of international concern through the UNCHR and other bodies. It also points to the need for broadening the focus of UN concern beyond East Timor to Indonesia. With these considerations in mind, Amnesty International offers the following recommendations to UN member states and, in particular, to members of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

Recommendations to Members of the UN Commission on Human Rights

1. Urge the Indonesian authorities to account fully for the dead and "disappeared" from the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath; and to establish durable mechanisms to ensure that the victims of other serious human rights violations, in East Timor and Indonesia, have an effective avenue through which to seek redress and compensation.
2. Reiterate concern at the government's failure to bring to justice all those ultimately responsible for the Santa Cruz massacre, and at the disparity in sentencing between members of the security forces and their civilian victims; and call upon the Indonesian authorities to ensure that all those believed to be responsible for human rights violations, whether in Indonesia or East Timor, are tried by a civilian court and punished in accordance with the severity of their crime.
3. Reiterate concern about the unfair trial and imprisonment of the government's political opponents in East Timor, and call for the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience throughout Indonesia and East Timor.
4. Call upon the Indonesian authorities to implement the recommendations of the UN Special Rapporteur on torture; and urge them to take immediate steps to ensure that the recently created National Commission on Human Rights meets the standards of impartiality and independence enumerated in the UN's Principles relating to the status of national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights.
5. Encourage the Government of Indonesia to further improve access to East Timor by human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, and to put an end to the legal and other obstacles that continue to impede the work of international and domestic human rights and humanitarian bodies, both in East Timor and Indonesia.
6. Welcome the Government's decision to invite the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions to visit East Timor in 1994, and suggest that it also extend invitations to the UN Special Rapporteur on torture, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances; also urge the government to invite all four UN monitoring mechanisms not only to East Timor but also to Indonesia, and to facilitate the discharge of their mandates.

7. Seek a full report to the UN Commission on Human Rights at its next session, by the UN Secretary-General, regarding the results of the two visits to East Timor by his Personal Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako.
8. Encourage the Government of Indonesia to become a party to key international human rights instruments, such as the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and its (first) Optional Protocol.

Appendix I: Consensus Statement of the UN Commission on Human Rights, Made by the Chairman, Concerning East Timor, Geneva, 4 March 1992

I have been asked to make the following statement announcing what has been agreed by consensus by the Commission on the situation of human rights in East Timor:

1. The Commission on Human Rights notes with serious concern the human rights situation in East Timor, and strongly deplores the violent incident in Dili, on 12 November 1991, which resulted in the loss of lives and injuries of a large number of civilians and in many unaccounted for.

2. The Commission welcomes the early action of the Indonesian Government in setting up a national commission of inquiry and the prompt response which its advance report elicited from the highest Indonesian authorities; expresses its hope that, as announced by the Indonesian Government, further investigation into the action of the security personnel on November 12, 1991, and into the fate of those unaccounted for, will clarify the remaining discrepancies, namely on the number of people killed and those missing.

3. The commission is encouraged by the recent announcement by the Indonesian authorities of disciplinary measures and military court proceedings regarding some members of its Armed Forces and urges the Indonesian Government to bring to trial and punish all those found responsible. Furthermore, the Commission calls upon the Indonesian authorities to ensure that all civilians arrested on the occasion are treated humanely, that those brought to trial are assured of proper legal representation and fair trial and that those not involved in violent activities are released without delay.

4. The Commission welcomes the appointment of Mr. Amos Wako, as Personal Envoy of the Secretary General of the United Nations, to obtain clarification on the tragic events of November 12, 1991 and the willingness of the Indonesian authorities to cooperate fully with him. The Commis-

sion encourages the Secretary General to continue his good offices for achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor.

5. The Commission urges the Government of Indonesia to improve the human rights situation in East Timor: commends the report entitled "Visit by the Special Rapporteur to Indonesia and East Timor" of its Special Rapporteur on Torture following his visit at the invitation of the Indonesian Government; urges the Indonesian authorities to take the necessary steps to implement its recommendations and looks forward to a report thereon; calls on the Indonesian government to facilitate access to East Timor for additional humanitarian organizations and for human rights organizations; and requests the Secretary General to continue to follow closely the human rights situation in East Timor and to keep the Commission informed at its 49th session.

6. This statement will be included verbatim in the report of the 48th session of the Commission.

Appendix II: Resolution 1993/97 concerning East Timor 49th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights Geneva, February 1993

The Commission on Human Rights, Guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the universally accepted rules of international law,

Bearing in mind the statement on the situation of human rights in East Timor agreed by consensus by the Commission on Human Rights at its forty-eighth session (see E/CN.4/1992/84, para 457) following the violent incident of 12 November 1991 in Dili,

Recalling resolution 1992/20 of 27 August 1992 of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,

Gravely concerned at continuing allegations of serious human rights violations and noting with concern in this context the reports of the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture (E/CN.4/1993/26), of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions (E/CN.4/1993/46) and of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (E/CN.4/1993/25),

Bearing in mind the Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons Under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 43/173 of 9 December 1988 and the Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, endorsed by the

General Assembly in its resolution 44/162 of 15 December 1989,

Taking note of the information the Government of Indonesia has provided the Commission on actions it has taken during the past year,

Welcoming the recent access to East Timor to human rights organizations as well as to some other relevant international observers, but remaining disappointed that such access is still frequently denied,

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in East Timor (E/CN.4/1993/49),

1. Expresses its deep concern at reports of continuing human rights violations in East Timor;

2. Recalls that the Commission has commended the decision of the Government of Indonesia to set up an inquiry commission but regrets that the Indonesian investigation into the actions of the members of its security personnel on 12 November 1991, from which resulted loss life, injuries and disappearances, failed to clearly identify all those responsible for these actions;

3. Expresses its concern at the lack of information about the number of people killed on 12 November 1991 and at the persons still unaccounted for and urges the Government of Indonesia to account fully for those still missing since 12 November 1991;

4. Regrets the disparity in the severity of sentences imposed on those civilians not indicted for violent activities - who should have been released without delay - on the one hand, and to the military involved in the violent incident, on the other;

5. Calls upon the Government of Indonesia to honour fully its commitments undertaken in the statement on the situation of human rights in East Timor, agreed by consensus by the Commission on Human Rights at its forty-eighth session;

6. Also calls upon the Government of Indonesia to ensure that all the East Timorese in custody, including main public figures, be treated humanely and with their rights fully respected, that all trials be fair, just, public and recognize the right to proper legal representation, in accordance with international humanitarian law, and that those not involved in violent activities be released with delay;

7. Welcomes the greater access recently granted by the Indonesian authorities to human rights and humanitarian organizations, and calls upon the Indonesian authorities to expand this access further;

8. Encourages once again the Indonesian authorities to take the necessary steps to implement the recommendations presented by the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture in his report (E/CN.4/1992/17/Add.1) following his visit

to Indonesia and East Timor and keep the Special Rapporteur informed of the progress made towards their implementation;

9. Urges the Government of Indonesia to invite the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture, the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to visit East Timor and to facilitate the discharge of their mandates;

10. Welcomes the agreement given by the Government of Indonesia to the proposal of the Secretary-General for a new visit to Indonesia and East Timor by his Personal Envoy in the coming months, and invites the Secretary-General to consider transmitting the full reports of Mr. Wako's previous and next visit to the Commission on Human Rights;

11. Also welcomes the resumption of talks on the question of East Timor and encourages the Secretary-General to continue his good offices for achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor;

12. Decides to consider the situation in East Timor at its fiftieth session on the basis of the reports of the Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups and that of the Secretary-General, which would include an analytical compilation of all information received from, inter alia, Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

68th meeting 11th March 1993

[Adopted by roll-call vote of 22 to 12, with 15 abstentions. See Chap. XII.]

Appendix III: Recommendations from the Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Question of Torture, Following his Visit to Indonesia and East Timor

80. In the light of these considerations the Special Rapporteur wishes to make a number of recommendations:

(a) Accession by Indonesia to the 1966 International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and ratification of the 1984 Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment are highly desirable;

(b) A greater awareness should be created within the judiciary of the vital role it can play in the enforcement of respect for human rights in general and for the right to physical and mental integrity in particular. The independence of the judiciary should be scrupulously respected;

(c) The responsibility of the independent Attorney-General's office and of the judiciary for the supervision of the legality of

arrests and the regularity of criminal investigating procedures should be extended;

(d) An arrested person's right of access to a lawyer, which is guaranteed by law, should be strictly respected;

(e) All evidence which is obtained in a way which is not in conformity with the law should be dismissed in court;

(f) In view of the lack of clarity as to whether basic human rights are required to be respected under the Anti-Subversion Law and in view of the fact that crimes against the security of the State and against public order are already punishable under the present Criminal Code (and will also be so under the new Criminal Code which is in the process of being drafted), the Anti-Subversion Law should be repealed;

(g) A national commission on human rights should be established (on the proposal of the Interdepartmental Committee on Human Rights, see para. 13 above). The primary task of such a commission should be to educate authorities and officials in the field of human rights;

(h) An authority or agency should be established where victims of human rights violations (e.g. torture) can file their complaints. Such an agency should have independent investigative powers. Local offices of a national commission on human rights could function as such an agency;

(i) A system of regular visits to all places of detention, including police stations, by an independent authority should be established. Local offices of a national commission on human rights could be entrusted with this task;

(j) Officials who have been found guilty of committing or condoning torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment should be severely punished;

(k) Jurisdiction over offenses committed by members of the armed forces, including the police, should be given to the civilian courts.

Footnotes/Endnotes

[1] In a consensus statement at its 48th session, in March 1992, the UNCHR deplored the loss of life at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on 12 November 1991, and called on the government to take a number of steps to ensure the future protection of human rights in East Timor (See Appendix I). In August 1992, the UN Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, reiterated this call. A resolution passed at the 49th session of the UNCHR, in March 1993, expressed concern at the Indonesian government's failure to honour its commitment to carry out the recommendations made in the

1992 consensus statement (See Appendix II). Accordingly, it reiterated the recommendations made in the 1992 consensus statement and made two additional recommendations. A Resolution of the Sub-commission, dated August 1993, called upon the Indonesian authorities to implement fully both the 1992 consensus statement and the 1993 resolution of the UNCHR.

[2] See the Report of the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, dated 22 December 1993 (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1994/26).

[3] The list was given to a representative of the US-based human rights organization, Asiawatch during a visit to Indonesia and East Timor in March 1993. It was published as an appendix to the Asiawatch report, *Remembering History in East Timor: The Trial of Xanana Gusmão and a Follow-up to the Dili Massacre*. April 1993.

[4] For details of the government's official inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre, see the Amnesty International report *Indonesia/East Timor: The Government Response*, dated February 1992 (ASA 21/03/92).

[5] See "64 E. Timorese still listed as missing by ABRI," *Jakarta Post*, 12.7.93. For further details on the asylum bid, see the Amnesty International reports: *Indonesia/East Timor: Seven East Timorese Seek Asylum*, dated 23 June 1993 (ASA 21/13/93); and *Indonesia/East Timor: Seven East Timorese Still in Danger*, dated 5 July 1993 (ASA 21/14/93). The seven were permitted to leave Indonesia at the end of December 1993.

[6] See "32 Dari 66 Yang Hilang Pada Peristiwa Dili Sudah Kembali," *Suara Pembaruan*, 10.4.93.

[7] The two were: *Januario da Conceicao* was said to have "surrendered" to the authorities on 14 May 1993 while *Afonso Maria*, was reportedly "found" in his home on 5 November 1992. See "ABRI Terus Mencari 64 Warga Dili yang Hilang," *Republika*, 11.7.93.

[8] The other four named by the government as reappeared were *Constância Pinto*, *Antonio Lay*, and the two asylum-seekers mentioned above (*Profirio da Costa* and *Clementino Faria Oliveira*), none of whom appeared on the government list of missing or dead. See Report of the UN Secretary General on the Situation in East Timor, dated 20 January 1994 (UN Doc No. E/CN.4/1994/61, Annex 1).

[9] These were the responses concerning *Alberto Nascimento*, *Ulisses Conceicao*

- Goncalves, Caetano Ximenes, Francisco Magali, and Joanico Silva, all of whom were said to have returned home.
- [10] See Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, 22 December 1993 (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1994/26).
- [11] Two of the 13 East Timorese were released in 1993, having served their sentences.
- [12] For the full text of the consensus statement, see Appendix I.
- [13] Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions. (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1994/7, para 355).
- [14] For examples, see the Amnesty International report East Timor: State of Fear, Statement before the UN Special Committee on Decolonization July 1993 (ASA 21/15/93) and an Urgent Action appeal on behalf of 53 students reportedly arrested on 1 and 2 September 1993. (ASA 21/20/93, 6 September 1993).
- [15] Moreover, in view of the fact that Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor is not recognized by the UN, fundamental doubt remains about the competence of Indonesia's courts to try East Timorese for their opposition to the government.
- [16] See the Amnesty International document entitled East Timor: Unfair Political Trial of Xanana Gusmão, July 1993 (ASA 21/05/93).
- [17] These rights are enumerated in a number of international covenants, including the UN Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment, approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 43/173 of 9 December 1988.
- [18] AP, 10 February 1994.
- [19] For further detail see Amnesty International reports Indonesia/East Timor: Fernando de Araujo - Prisoner of Conscience, May 1992 (ASA 21/07/92), and "In Accordance With the Law" - Statement before the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, July 1992 (ASA 21/11/92).
- [20] For further details about political prisoners, see the Amnesty International report Indonesia/East Timor: A New Order? Human Rights in 1992, February 1993 (ASA 21/03/93).
- [21] For further details, see Amnesty International report, Indonesia: Labour Activists Detained, 10 February 1994 (ASA 21/06/94). Four of the trade unionists detained were reportedly released from police custody in Bekasi, West Java, on 11 February, but were still required to report to the authorities twice per week for an indefinite period.
- [22] Paragraph 73 of the report states: "In view of the information received by him, the Special Rapporteur cannot avoid the conclusion that torture occurs in Indonesia, in particular in cases which are considered to endanger the security of the State. In areas which are deemed to be unstable [Aceh, Irian Jaya, East Timor]...torture is said to be practised rather routinely; it is also allegedly used elsewhere, in particular on persons who are suspected of belonging to groups which threaten the State philosophy..."
- [23] The most recent report of the Special Rapporteur on Torture (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1994/31), published in January 1994, indicates that torture and ill-treatment are still endemic in Indonesia and East Timor.
- [24] These principles are enumerated in the Annex to UNCHR Resolution 1992/54 on National institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights (adopted by consensus, 3 March 1992). The annex is included as an appendix to an Amnesty International report, Proposed Standards for National Human Rights Commissions, January 1993 (IOR 40/01/93).
- [25] The Commission members visited two women detained at the Jakarta Police Headquarters, and nine men detained at the Central Jakarta Police Precinct. After the visit, one member told the press that the detainees "...were in fine condition. We didn't see any sign that they had been subject to any physical pressures." Cited in Indonesia News, Volume 22, Issue 01 (31 January 1993).
- [26] His sentence was formally commuted to life imprisonment in December 1980.
- [27] Cited in Jakarta Post, 13 January 1994.
- [28] On the December 1993 commitment, see Secretary-General reiterates intention to assist in solution to East Timor question and to monitor human rights situation there, United Nations Information Service, 17 September 1993 (SG/SM/5095). Following the meeting with President Suharto in January 1994, one of the Congressmen, Richard Gephardt, said the President had assured him that "there would be no problem with groups or individuals wanting to visit East Timor and see for themselves the real situation there." Cited in Jakarta Post 11.1.94.
- [29] Asked whether Indonesia had honoured its promise to permit unrestricted access to prisoners in East Timor, the ICRC President, Mr. Cornelio Sommaruga, was

reported to have said: "...we have had difficulties. The process of visiting all people detained because of a particular situation of East Timor has resumed. We have resumed our activities but we have not been able to do it regularly and completely as we did want." Cited in The West Australian, 15 September 1993.

- [30] Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, 22 December 1993 (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1994/26, para 270).
- [31] Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, 22 December 1993 (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1994/26, para 268).
- [32] A declassified US Department of State document, dated 21 February 1992, reportedly said that more than 100 young East Timorese had been rounded up shortly before Amos Wako's visit, sent for political guidance courses outside of Dili, and then released after he had departed. Reuter, 6.9.93.
- [33] AFP, 12 May 1993.
- [34] See the Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1994/7, para 356).

CANADA-ASIA WORKING GROUP REPORT

February, 1994

Canada-Asia Working Group 1994 Brief on Human Rights in Indonesia, from "Human Rights in Asia, 1994," prepared for submission to UNCHR, Geneva, Jan.-March 1994. CAWG is the Canadian church ecumenical coalition on human rights and justice issues in Asia.

INDONESIA

The reports that the Canada-Asia Working Group has received over the years indicate that a pattern of gross and systematic violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms exists, not only in East Timor, but throughout Indonesia. The situation is worse where there is opposition to Indonesian rule, as in the cases of Aceh and West Papua.

Key developments in the political and economic setting in Indonesia have had some bearing on the human rights question. One is the succession struggle which has intensified as President Suharto entered his sixth term. The tension between the President and the army (ABRI) has increased over the year, even while Suharto remains very much in charge and continues to arbitrarily exercise power.

The other significant development is Indonesia's impressive economic growth, which is making the country an economic power in the region and the Indonesian government more assertive at playing a leadership role in the regional and international scene.

As a consequence, some political space has been created as Suharto projects an openness to change in order to broaden his political base and get ahead in the succession race. Indonesia's aspirations in the international arena also compel it to show an increased awareness of human rights issues and to respond to human rights criticisms. But at the same time, it also has also the economic clout to resist.

Civil and Political Rights

The press is more open than it was a few years ago. Sometime this year, the travel bans on traditional opposition, like the Petition of 50 Group, and human rights advocates including H.J.C. PRINCEN were lifted. A number of Muslim political prisoners were also given early releases. These developments were seen as indications of the growing receptivity of the government to human rights concerns.

But at the same time, Indonesia continues to rigidly apply its national security approach and the policy of "floating mass" which enables it to control every aspect of social and political life. It continues to use existing legislation, like the Anti-Subversion Law and the Social Organization Act, to justify acts of repression, particularly arrests and detention, and to obstruct citizens in their exercise of their basic freedoms and rights. There is no doubt that the army (ABRI) still plays a paramount function in Indonesian society and under the pretext of national security continues to carry out repression and commit grave abuses with impunity.

Even with the perceptible increase of openness in the press, the government continues to randomly exercise its power to restrict the right of expression. Newspapers are warned to follow a code of "free and responsible" behaviour or risk losing their publishing permits which is allowed by an existing law. [1] In December 1993, 21 students were arrested for participating in a demonstration calling for an investigation into the human rights abuses of the Suharto government. They will face charges of humiliating the President.[2] Another 19 students were arrested when they joined a demonstration to protest the earlier arrests.

Cumbersome regulations and requirements are frequently used to control the citizens' exercise of the freedom of assembly and to obstruct the emergence of independent association. The rector of the Darul

Ulum University in Jombang, East Java, who invited well-known human rights lawyer, Adnan Buyung NASUTION to address a meeting, was threatened with charges for illegal assembly on the ground that the application for a meeting permit was not filed within the required period. The freedom of assembly and association was a particularly major issue with respect to labour. The workers who joined the independent union, Indonesia Prosperous Workers' Union (SBSI) were subjected to continuous harassment. Their organizing efforts were impeded by their inability to meet freely and without government surveillance. [3]

Since 1992, the military heavily interfered in the leadership struggle in the Batak Church in North Sumatra. Over 100 church members were arrested for protesting against the military-installed bishop; there were several reports of torture that included beating, kicking, clubbing with rifle-butts, etc. The provincial governor ordered the banning of all church services conducted by supporters of the former bishop.[4]

Reports indicate that torture continued to be used routinely during military interrogation and detention. Fifty students who protested in support of farmers in the village of Blangguan were arrested; 6 of them reported severe torture that included electric shock. [5]

There were several killings that involved the military and police. One case was that of union activist MARSINAH, who was found raped and murdered after a strike at her factory in Sidoarjo, East Java on 9 May 1993.[6] At the end of September 1993, 4 unarmed persons were killed when the army opened fire on farmers Madura protesting the construction of a dam in Madura.[7]

Human rights advocates continued to be subjected to harassment and threats from the government. Indonesian partners of the Canada Asia Working Group were regularly visited and interrogated about their activities by the police and military. Several members of the legal aid organization LBH-Ampera were detained after a peasant demonstration on October 6, 1993 in Bogor, West Java. Jauhari AHMED, who works for the group, received death threats and had his home vandalized. [8]

A 25-member national human rights commission headed by a former military judge and Supreme Court Justice Ali SAID was appointed in June, 1993. The commission does not have investigatory powers and there are serious questions about its independence.

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

Indonesia's economy is becoming one of the world's fastest growing economies. While the recession has hit most of the industrialized countries, Indonesia's economy has grown at an average of 6 to 9%. According to the World Bank, abject poverty has dropped from 60% two decades ago to about 15%.[9]

At the same time, social unrest from the lower layers of society has been mounting. In recent years, there has been unprecedented number of strikes among Indonesian workers and land disputes involving farmers, indigenous peoples and even, urban poor communities. The development underway appears to have failed to close the gap between the poor and the rich, if not exacerbated it. While there is no contradiction between economic growth and distribution, the path chosen by Indonesia, as indicated by Suharto's "trilogy of development" makes distribution secondary to growth.

Land disputes, indigenous peoples and environment: Key to Indonesia's development scheme is the extensive exploitation of the country's geophysical resources. This has resulted in hundreds of thousand of farmers being evicted from their land to make way for the development projects of the government and private sector. Most often, they got very little compensation or none at all. Those who fell victims to land dispossession were small farmers. In Java, where the number of farmers are rapidly declining, 70% are landless. [10]

Indigenous people have been disenfranchised and been deprived of traditional lands through large-scale, government-backed schemes involving logging, mining, hydroelectric dam construction and tourism. Indonesia's 143 million hectares of rain forest are being depleted at a rate of one million hectares a year, indicating the extent to which indigenous peoples, who depend largely on the forests for their livelihood, are affected. In Siberut, West Sumatra, the Mentawai peoples, face forcible resettlement as a result of, not only widespread logging, but also of a grand government scheme to create large oil palm plantations in the area.[11] To quell indigenous resistance to government's projects, large number of troops have been deployed to tribal lands. Several clashes between soldiers and tribal peoples have already been reported, resulting in some arrests and detention.

Land disputes have not been restricted to rural areas. The development of shopping malls has displaced many urban poor communities.

The common course of action has been to petition the National Land Agency. However, in not one case where farmers had

taken such action were they successful in having their land returned to them.[12] People's protest actions have been met with force.

The government's transmigration programme continues to be a serious cause of land disputes, because often the land appropriated for transmigrants are occupied, mostly by indigenous communities. A government plan to remove so-called squatter families from forest lands, which Minister SISWONO estimates at 1.7 million families is a cause of concern. This could mean the displacement of huge numbers of indigenous communities.[13]

Workers' Rights: Indonesia's development is heavily dependent on foreign investment. One of the major incentives to foreign investors is its plentiful supply of cheap labour. The wage cost of an Indonesian textile worker is about 1/3 of what workers receive in Thailand and Malaysia and 1/10 of Korean workers.[14] The legal minimum wage is equivalent to Can.\$1.56 (2250 rupiahs), which barely pays for one short motorcab or bus ride (1000 rupiahs) in Jakarta. But many companies do not even pay the minimum. A study by the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute found that 71% of companies in Surabaya pay less than the minimum. In Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia, women shelling and packing prawns for export are paid equivalent of 75 cents a day.

Labour activity that would discourage foreign investment are curbed through imposition of limitations on the rights of people to organize and assemble as well as numerous government regulations. The requirements of a regulation of the Manpower Department, even in its draft revised form, make it impossible for workers to form an independent union. [15] The government-controlled All Indonesia Workers' Union (SPSI) remains the only legally recognized trade union, which does not have the independence to protect workers' rights and negotiate in their behalf.

A recently formed independent union, SBSI (Prosperous Workers Union of Indonesia) has not been granted official recognition by the government but has been subjected to harassment and intimidation. It was prevented from holding its first national congress on July 29, 1993 on the ground that it did not have a permit, which the police refused to grant. Seven of its members in Medan, North Sumatra were dismissed on 14 June 1993 by PT Tambaksari Jalmorejo and then reinstated when 175 of their co-workers staged a strike. A few days later, SBSI's chair and vice-chair in Medan were arrested without warrant, accused of fomenting the strike and reportedly beaten during police interrogation.[16]

The Indonesian government has not hesitated to use military force wherever it deems necessary to reach its economic goals. Military and police interference in labour disputes is legitimized through a regulation, which authorizes labour mediators to coordinate with the district police and military commands to ensure that disputes are settled peacefully.

Workers are denied their right to strike. The current legislation puts stringent requirements before workers can stage a legal strike. As a result, workers have resorted to wildcat strikes. Most are triggered by low wages and poor working conditions. The government has reacted with a decree allowing companies to dismiss workers who take a leave without permission for one or two days (as in wildcat strikes). There have already been 3 reported dismissals of striking workers using the decree. [17]

Having signed ten basic conventions of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and ratified the convention on collective bargaining, the Indonesian government has bound itself to promote and protect the rights of Indonesian workers and should be urged to abide by them.

Specific Regions: Aceh and West Papua (Irian Jaya)

It is in the regions where the government and the military's authority is more publicly confronted that the depth of the military's transgressions against human rights are measured.

In Aceh, people's resentment over the unequal benefits of the government's large scale development in the territory largely contributed to the resurgence of the resistance movement, Aceh Merdeka. In 1989, the Indonesian armed forces launched a ruthless counter-insurgency campaign, resulting in massive human rights abuses. An estimated 2,000 civilians have been killed, 1,000 arbitrarily arrested, many more have been detained incommunicado, tortured or have disappeared. The abuses were aimed at, not only the resistance fighters, but also ordinary villagers, to scare them into cooperating with the military.[18]

Although the worst may be over for now, as the military's brutal operations have succeeded in suppressing open opposition, there are still frequent reports of abuses and good reasons for serious concerns. A large number of cases of disappearances are still unresolved.

Over 50 people, who were denied fair trials, are currently serving severe sentences, ranging from 3 years to death, for alleged involvement in Aceh Merdeka. [19] There is no accountability for these abuses on the part of the military. Moreover, a large number of troops have remained in Aceh to do

"development work," but are actually there to keep the population under control. They will certainly not hesitate to resort again to force against any resurgent opposition. In fact, the military practice of killing suspected leaders of Aceh Merdeka, rather than capturing them, has continued; two were killed in August, 1993.[20]

The Indonesian army continued to pursue its war against the West Papuan resistance movement, but restrictions on access to the territory and poor communications make it difficult to obtain information on the human rights situation. The killing of Hans SOAF may indicate a broader pattern of human rights violations by the Indonesian military who operate in the territory. It is feared he may have been extrajudicially executed by members of the Indonesian security forces following his arrest in Waskee, West Sarmi, West Papua (Irian Jaya), on or shortly after 23 July 1993.[21]

West Papua, because of its natural resources, has been the prime target of the Indonesian government's large scale development schemes which are taking away the ancestral lands of the people. The transmigration programme is actively implemented in the territory and is viewed by the people as a major threat to the survival of their culture and identity. A government plan reportedly aims to transmigrate 50,000 families from various parts of Indonesia into West Papua in the next 5 years.

Conclusion and Recommendations:

At the 50th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and in its bilateral relations with Indonesia, Canada should:

1. strongly call on Indonesia to ratify the two International Covenants; its continuing refusal should be a ground for the review of the country's membership in the Commission;
2. strongly express concern about the grave and rampant violations of human rights by Indonesian authorities, particularly its use of excessive force to impose its development programme on the people and the large scale dispossession of farmers and indigenous peoples of their lands;
3. urge the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law;
4. call for the restoration of workers rights, particularly their right to organize independent unions and to assemble freely as well as for a judicial review of labour regulations that allow the military and police to intervene in labour disputes;
5. strongly call for an end to Indonesia military campaigns in Aceh and West Papua and its transmigration programme in West Papua;

6. recommend a review of the human rights situation throughout Indonesia at the next UNCHR session.

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MORE DEATHS: UN REPORT

The Age, 23 February 1994. By Mark Baker (political editor)

(Canberra) A report commissioned by the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Ghali, has renewed allegations of continuing atrocities by Indonesian forces in East Timor, including unlawful killings.

The report, which is expected to be debated by the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva this week, has also given support to claims that there were more killings after the November 1991 Dili massacre.

It said information given to UN representatives alleged that at least 40 people were "extrajudicially executed" by Indonesian security forces during 1992.

"East Timor continued to be particularly affected by the violations of the right to life perpetrated by the Indonesian security forces," the report said.

It said that as many as 200 people were still unaccountable for after the Dili massacre. "Many of them were feared to have been killed and buried to anonymous graves outside Dili or thrown into the sea."

Indonesia, which acknowledges that about 60 people are still missing, is expected to face renewed pressure at this session of the Human Rights Commission for failing to account for their fate.

The UN report said Indonesia had still not complied with a resolution adopted by the commission last year calling for special UN investigators to be allowed access to East Timor. It said Dr. Boutros Ghali had not yet received a response to a communication he sent to Jakarta last August.

Indonesia is also expected to face renewed pressure in Geneva over allegations - first reported in 'The Age' two weeks ago - that scores of people arrested after the Dili massacre were later poisoned, bashed and stabbed to death at a military hospital.

Despite Jakarta's denials of second massacre, two Timorese who claim to have witnessed killings at the hospital are expected to give evidence at the hearing.

The report said there had been a positive response to an announcement by President Suharto early last year that an independent national human rights commission would be established. But it said UN officials had still not received any detailed information about the plan.

- An Australian Catholic bishop has cancelled a visit to East Timor amid reports of harassment of priests there and the alleged torture of a student accused of organising a protest to coincide with the visit. Bishop Hilton Deakin, an auxiliary bishop in the Melbourne Catholic diocese, had planned to go to East Timor this month, on his second visit to the disputed territory. But he said yesterday that he had cancelled the trip after receiving a coded message from Dili.

DEVELOPMENTS AT THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN GENEVA

TAPOL Report, 24 February 1994

This week and next, East Timor will be very much to the fore at the UN Human Rights Commission which is now over half way through its agenda in Geneva.

The powerful and well-supported resolution censuring Indonesia last year overshadows the proceedings. Can it be repeated this year? Will it be possible, or appropriate, to push for a similar decision this year?

Up till now, efforts have centred around negotiations with Indonesia to reach an agreement on a chairman's consensus statement. This has the advantage of binding Indonesia to its terms; even though a resolution should also be binding, Indonesia always argues that it did not vote in favour and can ignore its recommendations. However, we also know that many of the terms included in the chairman's consensus statement of March 1992 have remained unfulfilled.

However, in the first weeks, it was clear that European Union members were not in favour of pushing for a resolution. The strongest arguments against came from the UK, Germany and the Netherlands. The strongest in support of East Timor is Ireland. The US delegation, headed by Geraldine Ferraro has been very helpful, as has the Canadian delegation.

But the mood has perceptibly changed in the past week, thanks largely to all the publicity surrounding Max Stahl's revelations in the Australian and British press regarding the second massacre after 12 November 1991 and all the articles by John Pilger that have appeared in advance of the screening of his film, 'Death of a Nation.' In particular, the attitude of the Dutch has changed because these revelations have been well covered in the Dutch press and quite forcefully raised in Parliament. The Dutch team in Geneva may be very dissatisfied if the consensus terms prove unsatisfactory. Primarily it would have to tie Indonesia to agreeing that all four thematic investigations will be carried out, in accordance with last year's resolution.

Last year's resolution required Indonesia to invite the four thematic special rapporteurs and working groups - torture, disappearances, extra-judicial killings and arbitrary detentions - to East Timor. Grudgingly, Indonesia is beginning to conform. It has now agreed to allow the special rapporteur on extra-judicial killings to visit East Timor in 1994 and at the Commission announced that the Special Rapporteur on Torture will be allowed to make a visit,

though whether this will also include Indonesia and in particular Aceh is not clear.

Already, many NGOs have referred to East Timor in their general statements, mentioning Stahl's revelations on the second massacre or the serious complaints contained in the Special Rapporteur for Torture report to the Commission referring specifically to East Timor and Aceh and widely reported in the Dutch press.

But this week and next will be the high point. Today, Pilger's film will be shown in a conference room across the corridor from the Commission venue. A number of East Timorese will testify at the session, including the men who provided some of Max Stahl's evidence. And Max Stahl himself is scheduled to speak under Item 12 next week. Also present to speak will be two of the seven East Timorese who sought asylum at the two embassies in Jakarta last year.

To add to Indonesia's travails, there will be a briefing on Friday for NGOs by Hassan di Tiro, presenting the latest information about torture in Aceh (for some of the details, see TAPOL Bulletin No 121, February 1994).

Negotiations about a consensus statement are still under way. If Indonesia can be tied down to some quite specific undertakings, that will be the result. But if the terms agreed prove too weak, a resolution will be the likely result. Whatever happens, it seems that East Timor will be the subject of a Commission decision this year and will remain firmly on the agenda.

On the Indonesian side, some big guns have been rolled out. Marsuki Darusman, vice chair of the National Human Rights Commission, has been in Geneva almost since the start. Now present are Xavier do Amaral, Fretilin's first president - who was permitted to make a very brief visit to Dili to 'see the truth for myself' - before departing for Geneva. Lopes da Cruz is also there. And to keep watch over Xavier, Chico Kalbuadi has turned up. He is the adopted Timorese son of General Dading Kalbuadi, with whom Xavier has lived since falling into Indonesian army hands in 1977. (Chico Kalbuadi also accompanied Xavier at the London 'reconciliation talks.')

It is being rumoured that Mbak Tutut, Suharto's indomitable daughter may also turn up.

The various governments should be pressed to insist that the Commission should, either through a consensus statement or through a resolution, seek firm commitments from Indonesia about the thematic investigations. Revelations about the second massacre make this more urgent than ever.

DRAFT OF UNCHR CONSENSUS STATEMENT

*This is the DRAFT Statement by the Chairman of the UNHRC to be agreed by consensus as of Feb. 24. **NOTE THAT THE FINAL RESOLUTION (BELOW) IS DIFFERENT:***

I have been asked to make the following statement announcing what has been agreed by consensus by the Commission on the situation of human rights in East Timor:

The Commission on Human Rights:

1. Welcomes the current talks on the question of East Timor and encourages the Secretary-General to continue his good offices in order to achieve a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor, with full respect for the legitimate interests and aspirations of the East Timorese, in conformity with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Expresses its deep concern at allegations of continuing human rights violations in East Timor.
3. Acknowledges the fact that some members of the Security forces responsible for the violent incident in Dili on 12 November 1991 have been sentenced, but urges the Indonesian government to complete its investigation into the incident.
4. Calls upon the Indonesian Government to fully comply with the provisions of the previous decisions of the UNCHR and its own commitments.
5. Expresses its concern at the continuing lack of information concerning the number of people killed on 12 November 1991 and about the persons still unaccounted for, and though acknowledging the efforts that have been taken by the Indonesian Government to account for those persons, urges it to account fully for those still missing since 12 November 1991.
6. Also calls upon the Indonesian Government to ensure that all those in custody, including main opposition figures, are treated humanely and that their rights are fully respected, in accordance with international humanitarian law, and that those not involved in violent activities are released without delay.
7. Takes note with appreciation of the agreement of the Indonesian authorities to permit that seven East-Timorese students who sought refuge in the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta last June to leave Indonesia.

8. Welcomes the greater access recently granted by the Indonesian authorities to human rights and humanitarian organizations, and calls upon them to continue this policy, including access of the international media.
9. Welcomes the visit last April to East Timor by Mr. Amos Wako the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General as well as the recent visit of Mr. Francesc Vendrell as representative of the Secretary-General.
10. Urges the Indonesian Government to take the necessary steps to implement the recommendations presented by the Special Rapporteur on Torture on his report following his visit in to Indonesia and East Timor.
11. Welcomes the undertaking by the Government of Indonesia to invite the Special Rapporteur on Torture, the Special Rapporteur on Extra-Judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the Working Group on Involuntary Disappearances to visit East Timor and to facilitate the discharge of their mandates.
12. Decides to consider the situation in East Timor at its fifty first session on the basis of the reports of the Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups and that of the Secretary-General.

JAKARTA UNDER SCRUTINY OVER EAST TIMOR

GENEVA, Feb. 24 (IPS) - Indonesia's human rights record will come under scrutiny next week when U.N. officials debate a critical report, which accuses the Jakarta regime of a number of violations in East Timor.

The report, to be presented by the General Secretariat of the United Nations (U.N.), quotes the special rapporteur of the U.N. Human Rights Commission on extra-judicial executions as saying: "East Timor continues to be particularly affected by violations of the right to life perpetrated by the Indonesian security forces."

The report was compiled from information supplied by the governments of Indonesia and Portugal, as well as by non-governmental sources.

It states that at least 40 persons were executed extra-judicially by the security forces in 1992. At that time, the whereabouts of more than 200 people who disappeared after a massacre of 50 persons in Dili on Nov. 12, 1991 was not known.

"The authors of these violations of human rights enjoyed virtual impunity. With very few exceptions, those responsible for

the dead or disappeared were neither prosecuted nor condemned," says the report.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony in the archipelago of Java, was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed in 1976 as its 27th province.

London-based human rights group Amnesty International, has said the annexation has caused 210,000 deaths among its 600,000 original inhabitants, which has been described as "proportionally the largest genocide of a population – on third – perpetrated this century."

On its own behalf, the Indonesian government states in the report that resistance leader, José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão, received a commutation of his life sentence to 20 years.

Last November, after 17 years of clandestine activity, the Indonesian police succeeded in arresting Gusmão, 45, a poet and journalist.

He is the president of the National Resistance Council (CNR), as well as being commander of the guerrilla movement which has been resisting Jakarta's army of occupation ever since the invasion.

As part of its contribution to the report, the Portuguese submitted copies of reports sent to the United Nations by the authorities in Lisbon, condemning repeated human rights violations.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT TO UNHRC

ORAL STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT

By Amnesty International, 2 March 1994

*UN Commission on Human Rights 50th
session Agenda Item 12*

Chairperson,

In the last year, Amnesty International has issued appeals about human rights violations in connection with armed conflicts in more than 15 countries in Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific and Europe. Last month Amnesty International published a report and its 15 Point Program on peacekeeping and human rights, covering UN operations in more than a dozen situations. Most violations have been committed by the official state apparatus, but Amnesty International has also called attention to abuses by armed opposition groups. All too often, however, governments do not respond to such abuses with responsible measures to contain and control the violence, but use them as an excuse for intensifying repression so that armed conflict becomes the pretext, as well as the context, for appalling violations of human rights.

In Algeria, for example, more than 3,000 people have been killed in the past two years. Armed Islamist opposition groups have been responsible for the deliberate killing of hundreds of civilians. Government forces have shot dead close to 2,000 members and suspected supporters of armed opposition groups, many of them unarmed; others have been extrajudicially executed after arrest or surrender. Known or suspected Islamist militants are reported to have been systematically tortured in secret detention and at least twelve have died in custody. After the promulgation of a new anti-terrorist law in September 1992, 26 people were executed and over 370 sentenced to death before the suspension of executions in November 1993, most of them by special courts in unfair trials which the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions has stated do not provide the full right to appeal required by international law.

In Colombia over 20,000 people from all sectors of society have been killed for political reasons since 1986. Successive governments have persistently blamed drug-trafficking organizations and guerrillas for most political killings. While it is clear that guerrilla groups have committed abuses which have contributed to the spiral of violence, the evidence shows that the security forces and their paramilitary allies are responsible for most of the killings. Only exceptionally have those responsible for human rights violations been brought to justice; normally members of the armed forces responsible for gross human rights violations are beyond the reach of the law.

As the Commission is aware, Indonesian military forces in East Timor have been responsible for grave violations of human rights in response to both armed and peaceful opposition since 1975. Far less attention has been given to political killings and "disappearances" on a comparable scale which have been committed in Indonesia. In the last ten years alone, more than 7,000 civilians have been unlawfully killed, and scores of others have "disappeared" in various parts of the country. Few of these cases have been properly investigated, and those responsible have rarely been brought to justice.

In southern Iraq, hundreds of suspected government opponents, including whole families, were rounded up in late 1993 as part of the government's continuing crackdown on the Shi'a Muslim population. Ground military attacks in the marshes region have also continued unabated. In Baghdad, scores of prominent Sunni Arabs were rounded up and several were executed. In response to the alarming deterioration in the human rights situation, Amnesty Interna-

tional reiterates its request that the Secretary-General make available without further delay the necessary human and financial resources for establishing a human rights monitoring operation for Iraq in implementation of the resolution passed by the 49th Session of the Commission on Human Rights.

A new military offensive by the government of Sudan, which has displaced tens of thousands of people from camps near the Ugandan border, underscores Amnesty International's grave concern at the way government forces and both factions of the armed opposition Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) have been ruthless in assaulting civilians as a deliberate tactic of war. Of particular concern is the situation in the Nuba mountains in west Sudan where, since 1989, thousands of villagers have been extrajudicially executed by government forces, and the government's persistent failure to account for hundreds of people who "disappeared" in Juba in south Sudan in 1992 during government retaliation following SPLA incursions into the town. The government has taken no real action while claiming that Sudan is the innocent victim of anti-Islamic propaganda. In addition Amnesty International is concerned by the deliberate and arbitrary killing of thousands of civilians by different factions of the SPLA in fighting between 1991 and 1993 in rural parts of Upper Nile and other areas in the south.

In southeast Turkey, the security forces have tortured villagers, political activists, journalists, human rights defenders, women and children with impunity. Gendarmes and village guards have killed dozens of civilians in reprisal raids, and there are clear signs of security force involvement in many of the political killings in the area, of which there have been more than 800 since 1991. In a new development "disappearances" are now being reported with increasing regularity, at least 24 during the second half of 1993. Armed opposition groups have also been responsible for grave abuses, which has served to enhance impunity extended to the security forces. During 1993, such groups were responsible for over 200 arbitrary killings, with victims including children, teachers, local politicians and other civilians, as well as captured village guards and their families, and people suspected of collaborating with the security forces.

The former Yugoslavia is one of the most tragic situations of armed conflict. Bosnia-Herzegovina has rightly attracted the attention of the international community, but as the Special Rapporteur's latest report indicates, much more remains to be done if human rights are to be protected. By contrast the international community has, as yet,

given scant attention to the situation in Burundi where, in October 1993 soldiers executed the head of state and several other senior officials. The attempted coup triggered countrywide intercommunal massacres which left more than 100,000 civilians dead. Surviving members of the government called for UN help to set up a commission of inquiry into the abuses that occurred. It remains unclear whether the UN intends to help the government do this or to provide adequate assistance to Organization of African Unity conflict resolution efforts.

Chairperson,

Amnesty International condemns all arbitrary killings of non-combatants and "disappearances" regardless of who is responsible for them. In times of armed conflict both governments and their opponents should observe minimum standards laid down by humanitarian law. In addition, international law prohibits governments making any derogation from fundamental human rights, including the right to life, even in emergency situations.

In a report published this week - "Disappearances" and Political Killings: Human Rights Crisis of the 1990s - A Manual for Action - Amnesty International has set forth a comprehensive program for the prevention of "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions. Many of the measures are drawn from UN instruments and from the recommendations of UN bodies and mechanisms, which governments have debated and agreed in fora such as this Commission as the basic minimum for their own behavior. As the report also describes, year after year we have appealed to the Commission to stem the flood of "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions.

Once again, we must repeat our appeal. For countless victims, it is already too late. But for those who have survived, for those who will become victims unless prompt action is taken, we urge every government and this Commission to face up to the challenge of protecting human rights in the face of internal armed conflicts.

Thank you.

An additional statement, by João António Dias of East Timor, is in the "Second Massacre" section of this compilation.

EAST TIMOR AT U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Below are excerpts from UN press releases which mention East Timor issued during the UN Commission on Human Rights.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION CONSIDERS VIOLATIONS IN OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES AND ISSUE OF RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

HR/CN/508, 7 February 1994
GENEVA, 3 February (UN Information Service) - ...

GONCALO DE SANTA CLARA (Portugal) said only respect for the right of peoples to determine their futures could ensure harmonious relationships between States and peoples. Still, that right was violated in various parts of the world. That was particularly so in cases of foreign occupation. Nothing could excuse that practice. One could focus on the case of East Timor. Those people had had the right to self-determination denied them by forceful invasion. The United Nations had requested the Indonesian Government to withdraw its troops, to no avail. The United Nations must continue efforts to find a solution to that foreign occupation and to establish a favourable climate for a just and fair process of self-determination for the East Timorese. Human rights must be respected; that was crucial for any progress in negotiations. ...

VERENA GRAF, of the International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples, ... In East Timor, the military forces which decided on the illegal and brutal invasion of the island in 1975 were still not willing to admit that Indonesia needed to free itself of East Timor as much as East Timor needed to free itself of Indonesia. She appealed to the Commission and to Indonesia at least to respect the provisions already agreed upon.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS BEGINS DISCUSSION ON SOUTH AFRICA

HR/CN/509, 8 February 1994
GENEVA, 4 February (UN Information Service) - ...

ALESSANDRA AULA, of the Latin American Federation of Associations of Families of Disappeared Detainees, ...

The Jakarta authorities continued to defy the international community, and above all the feelings of the Timorese people, she continued. That permanently violated

the principles linking human rights and the right to self-determination. Indonesia manipulated the right of this people to independence and used it as a pretext to commit killings, arbitrary arrests and summary and partial trials, as well as a massive policy of population transfer. Her organizations appealed once again to the Commission to put in practice specific and effective mechanisms so that its own resolutions were respected by all States, including Indonesia.

...
ANNE SARIS, representative of France-Libertés: Fondation Danielle Mitterrand, said the two organizations had been pleased to note that on 17 September, after a meeting of the Secretary-General with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and Portugal, Indonesia had accepted to allow the humanitarian agencies of the United Nations and organizations for the defence of human rights access to East Timor. However, the two organizations had been denied the permission requested on 4 October 1993 to conduct a mission to East Timor. The Indonesian authorities had thereby demonstrated their lack of will to make real changes. East Timor repression continued through the use of torture and the use of force, she continued. The colonization of the island also persisted. In view of the constant human rights violations, Commission resolution 1993/97, concerning, among other things, the access of non-governmental organizations to East Timor, should be implemented; the people of East Timor should be able to exercise their right of self-determination; and the Commission should continue scrupulously to examine the human rights situation on the island....

...
Rights of Reply

SOEMADI BROTONINGRAT (Indonesia) said the Portuguese representative had provided a biased and distorted view of the situation in East Timor. Indonesia had no territorial ambitions there, and it had recognized the right of East Timorese to self-determination. Indonesia had accepted in 1976 the decision of the East Timorese people to become part of Indonesia. That people had legitimately integrated themselves into Indonesia; they had freely done so according to international standards. They had exercised their fundamental right and since then the East Timorese had participated twice in Indonesian parliamentary elections. What had Portugal done to resolve difficulties there? The Portuguese statement yesterday had been less than helpful.

...

G. DE SANTA CLARA (Portugal) said that the Indonesian representative had said that the people of East Timor had already exercised their right to self-determination. The facts on the ground and General Assembly resolutions supported the truth that the people of East Timor had not exercised their right to self-determination. Portugal called for improvement of the situation of the people in East Timor. Indonesia's implementation of last year's Commission resolution would be the true test of its commitment.

SOEMADI BROTDININGRAT (Indonesia) hoped Portugal would truly attempt to cooperate with the Secretary-General to find a solution in East Timor. He suggested that both countries look at the future rather than at the past. Looking at the past would be rather counter-productive for the Portuguese side.

UNITA HAS RIGHT TO OPPOSE GOVERNMENT POLICIES, BUT NO RIGHT TO KILL INNOCENT ANGOLANS, DEPUTY MINISTER TELLS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (DELAYED OWING TO TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES.)

HR/CN/519 16 February 1994

GENEVA, 11 February (UN Information Service) – ...

GEORGES REBELO PINTO CHIKOT, Deputy Minister of External Relations of Angola, said that the international community and, in particular, the United Nations had made considerable efforts in the democratization and peace-keeping processes, although the desired results were still very slow to come. None could remain indifferent to what was happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan, Algeria, Liberia, Somalia and also in Burundi, Sudan, Congo, East Timor and in many other places. ...

COMMISSION BEGINS CONSIDERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF PRISONERS AND DETAINEES

HR/CN/526 18 February 1994

GENEVA, 16 February (UN Information Service) – ...

NIGEL RODLEY, Special Rapporteur on the Question of Torture, said that since completion of his report, he had received responses from 15 more Governments, and those would be reflected in the document he would present next year. On the issue of the sometimes brutal activities of groups engaged in armed oppo-

sition to the Governments of some countries, he said he did not consider that his mandate extended to such activities, although he was concerned about situations involving terrorism, insurrection and other challenges to normal law enforcement. To date, he had not received an invitation to visit a member country. He had not been invited, for example, by Indonesia to investigate the question of torture in East Timor, despite a resolution by the Commission urging that country to solicit such visits. The continuing shortage of resources for combating torture would not be so pressing were it not for the shocking extent of torture in the world.

SECRETARY-GENERAL OF UNITED NATIONS WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN CALLS FOR SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION ALSO HEARS STATEMENT FROM SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE ON INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

HR/CN/533, 24 February 1994

GENEVA, 22 February (UN Information Service) – ...

GONCALO DE SANTA CLARA

GOMEZ (Portugal) said the international community could not ignore the reports from working groups and Special Rapporteurs that serious human rights violations continued in East Timor. Portugal had mentioned only those reports, although it could have quoted other reliable sources. Portugal welcomed any steps taken by the Indonesian authorities to improve human rights in East Timor. The recent invitation to the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions to visit East Timor was such a step. Only in that fashion could a just and internationally acceptable solution be reached. Portugal had repeatedly affirmed that it would cooperate with the United Nations in resolving the post-colonial problems in East Timor.

...

MAKMUR WIDODO (Indonesia),

responding to Portugal, said that the allegations of the Special Rapporteurs had yet to be proven. In East Timor, unsubstantiated allegations would only complicate the issue. Indonesia was committed to the process of tripartite dialogue to find a solution to the

COMMISSION CONTINUES DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF DETAINEES

24 February 1994

GENEVA, 21 February (UN Information Service) – ...

HILDA BURER, of Pax Christi International, said that despite pious words, there were countries, some of which were members of the Human Rights Commission, which not only failed to protect the rights of detainees and prisoners, but systematically and deliberately abused those rights, often for the sole purpose of terrorizing the population in order to prevent the emergence of an effective opposition to the ruling regime. Self-preservation drives of oppressive and unpopular Governments, whose legitimacy should at times be questioned, was one of the foremost causes of the systematic, often institutionalized abuses of human rights.... Pax Christi called on the Government of Indonesia to release Xanana Gusmão and other political prisoners, particularly those from East Timor, Aceh and West Papua. ...

MAGDA GONZALEZ, of the Latin American Federation of Associations of Relatives of Disappeared Detainees, said it was necessary for the Working Group studying forced disappearances to have wider operational powers and a permanent secretariat to follow up work done. ... Abuses in East Timor also continued.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION DEBATE FOCUSES ON COMPLAINTS OF ABUSE OF PRISONERS AND DETAINEES

HR/CN/532, 24 February 1994

GENEVA, 21 February (UN Information Service) – ...

GONCALO DE SANTA CLARA (Portugal) said that picture emerging from the reports of the mechanisms established under this agenda item became more appalling when one realized that all the violations transmitted to the Centre for Human Rights were just the tip of the iceberg. That fact alone confirmed the absolute need for the continuation of the mandates entrusted to the existing mechanisms. Portugal supported the creation at this session of a new one, a special rapporteur to follow up the question of the independence and impartiality of the judiciary, as had been recommended by the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Portugal had a particular responsibility, as the United Nations recognized administering Power of the non-self-governing territory of East Timor, in bringing to the attention of the Commission information on the situation of human rights there.

The Commission had expressed its deep concern about that situation last year through resolution 1993/97. The first and deeply regrettable feature common to all the reports was the conclusion that Indonesia, a member of the Human Rights Commission, had failed to fulfill its duty of complying with the decisions of the Commission. In particular, Indonesia blatantly ignored the call of last year's resolution to invite four thematic mechanisms to visit East Timor and the several communications addressed to it by the Secretary-General and the Rapporteurs proposing to arrange for such visits. The lack of cooperation thus shown by Indonesia was certainly something the Commission could not overlook. Furthermore, that uncooperative approach discredited the claims by the Indonesian authorities that in the last years they had opened the Territory of East Timor.

A second feature, common to the three reports regarding Indonesia and East Timor, was the fact that substantive information indicated that very serious human rights violations continued to occur. The Special Rapporteur on Torture dedicated several pages to reported widespread practice of torture by Indonesian authorities. A third feature emerging from the reports in question pointed out that the justification given by Indonesia to act against the alleged victims was generally the need to maintain public order. The several thematic mechanisms had noted the clear linkage between vague and legally undefined concepts such as those and the encouragement of human rights abuses – namely, arbitrary detentions, torture, disappearances and unfair trials. All amounted to the absence of the rule of law. Portugal welcomed the fact that this month Indonesia had invited the Special Rapporteur to visit and hoped that he would be able to carry out the type of visit he deemed necessary and adequate.

...

MAKMUR WIDODO (Indonesia) said the delegation of Portugal had made reference to allegations of torture, disappearance and executions in East Timor. Such references were politically motivated. The overwhelming majority in East Timor had decided their destiny by integrating themselves with Indonesia. Indonesia had made great efforts to promote human rights, such as the establishment of the National Commission of Human Rights. At their own initiative, they had invited the Special Rapporteur on Torture, as well as the Rapporteur on Summary Executions, to East Timor.

SALE OF CHILDREN, CHILD PROSTITUTION, INCREASED IN 1993 SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR TELLS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

HR/CN/548 4 March 1994

GENEVA, 3 March (UN Information Service) – ...

...In a meeting that continued until midnight, the Commission continued debate on one of its major agenda items, the question of human rights violations anywhere in the world. A long list of non-governmental organizations, member States' representatives and national observers took the floor, alleging human rights abuses, among them the mistreatment of psychiatric patients in Mexico, violations committed by the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor and brutality by Indian security troops in Kashmir.

...

RICARDO CHANGALA, of Service, Peace, and Justice in Latin America, said ... Indonesia had not cooperated with international authorities in the case of East Timor, and human rights violations there, in fact, had increased.

...

MARIAN SHERMARKE, of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies, said that in the Asia/Pacific region, it was important to strengthen local and national measures supporting human rights. National action plans, as carried out by Australia, were a good idea, and countries should be encouraged to have them. The importance and needs of Asian non-governmental organizations should be recognized, and countries in the region should support and encourage them. The Commission should press more urgently for solution of the many violent conflicts in the region, including those in Sri Lanka, East Timor, Burma and other countries. The Commission should give top priority to achieving true settlement in each case. In practice, its actions often fell short of that.

...

ULLA STROM (Sweden) She expressed strong concern at the situation of human rights in China, and noted that the freedoms of conscience, expression and assembly remained seriously infringed. Other concerns related to the rights situations in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Indonesia and East Timor, Equatorial Guinea, Cuba, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. The horrendous policy of "ethnic cleansing" initiated by the Bosnian Serb authorities had been the very object of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

...

AYDA AVELLA ESQUIVEL, of the International Movement against Racism and for Friendship among Peoples, said that new phenomena of human rights violations were emerging in Colombia, leaving thousands of victims including judges, deputies, lawyers and other innocent citizens. People in the rural areas belonging to indigenous and peasant associations continued to be killed and assassinated by the security forces and other armed groups. Secret witnesses were used against labour union leaders before the military courts. Another speaker from the Movement said that the security elements of the Indonesian Government had continued killing local people in East Timor.

...

ENELOPE WENSLEY (Australia) ... If there was to be a fundamental improvement in the situation in East Timor, cooperation between Indonesia and the Commission was of critical importance.

...

MAKMUR WIDODO (Indonesia) said that agenda item 12, in fact, dealt almost exclusively with the question of human rights violations in the area of civil and political rights. Thus rarely were the cases of violations of economic, cultural and social rights brought up and given due attention. The shortcomings and unbalanced approaches governing the debate on that and other items relating to the monitoring of human rights violations were unfortunately also applicable with regard to Indonesia and in particular to the province of East Timor. The Commission had given undue emphasis in recent years, to the human rights situation in East Timor.

The Dili incident of 12 November 1991 had been over-dramatized time and time again as an enduring phenomenon, while positive measures to redress the situation and serious efforts to develop the province were conveniently forgotten, he said. The Government had taken decisive action to rectify the situation following the Dili incident. There was an increasing openness and greater access to the territory, while the movement of people to and from East Timor had intensified. He regretted the use of statistic in violation allegations to depict a human rights situation based solely on various reports by thematic rapporteurs.

...

HAAKON B. HJELDE (Norway) ...Norway expressed concern at the human rights situations in Kashmir, Sri

Lanka, East Timor, Cuba, El Salvador and Guatemala.

COMMISSION EXAMINES GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS

HR/CN/551, 9 March 1994

GENEVA, 7 March (UN Information Service) – As the fiftieth session of the Commission on Human Rights entered its final week this morning, it continued to examine the global human rights situation. The debate involved countries and non-governmental organizations from all parts of the world. ...

ZDENEK VENERA (Czech Republic) said that one of the principal tasks of the United Nations, in the sphere of international safeguarding of human rights, should be to improve the supervision over the implementation of the existing human rights instruments. The Czech Republic considered genuinely free general elections and fully guaranteed freedom of speech as fundamental guarantees of democracy and observance of human rights. The April elections in South Africa was an important step towards democracy and oppression of apartheid. The Czech Republic also was alarmed by human rights situation in Afghanistan, Sudan, Somalia, Haiti, Cuba, Myanmar and Iraq, as well as by the disturbing events in East Timor. It was alarming to see how many armed conflicts were under way in the world and how inefficient, although not helpless, the international community was when solving them. An especially cruel example was the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONCLUDES FIFTIETH SESSION

HR/CN/559, Round-up of Session. 15 March 1994

Adopts 109 Resolutions and Decisions; Establishes Special Rapporteurs on Violence against Women, Independence of Judiciary, Zaire

GENEVA, 11 March (UN Information Service) – The Commission on Human Rights concluded its fiftieth session tonight. The six-week gathering featured, along with debate and resolutions on reported human rights violations in specific countries, the first official condemnation of anti-Semitism by a United Nations agency, and much discussion and action reflecting changing geopolitical circumstances in South Africa and the Middle East.

A new post of Special Rapporteur was established to investigate violence against women, and the Commission voted (subject to approval by the Economic and Social Council) to set up a working group to de-

velop a draft optional protocol to the International Convention on the Rights of the Child. The draft protocol would focus on the sale of children, child prostitution, and child pornography. The group also decided that a special rapporteur should be appointed to study violations in various countries of the independence and impartiality of the judiciary, and determined that a special rapporteur should be chosen to investigate reported human rights violations in Zaire.

All told, the Commission adopted 109 resolutions and decisions, most of them by consensus. Among them were measures on reported human rights violations in Palestine and other occupied Arab territories, South Africa, Albania, Guatemala, Georgia, Somalia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Cuba, the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Togo, Sudan, Haiti, Bougainville (Papua New Guinea), southern Lebanon, Afghanistan, Myanmar, Burundi, Zaire, Angola, and Equatorial Guinea.

The Commission also approved five official statements by its Chairman, Peter van Wulfften Palthe of the Netherlands. Three dealt with the status of specific countries: the Chairman welcomed further steps taken in Romania to establish democracy and improve human rights; acknowledged the programme of work and commitments outlined by Sri Lanka to promote human rights; and expressed the Commission's concern over continuing allegations of human rights violations in East Timor....

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION CONSENSUS STATEMENT

The following Consensus Statement has been agreed at the fiftieth session of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva and will be read out by the Chairman at its session on Tuesday, 8 March 1994:

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

Following consultations, I would like to make a statement announcing what has been agreed by consensus by the Commission on the situation of human rights in East Timor.

“The Commission on Human Rights discussed the human rights situation in East Timor. The Commission notes with concern continuing allegations of human rights violations in East Timor, while recognising the positive measures taken by the Government of Indonesia to improve the situation.

“The Commission recalls the undertakings by the Government of Indonesia to promote human rights in East Timor and those contained in the consensus Chair-

man's Statement at its 48th session on the matter, and stresses the need to take further steps towards its implementation.

“A matter of preoccupation of the Commission is the incomplete information concerning the number of people killed and the persons unaccounted for as a result of the Dili violent incident of 12 November 1991. While acknowledging the efforts made to account for those persons, the Commission calls upon the Government of Indonesia to continue its investigations on those still missing and the circumstances surrounding the matter.

“The commission expressed the hope that the cooperation between the ICRC and the Government of Indonesia will continue. It calls upon the Indonesian authorities to ensure that those East Timorese in custody are treated humanely, and that their rights are fully respected, and to take further appropriate measures aimed at the early release of those convicted.

“The Commission is encouraged by greater access recently granted by the Indonesian authorities to human rights and humanitarian organisations as well as international media and calls upon them to continue this policy of expanding access.

“The Commission welcomes the undertaking by the Government of Indonesia to invite the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions to visit East Timor and to submit his report to its fifty-first session. In the same spirit, the Commission takes note of the intention of the Government of Indonesia to continue to cooperate with other relevant thematic special rapporteurs and/or working groups and to invite them to visit East Timor when necessary for the fulfillment of their duties.

“The Commission welcomes the current dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General and encourages him to continue his good offices in order to achieve a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor. In this context, the Commission stresses the importance of the understanding reached on confidence building measures between the two governments and welcomes the recent mission undertaken by Mr. Francesc Vendrell as representative of the Secretary-General in order to promote further progress in that dialogue.

“The Commission requests the Secretary-General to keep it informed on the situation of human rights in East Timor and will consider it at its fifty-first session.

EAST TIMOR WINS MAJOR VICTORY IN GENEVA

Press Release from the National Council of Maubere Resistance, 8 March 1994.

(Geneva) For the third time in one year a major UN Human Rights body adopts a land-mark decision on East Timor. After several weeks of intense lobbying and negotiations, a "consensus declaration" on the situation in East Timor by the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) has been agreed on by the European Union and Indonesia, and will be adopted tomorrow, March 9, in Geneva.

This consensus declaration follows the March 1993 CHR resolution on East Timor adopted by 23 votes to 12 and the August 1993 resolution by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. Both resolutions were highly critical of the Indonesian government and extremely embarrassing to President Suharto personally because of his leadership of Non-Aligned Movement. The two defeats were a clear warning to Indonesia that if it did not negotiate in good faith and cooperate with the CHR, another humiliating defeat was inevitable. Several Western and Third World delegates, including some Asians, persuaded Indonesia to avoid a vote at all costs.

The Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions will visit East Timor in June 1994 and will for the first time investigate the exact circumstances of the 12 November 1991 massacre and the reports of a second massacre the same day in an Indonesian military hospital in Dili. Other UN thematic Rapporteurs and Working Groups expected to visit East Timor in 1994 are the Special Rapporteur on Torture and the Working Groups on Arbitrary Detention and on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances. The Church in East Timor, Amnesty International, Asia Watch as well as the US State Department Annual Report on Human Rights in the world have accused Indonesia of gross and systematic violations covered by the mandate of almost all the CHR thematic rapporteurs.

It is now the responsibility of the UN Secretary-General to see to it that the government of Indonesia will fully comply with the provisions of the CHR consensus decision on East Timor. It is to be recalled that a similar consensus declaration was adopted by CHR in March 1992 but Indonesia has failed completely to comply with its terms. In view of this record, it is doubtful that this time, the military regime in Indonesia will honour the commitments now undertaken.

"What has been adopted by the CHR is far more than we had aimed for. We would have been happy if Indonesia had been

compelled to invite one thematic rapporteur. We had asked for four initially, but I would have settled for one. Instead, by this consensus statement, Indonesia is now bound to invite all existing seven thematic rapporteurs and working groups of the CHR," Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Co-Chairman and Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), told a group of Foreign Correspondents in Geneva.

Mr. Ramos-Horta said: "We are grateful to the Portuguese Government for its commitment and firmness in seeking a non-confrontational but substantive action by the Commission and we are also grateful to other members of the European Union who showed solidarity with Portugal and the people of East Timor. But we are also grateful to the NGOs and the media that made the human rights situation in East Timor the most talked about issue in the course of the 50th session of the Commission on Human Rights."

Earlier in the course of the debate on item 12, The European Union referred to Xanana Gusmão as the "Leader of East Timor." This was not only an official acknowledgment of the legitimacy of a political leader, but equally important it is a recognition of East Timor as a separate entity from the Republic of Indonesia

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

STUNNING PHOTOGRAPHS FROM EAST TIMOR

East Timor 1942-1992: A Retrospective Photographic Exhibition

From Green Left Review #132, February 23, 1994. Reviewed by Jill Hickson

Exhibit curated by Oliver Strewe and Jenny Groves. Bondi Pavilion Gallery, Bondi Beach, 10 - 5 until March 6,

This wonderful display, presented by Community Aid Abroad, documents the history of East Timor through the use of graphic photos. It includes photographs by the British documentary film maker Max Stahl, photos from the Australian War Memorial showing Australia's involvement in the region during World War II and a number of anonymous photos which have been smuggled out of East Timor since Indonesia's invasion in 1975.

Most of the photos are black and white except for the Dili 1991 series. This depicts the terrible events that took place on November 12. They were taken by Max Stahl and Steve Cox, who were both in East Timor during the massacre. Stahl's video footage was buried and later smuggled out of East Timor and shown on Yorkshire TV, outraging the world.

The series contains a photo by Steve Cox of "A young boy in front of a banner." The boy, quite young, represents the continuous regeneration of the Timorese struggle and points to the fact that the Indonesians have failed to win the "hearts and minds" campaign of the last 15 years. The boy stands in front of the banner of Xanana Gusmão, his arms outstretched; with one hand he makes a fist with the other a victory sign. The boy is said to have been one of the first killed in the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Events of history unfold as you view the exhibition. The photos by Elaine Brière, a Canadian photographer who visited in 1974, show the haunting beauty of the island and the people who live there.

Mel Sylvester, a British journalist covering the momentous events of 1975, travelled with the Fretilin soldiers, and as you look at the sequence of her photos they become increasingly militarised, reflecting the gravity of the situation as the Indonesian invasion took place.

A series of photos from the mid-'70s to 1990 were smuggled out; the photographers have to remain anonymous. These include several of Xanana with Fretilin soldiers eating dinner in the mountains. There are photos of guerilla hide-outs, some of them

documented with their particular stories. There are also photographs depicting torture, mutilation and other abuses carried out by the Indonesian government. Since 1975 at least 100,000 Timorese have died directly as a result of military actions and as many as 200,000 have been killed by disease and famine.

It was only in 1990 that East Timor was opened up to outsiders. One of the first photographers to arrive was Jenny Groves, who recorded the protests of young students at the time of the visit of the US ambassador. She also documented the police reaction to the protest.

The contrasting photos of the island's beauty and the ugliness of war are a moving picture of recent history. This is an exhibition that should not be missed.

VICENTE XIMENES GRANTED REFUGEE STATUS IN AUSTRALIA

Press Release from CNRM, Feb. 22, 1994

Last week Vicente Ximenes was granted refugee status by the Australian authorities because of the dangers he faced from the Indonesian military occupants of his home land East Timor. The Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas publicly ridiculed Ximenes' claims, saying the Indonesian authorities had no records of Ximenes having ever been imprisoned. Asia Watch, and the Australian Council for Overseas Aid confirmed that Ximenes' name was included in lists of people imprisoned in the wake of the 1991 Dili massacre.

Ximenes, 39 years of age, of Baucau, East Timor, has been closely associated with the East Timor resistance to Indonesian occupation since 1975. He has been able to witness important episodes of the struggle, obtaining a close personal experience of various aspects of the Indonesian rule. He was imprisoned for several months in 1992/ 1993.

As a building contractor in East Timor, Ximenes felt the need for constant payments of protection moneys to local military leaders in order to be able to operate. This characterises East Timor (and also general Indonesian) business activity. He also experienced how the endemic corruption in Indonesia influences the rulings of judges, both in civil and security related legal cases. He obtained first hand experience on how the Resistance obtains their weapons supplies purchased from corrupt Indonesian military personnel.

Vicente Ximenes' work for the East Timorese Resistance has allowed him to gain first hand knowledge of the views and goals of many East Timorese leaders, and the

tribulations of those captured by the military. He himself was tortured in prison, paid bribes to be released, and bribed his way out of East Timor on a military vessel - a fact dismissed as 'ludicrous' by Alatas, despite its common occurrence.

Ximenes' work as a businessman permitted him close contact with Indonesian leaders in East Timor, allowing him to obtain close insights into their way of dealing with the East Timorese, particularly their extortion of entrepreneurs of ethnic Chinese origin.

Vicente Ximenes is a valuable and articulate source of comment on the current situation in this unhappy land.

In particular, he could give further insights into topical issues such as:

- The first and subsequent Dili Massacres of November 1991: public figures aware of the later massacres which could be asked for comment.
- Corruption in the Indonesian armed forces: sale of grenades, ammunition, extortion of protection moneys from civilians - primarily of Chinese ethnic origin - by military commanders and police.
- Corruption in the legal and prisons systems: buying judges and wardens.
- Use of Sky Hawk and other British supplied weapons against the civilian population.
- The role of Indonesian Chinese father Marcus Wanandi in the Church in East Timor. Ximenes speaks some English and is fluent in Portuguese and Bahasa Indonesia

TIMOR INQUIRY CALL IN AUSTRALIA

The Age, Melbourne, Feb. 25

A Federal Government backbencher, Mr. Garrie Gibson, has called for a United Nations inquiry into human rights on East Timor after allegations of a second massacre by Indonesian soldiers on the island. Mr. Gibson also told Parliament yesterday that it was "simply time that Australia took a new approach to human rights with our nearest neighbor."

CRIMES, CREDIBILITY, CLINTON

Press Release from Australians for a Free East Timor, 26 Feb. 1994

Australians for a Free East Timor sincerely regret the senseless massacre yesterday of 50 Palestinians at Hebron on the West Bank, killed by a single gunman. The

Palestinians are struggling for their own land, as are the East Timorese.

In November 1991 a crowd of East Timorese mourners was fired upon continuously for 2-3 minutes by a platoon of 30 Indonesian military using automatic weapons.

In this case the Indonesian military claimed only 19 were killed, later amended under pressure to 50 dead (the same number killed by one gunner yesterday.)

However we know that together with the 2nd and 3rd massacres in subsequent days, plus the killings in streets, houses and in the morgue and hospital as detailed in the John Pilger/Max Stahl film "Death of a Nation," the total deaths then were about 300, with many others wounded and missing.

We applaud President Clinton's immediate intervention to progress the Palestinian/Israeli peace talks.

However, we ask what does it take to achieve intervention in the case of the martyred people of East Timor, whose rights are defined by the UN Charter and Declaration and by about 10 UN Resolutions dating back to 1975 but ignored by Indonesia (and by Australia!!).

We Appeal to President Clinton to intervene to ensure that the Indonesia/ Portugal talks under UN auspices, which until now have been a farce of empty rhetoric, make some real progress towards a Free East Timor.

President Clinton, there is a genocide happening in East Timor so despite Jakarta hosting the next meeting of APEC, please restore credibility and act NOW.

Tony Jefferies, Jude Conway, Risto

Nousianen,

Andrew McNaughton, Rob Wesley-Smith

TIMORESE ASK KEATING TO BACK PEACE INITIATIVE

Green Left #133, March 2, 1994. By Bernie Brian

DARWIN - José Gusmão, cousin of jailed East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, has called on Prime Minister Paul Keating to support the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) peace plan.

Gusmão presented a letter containing the request to Keating on February 12, at an ALP reception. Outside members of Darwin's East Timorese community and their Australian supporters picketed.

The CNRM is gaining widespread international support for its three-phase peace plan. The plan would last 7-10 years, culminating in a referendum on independence or free association or integration with Indonesia.

Phase 1 would encompass demilitarisation and the restoration of basic human rights. Phase 2 would establish mechanisms for self-government.

The letter accused the Keating government of consistently siding with the Indonesian military dictatorship.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights has been meeting in Geneva, and Indonesia's human rights violations are, once again, under the spotlight. Last year the commission, with Australia's support, issued a highly critical resolution. However, the Indonesian authorities have yet to act on any of its demands.

Refugees arriving in Darwin have verified that torture is still widespread in East Timor. One refugee, Vicente Ximenes, has stated that he was subjected to electric shocks and repeated beatings while he was imprisoned in Dili between February and August 1993.

According to Ximenes, he and other prisoners were often beaten with sticks for two to three hours at a time as they hung from their wrists, or were forced to crouch in a tank of water for prolonged periods and were beaten if they moved. He continues to suffer from impaired hearing, insomnia, loss of memory, panic attacks and severe pain. This story is not atypical.

The letter delivered to Keating concluded that Australia's support for a just settlement in East Timor "would be a sign of our nation's genuine rather than opportunistic involvement with the South-east Asian community."

AUSTRALIAN ENVOY URGED U.S. TO REASSESS INDONESIA

"The Australian," March 7, 1994. by John Lyons, Washington correspondent

Australia's ambassador to the US, Dr. Don Russell, felt compelled late last year to urge senior US officials to take Indonesia more seriously as an economic and political player in Asia. Dr. Russell said at the week-end that the US had not fully appreciated the importance of Indonesia to Asia and had to be told about its significance.

In an interview on the eve of this week's US-Australian ministerial talks, Dr. Russell said he took the action because the US administration and the US Congress had tended to be pre-occupied with North Asia rather than SE Asia. Dr. Russell felt the need to stress the importance of Indonesia to the US assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the administration's most senior policymaker on Asia, Dr. Winston Lord.

He urged Mr. Lord to see Indonesia in broader terms than those in which the US

had traditionally viewed the nation - as a country with a poor record on human rights and worker's rights.

The discussion was held in the lead-up to the APEC meeting in Seattle last November. It is unusual for an Australian ambassador to tell US policymakers that their knowledge of a particular country is deficient, but the episode indicates how forcefully Australia was involved in the APEC process and the aggressive role being taken by Dr. Russell.

Dr. Russell feared that President Suharto could boycott the Seattle meeting if he felt alienated by the US.

Asked what US officials did not grasp about Indonesia, Dr. Russell said: "I think they didn't quite appreciate just how big Indonesia was and how important it was to the region and how important it was to ASEAN. I think because the administration and the Congress tended to be more pre-occupied with North Asia than SE Asia, a lot of people were either not aware of what Indonesia had achieved over the last 20 to 30 years or tended to think about Indonesia in a fairly narrow context around human rights or Timor or workers rights.

"I think Australia was able in the second half of 93 to make them aware that Indonesia was a country of 180-odd million people with a quite impressive economic record and that it was an important country in its own right. And as a result I think they did invest that extra effort which was helpful in terms of making Seattle a success."

Dr. Russell said that in the weeks leading up to APEC he stressed the importance of Indonesia to "everybody I came across."

"At the end of last year we did have a bit of success interesting the Americans in the importance of Indonesia in the success of the Seattle meeting."

"I think the administration did go out of its way to deal with a number of potentially quite tricky issues with the Indonesians, which I think helped the Indonesians feel much more comfortable about APEC and the American motives in all of this."

"I think that saw its culmination in the successful Seattle meeting and in the willingness of President Suharto to host another informal meeting."

Dr. Russell said that the present tensions between the US & Japan could enhance the importance of APEC because of the discipline it imposed on both the US and Japan. He expressed concern about the US announcement that it was reactivating "Super 301," the section of US trade law that clears the way for sanctions.

"Australia like any other country, always becomes concerned at unilateral actions that could lead to discriminatory outcomes which are detrimental to Australia," he said.

"We would hope that the US and Japan can sort out their trade differences but in a manner that is non-discriminatory to third countries.

As a relatively modest player on the international scene, we've always got to play by the rules because the rules are all we've got. We can't act unilaterally because we don't have the leverage, therefore we've always been strong defenders of the GATT and the rules."

"We're always very concerned when the US or any other country starts acting unilaterally. Everyone would want the Japanese and the US to sort this thing out quickly and efficiently between themselves and I would imagine both sides would like to do that."

Another article provides a glowing profile of Dr. Russell who was previously Paul Keating's senior political & economic advisor until he became ambassador in Washington 6 months ago.

"I think our Prime Minister is a very educated man and his ability to conduct himself on the world stage was very good in the past and will be in the future," he said.

It is Russell's closeness to Keating that has made Washington's heavyweights take notice of him. Winston Lord, for example, regularly speaks with Russell and has even sought his counsel.

ACTIVISTS USE SHOCK AD TO REFOCUS ON E. TIMOR

The Australian, 10 March 1994. By Richard Jinman

A television advertisement in which a young Timorese woman is hanged with a noose made from an Australian flag may be screened nationally this year.

The 30-second commercial, the work of a group of Australian artists, musicians and film-makers called Artists for East Timor, is designed to "rock the establishment" and increase pressure on the Federal Government to review its relations with Indonesia.

Although the commercial, called *Outrage*, will be shown at cinemas before screenings of John Pilger's documentary *Death of a Nation*, AFET is already raising money to put it to air on national television.

The commercial has a voice-over by the lead singer of Melbourne rock group *Painters and Dockers*, Paul Stewart, whose brother was one of five journalists killed when Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1975.

As the noose tightens around the young woman's neck, Stewart says Australia has "watch" while "200,000 East Timorese have died."

"In fact by giving Indonesia military aid and training we have helped," he says.

The woman suddenly drops out of shot and viewers are presented with archive footage of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, and his Indonesian counterpart, Mr. Ali Alatas, shipping champagne.

The commercial ends with the message: "Australia's record on East Timor is a bloody outrage."

Stewart said yesterday he was angered by the Australia media's tendency to ignore Timor while providing extensive coverage of countries such as Bosnia, Somalia and Cambodia.

"This ad will reinforce the strong public opinion that is already out there," he said.

It will certainly shock people and put Timor back on the main agenda."

The commercial has been passed by the Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations.

CONTROVERSIAL AD

Channel 9, Sydney (Today show), 7.40am, 14th March 1994

Presenter: Steve Liebman

Guest: Sally Browning - Artists for East Timor

SL: Australia's relationship with Indonesia often been put to test over the subject of East Timor, the former Portuguese colony that was occupied by the Indonesians back in 1975. Five Australian journalists were killed during that invasion. Since the death toll has climbed as many locals resist the Indonesians authority. Now a group of Australian artists is campaigning against the situation in East Timor and have produced this ad, which they hope will be shown on television here.

(the commercial was shown)

SL: Sally Browning, the producer of that ad, she joins us in the studio now. Good morning to you.

SB: Good morning.

SL: Fairly graphic, do you think is going to have the desired effect, the desired impact?

SB: I think it is, yes, and the impact we want is for Australians to see what is going on in East Timor and to hopefully do something about it.

SL: Do you think Australians, our political leaders at Government level, and Australians generally, after all this time still care about what happened in East Timor and what we are told still happening there?

SB: I would hope so. I know certainly there are a lot of Australians that I know, who are very concerned about what is continuing in

East Timor. And that is abuse of human rights.

SL: What do you think Senator Gareth Evans our Foreign Minister might think of that ad and say about it.

SB: I am not sure what he is going to think about it, but I hope that he will say something about. And perhaps comment on Australia's position with East Timor.

SL: Now, the ad if I can call it that, has been shown in cinemas, but has not yet made its way on to network television. When might it be shown on television?

SB: We are hoping in the next months, perhaps we might be able to get it on television. What we are doing now is raising the money, raising the finance to buy space on network television.

SL: And you don't think you'll have any problem with the networks or with the Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations in terms of them accepting the ad and showing it?

SB: I don't think so. The Federation has already conditionally passed it for viewing. And it has got a rating already. If the TV stations decide not show it, then, I think that would very interesting, we would like to know why.

SL: Equally interesting of course, might be if there is any pressure brought to bear on the networks from Canberra.

SB: Absolutely. And there will be more questions, I think to be asked, about why that might happen.

SL: Have you been - because you have corporate support for this. Have you been surprised at that?

SB: I was surprised. I thought it was going to be very difficult to pull this ad together, because we actually made it for virtually nothing. But once I started to talk people about East Timor, and what we wanted to do, they were very very helpful and often had several companies offering their services to help us out.

SL: Before you committed yourself to the project you sat down and did some of your own research didn't you?

SB: Yes, that's right. And before I actually said yes I'll do this I wanted to find out more East Timor and whether or not I could you know, help out in any way, and this was the best way I found.

SL: And were you surprised at what you discovered?

SB: Yes. I was shocked, more than surprised. I was shocked.

SL: Now, the voice over is that of Paul Stewart, from the group Painters and

Dockers. Explain his commitment and his connection.

SB: OK. Paul has a very emotional connection with East Timor. His brother Tony was killed there in 1975 with four other Australian journalists. They were not killed - they were murdered. And Paul (unclear) obviously, so he has a real commitment and what is going on there, and he was more than happy to help out with this.

SL: Do you think the media soft shoed on this?

SB: From time to time, yes. I mean, need to be kept on the main agenda for media. And that's again why we've made this commercial. It will just help the gap when there is no media coverage.

SL: And in terms of running it on television, I mean do you have a set period that you are going to expose Australian TV viewers to the ad itself.

SB: We haven't decided that yet. But initially we'll buy as much air time as possible as possible, so that we can kind of blitz people with it so that can actually get an understanding of it.

SL: And once they've seen it, once they have been blitz, once they've got a better understanding what do you want them to do? I mean, when Pilger's documentary went to air in Britain television switchboards and embassies ran hot with people ringing and complaining. Is that the same sort of reaction response you want here?

SB: Hm. We want people to ring up. There is going to be a number on the ad. People can ring and they express their disappointment with what's happened with East Timor and the Australian Government stance on it. They can offer their help or they can offer to help donate money for the East Timorese.

SL: Just keep the pressure up

SB: And it is keep the pressure up, and keep the media's view on it. Just make sure no one forgets.

SL: Thanks for coming in this morning.

BLOOD ON THE HANDS OF THE MATES

By John Pilger, *New Statesman & Society*, March 11 1994.

For Australians like myself, the genocide in East Timor, one of the century's great crimes, is especially disturbing. In the Sydney street where I grew up in the years following the second world war were several "diggers" (veterans) who had fought the Japanese in Asia. One of them would dis-

play a ceremonial sword he had taken from a Japanese he had killed during an ambush on the "Portuguese island."

It was common then to describe Australia's neighbours in racist terms; and, to him, the Timorese were "boongs" and "fuzzy wuzzies." But he also spoke of them with unusual affection and admiration, and would point in a school atlas to where he had served as a commando and tell of the people he had "left behind." He had regrets.

It was some years before I understood the importance of these regrets. In December 1941, Australian commandos invaded the neutral Portuguese colony of East Timor in an attempt to prevent the Japanese building airfields from which they could launch an invasion of northern Australia. The arrival of the Australians had the effect of drawing the Japanese to island communities they might otherwise have spared.

The Australians fought a classic guerilla campaign, disrupting a numerically superior Japanese force, and their exploits passed into popular legend. They were able to achieve this only because of a remarkably close relationship forged with the Timorese, who supplied and protected them, and who themselves fought like lions. As a result of this succour, the Australians lost only 40 men. The Timorese, however, paid a dreadful price. More than 40,000 were killed, many of them under torture after the Australians hurriedly withdrew, having promised to take people with them. They took no one. "We shared their homes," recalled John (Paddy) Kenneally, then a young commando private. "You found Australian soldiers sleeping on one side, the fire in the middle, and on the other side would be a granddad and grandmother and all the children and a spare dog or two. . . The night on the beach when we left was heartbreaking. The Timorese were crying their eyes out ... We went to Timor and brought nothing but misery on those poor people."

In 1943, Royal Australian Air Force planes dropped leaflets saying: "Your friends will never forget you." When the war ended, the Australian government sent the Timorese a wreath of roses, then forgot about them for 20 years until the then foreign minister described their country as "an anachronism, not capable of independence."

In 1987, I interviewed Steve Stevenson, a former commando. He told me about a Timorese called Celestino dos Anjos, who had saved his and other Australian lives behind Japanese lines. Stevenson returned to Timor in 1970, found Celestino and arranged for the Portuguese governor to present him with a medal, while he stood proudly at his side. "I owed the man the debt of life," he said. "Australia owed his people everything."

After the Indonesians invaded East Timor in 1975, Stevenson heard that Celestino had survived. Eleven years later he received a letter from Celestino's son, Virgilio. It told of Celestino's murder. The son wrote that, in 1983, Indonesian forces entered their village of Kraras: "They looted, burned and devastated everything and massacred over 200 people inside their huts, including old people, the sick and babies . . . on 27/9/83 they called my father and my wife, and told my father to dig his own grave, they machine-gunned him. They next told my pregnant wife to dig her own grave but she insisted that she preferred to share my father's grave. They then pushed her into the grave and killed her."

I found Celestino's name and the names of several members of his family on an extraordinary list compiled by priests in meticulous handwritten Portuguese. It listed the names, ages and method of murder of 287 people from the village of Kraras. It includes the names of babies as young as three months. In the last column, the Indonesian battalion responsible is identified. The priest wrote: "The international community continues to miss the point in the case of East Timor. To the capitalist governors, Timor's petroleum smells better than Timorese blood and tears."

In 1974, Australia's prime minister, Gough Whitlam, met General Suharto in Java and told him that he believed East Timor should be part of Indonesia – despite the fact that Indonesia had neither legal nor moral claim to the Portuguese territory. East Timor, he made clear, was too "economically unviable" to be independent. In 1975, in a secret cable to Canberra, the Australian ambassador in Jakarta, Richard Woolcott, also made clear that it would be more convenient for Australia to acquire the rights to exploit the oil and gas reserves off the coast of East Timor from Indonesia than from an independent East Timor. Woolcott cabled that the Indonesians had promised to forewarn him of the invasion. Indeed, from Indonesian intelligence intercepted at a top-secret Australian defence signals base near Darwin, it is clear that the Australian government knew exactly what the Jakarta regime was planning.

In 1989, in a private aircraft high above Timor, bottles of champagne were uncorked, and there was much false laughter as two men in suits toasted each other. The larger man was uneasy and deferential, and spoke in the inanities for which he is renowned. He spoke about the moment as "historically unique" and "uniquely historical." This was Gareth Evans, Australia's foreign affairs minister.

The other man was Ali Alatas, the Indonesian foreign minister. The two were cele-

brating the signing of the Timor Gap treaty, and a division of spoils that allowed Australian and other foreign oil companies to steal East Timor's natural resources. They celebrated above the mass graves of the East Timorese people of whom, according to a recent report by the Australian parliament, "at least 200,000" have died under Indonesia's rule – a third of the population.

The ultimate prize could amount to seven billion barrels of oil or, as Gareth Evans put it, "zillions" of dollars. Asked about the international principle of not recognising territory acquired by force, Evans said: "The world is a pretty unfair place." According to Professor Roger Clark, a world authority on international law, the treaty has a simple analogy in law: "It is acquiring stuff from a thief. If you acquire property from someone who stole it, you're a receiver."

On a visit to Indonesia in February 1991 to finalise the treaty, Evans said that the "human rights situation" in Timor had "conspicuously improved, particularly under the present military arrangements." Nine months later, the Indonesian military killed or wounded more than 400 people in the Santa Cruz cemetery. Evans described this as "an aberration."

The Indonesians agreed. A "special inquiry" was set up by Jakarta. It blamed a few soldiers, saying that the ultimate responsibility lay with the "provocations" of the unarmed victims. An Indonesian tribunal subsequently gave ten low-ranking officers short prison sentences; one was given a holiday in Bali. In contrast, eight Timorese demonstrators were sent to prison by a kangaroo court for terms ranging from five years to life.

Evans described the Indonesian reaction to the massacre as "positive and helpful" and "very encouraging." He said more than 200 victims unaccounted for "might simply have gone bush." Within two months of the killings, 11 more contracts under the Timor Gap treaty were awarded to Australian oil and gas companies. On the same day, Amnesty International described the Indonesian inquiry as "totally lacking in credibility and principally directed at the appeasement of domestic and international critics and the suppression of further political dissent in the territory."

When Australian protestors planted crosses in front of the Indonesian embassy in Canberra, one for each of the murdered, Evans had them removed. When a federal court ruled that Australia's diplomatic regulations did not give him this power and ordered the crosses restored, Evans changed the law.

In September last year, Prime Minister Paul Keating flew to Washington and

shocked members of Congress who were pressing President Clinton to take action against Indonesia by calling on the US to go softer on Jakarta on human rights. The Indonesians were ecstatic. "He has made our case," said the ambassador in Canberra. "Keating is our comrade in arms." Indonesia's weapons chief B J Habibie – the man responsible for buying British Hawk aircraft – described Keating's support as "music to my ears."

As Bob Hawke's treasurer, Keating is responsible for what is arguably the world's first Thatcherite Labour government. Almost all principle has been bled from a party that once boasted a tradition of genuine social reform and internationalism. Under Keating, the Labor government has underpinned a new establishment known as the "Order of the Mates." Wealth was redistributed largely in the favour of rich mates, and unemployment and poverty soared. The mates were notably Australia's corporate raiders, such as the discredited Alan Bond, whose companies' debts once accounted for 10 percent of the national debt, and Rupert Murdoch. Under Keating, Murdoch was able to gain control of 70 per cent of the Australian press.

Gareth Evans, before he became foreign minister, was known as "the minister for mates." (This is a permanent unofficial cabinet post.) Keating's and Evans' most valued international mate is General Suharto, to whom relentless deference is paid, apologies are offered for the merest media slight and with whom big deals are done. Apart from East Timor's oil, the Australian government has recently signed an agreement to commercially share an Indonesian satellite. Murdoch has his eye on another Indonesian satellite.

The Australian deal, according to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, means that Australian TV programmes on the new satellite service will need to be "encoded to meet the requirements of the [Indonesian] Ministry of Information..." Editorial guidelines to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation for its use of the satellite signal urge "discreet understatement" about certain regimes and warn against the portrayal of "fanatical separatists." How East Timor will be reported as "discreet understatement" is not explained.

Like the ghost in Hamlet, the issue of Australia's betrayal of the Timorese and continued complicity in the great crime of their suffering keeps coming back. Two weeks before my film *Death of a Nation* was shown on ITV, its disclosures about a second massacre in Dili in November 1991 were published in the Australian press. This caused near-panic among Jakarta's backers. Without having seen a frame of the film,

Keating and Evans condemned it. Indonesian and Australian officials collaborated in producing press releases condemning it. Alatas, the foreign minister, used words virtually scripted for him by Australian officials. Murdoch's *Australian*, the only national newspaper, obliged with headlines such as "No evidence to support Pilger claims." Murdoch himself was then on his way to Jakarta to try to do a deal with the Indonesians for a place on their new satellite for his Asia-based Star TV.

Evans went further and announced that there were "a number of witnesses who have said nothing like what is claimed to have happened happened." He was referring to a "witness" presented to foreign journalists by Indonesian officials during a controlled visit to Dili - hurriedly arranged by the regime to pre-empt the worldwide showing of *Death of a Nation* and the UN Human Rights Commission hearings in Geneva. Evans' "witness" is Marcus Wanandi, an Indonesian-Chinese priest installed in Dili to "assist" Bishop Carlos Belo, the outspoken Timorese who heads the Catholic Church and has never accepted Indonesian rule. Wanandi and his powerful family are close to Suharto: one brother runs a multi-million-dollar business "developing" East Timor in partnership with Suharto's daughter, the other runs a "strategic institute" in Jakarta that helped to plan the invasion in 1975. Wannandi told an Australian bishop that talking to the Timorese was a waste of time because "they have just come out of the trees."

Bishop Belo, on the other hand, was silenced during the journalists' guided tour. This was not surprising. In an interview for *Death of a Nation*, he had emphasised his trust in the statements of eyewitnesses. He said he had informed the Indonesian "special commission of inquiry" about the second massacre. "They showed no interest," he said. "The military authorities [wanted] to give the Timorese people these extreme lessons. I think there is no justice . . . no justice."

Paul Keating has made a name for himself by promoting "republicanism" for Australia, which is very different from true independence. He does this mostly with easy anti-British gestures and by sounding tough, if inarticulate, like a minor Rambo. Indeed, he is proud of his pugnacious, abusive style; in parliament he has called his opponents "harlots," "sleazebags," "loopy crims," "pieces of criminal garbage" and "piss-ants." Recently, he ordered a video to be made of his more theatrical performances and had it sent to his friend General Suharto. According to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the Indonesian dictator "showed the video to his entire

cabinet, who were reportedly mightily impressed."

SEMINARY WILL HELP SAVE CULTURE

Justice Trends, Australia. March 1994. By Geoffrey Hull

On Australia Day this year our attention was drawn to the plight of our detained Cambodian-boat people by a public attack on the Prince of Wales.

Perhaps the "nuisance value" of this act of desperation by a member of the community concerned will merely confirm Australia officialdom in its chronic indifference to this unfortunates; perhaps it will prick enough consciences to make the law of charity prevail over the counsels of political and economic expedience. Time will tell.

The Cambodians are not the only people of our region to have witnessed the horrors of organised genocide in our lifetime. Much nearer to home, the East Timorese lived through a similar nightmare, and the survivors' unceasing cries for justice and aid have been a source of irritation to successive Australian Governments determined to abandon them to their fate.

The political question on East Timor has also become a religious one, and it has fallen to the Australian Catholic Church to take on some of the responsibilities abdicated by our elected leaders.

East Timor is our closest and most needy Catholic neighbour. The unexpected outcome of the murderous Indonesian invasion and forced integration of this former Portuguese colony was the voluntary mass conversion of its population to Catholicism.

In 1974 animists outnumbered Christians in East Timor two to one; today the Catholic population of the new Indonesian province is almost 95 per cent, the remainder being mainly Muslim transmigrants. The Catholic Church is the only institution in the province trusted by the population, and indeed the real focal point of East Timorese national sentiment today.

It is not hard to imagine the enormous difficulties for Catholic clergy, teachers and catechists to build up this huge church of converts in a country still reeling from the effects of war, genocide and harsh military rule, and crippled by endemic poverty.

There are 72 priests (mostly diocesan, some Salesian) of the diocese of Dili, which covers the whole of East Timor. These are assisted in their work by 110 nuns (canonians, Dominicans and sister of Divine Providence), most of whom double as teachers and nurses.

Although native vocations to the priesthood are abundant - there are now 95 East

Timorese candidates for holy orders - the size of the Catholic population brings the current pastoral ratio to one priest for every 7.916 baptised Catholics.

In 1992, the Church was running 26 secondary schools compared to only seven in 1974. At 'grass roots' level, however there has been little progress: 54 primary schools in 1974 contrasting with 45 in 1992, a decrease explained only partly by the opening of Indonesian government schools all over the province since 1976.

The East Timorese look to the church schools not only to teach the Catholic faith to their children, but to keep alive some sense of national identity at a time when the Jakarta government is striving, through he public school system, military service and the mass media, to Indonesians every aspect of local life.

But Catholic teachers can do little to maintain East Timorese culture when the only available text-books are in Indonesian, when the teaching of Portuguese, the traditional medium of higher culture, is all but banned, and when Tetum, the lingua franca, has no literature to speak of apart from its use as a liturgical and (extra-scholastic) catechetical medium.

Few Catholic schools have adequate teaching equipment, and most parents are too poor to buy books and uniforms for their children.

Added to the threat of an all Indonesian-medium education are the government's restrictions on foreign priests and teachers, which force the Church to accept the services of Indonesian Catholics in these capacities.

In view of this, one may well wonder what role in East Timor Bishop Carlos Belo was envisaging for the Australian Church when he visited last November to appeal for our help.

Apart from contributing direct financial aid to the parishes and schools of his vast diocese, what can Australian Catholics do for the preservation of Timorese culture when the country remains closed to non-Indonesian missionaries, and free community between our two lands is a problem in itself?

Xanana Gusmão, the moral leader of East Timor's freedom-fighters, has always recognised cultural resistance at the most effective long-term means of counteracting Jakarta's attempts at assimilation.

Consequently, at the forefront of Monsignor Belo's plans for his diocese is the rebuilding of the Minor Seminary of Our Lady of Fatima, which, before its destruction during the Indonesian invasion, had trained East Timor's professional lay elite as well as its future priests.

The new seminary will cost an estimated \$US2,221,000, and in its other function as a Catholic senior high-school, it will be the nerve-centre of an education network capable of saving East Timorese culture from annihilation.

The means will be a maintenance program aimed at producing a wide range of readers and text-books in Tetum for extra-curricular use in the Catholic primary and secondary schools, and suitable as instruments of adult education in such vital areas as health and agriculture.

Bishop Belo has requested Australia's help, knowing that our country hosts the largest community of East Timorese outside his homeland.

Donations for the seminary can be sent via the ACSJC, 19 MacKenzie Street, North Sydney, NSW, 2060, for transfer to Dili. Make cheques out to Bishop Belo's Seminary Fund.

ADDENDUM: I am also examining another scheme. With adequate funding from interested parties in the Australian Catholic Church, it will be possible for a team of Australian-based educationalists and translators to lay the foundations of a strong Tetum literature bolstering the ethnic identity and self-respect of the people of East Timor.

Last year, Australian Catholic Relief and the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council published the first English-medium Tetum course to enable non-Timorese to learn the language and to help maintain it among second-generation Timorese. An up-to-date Tetum-English/English-Tetum Dictionary is already in preparation, and a Tetum children's Bible is also planned.

During 1994 a working party will try to organise these and other projects approved by the Bishop of Dili as an 'Australia-East Timor Cultural Assistance Scheme' to commence operations, God willing, in 1995.

*Dr. Geoffrey Hull, a linguistics lecturer at the University of Western Sydney, wrote an occasional paper for the ACSJC, East Timor: Just a Political Question? and helped author the Tetum course he mentions.

WHAT ON EARTH CAN EVANS DO?

Letter to The Age (Melbourne), 7 Mar.

To all those who continually complain about Senator Evans in regard to East Timor, Tibet, etc., may one ask what is expected at the UN or what?

We have to live in this world with violators of human rights. In fact there are not many countries where some form of oppression is not practised.

So for heaven's sake, let's have a little peace from these armchair critics.

Leo Weaver, Ocean Grove

YES, WE'RE INVOLVED OVER EAST TIMOR

Letter, The Age, 14 March 1994

"The Age," (7 March) asks "What is expected of Australia over East Timor? War protests at the UN or what?"

There is a war going on in East Timor and has been for over 17 years and, yes, Australia is involved.

We are involved in our implicit denial of UN resolutions over the last 17 years which declare the Indonesian occupation of East Timor illegal and immoral.

These UN resolutions are in no significant way different to the resolutions pertaining to Iraq and Kuwait. Those resolutions gave rise to a more formal war and prompted the ironic statement from our then Prime Minister, "No large country can invade a small country and get away with it."

We are also involved in that Indonesian soldiers have been and are being trained on Australian soil.

We are also involved by virtue of the Timor Gap oil treaty, for which Portugal is rightly taking Australia to the International Court.

We do "have to live in this world with violators of human rights," as you astutely observe, however we are not obliged to vote them into government.

Matt Ryan, Ocean Grove.

STAND FIRM ON RIGHTS

Letter to the editor in Australian Financial Review, 17 March 1994

SIR, In your editorial of March 10 "Evans: the wrong place, time" you stated that it was useful for Australia to urge the United States not to allow human-rights issues to dominate relations with Indonesia.

This statement seems to imply that countries should practise a less than universal approach to human-rights abuses. This goes against the principle of universality reaffirmed at the World Conference of Human Rights 1993 in the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action which states in paragraph 1: "The universal nature of these rights and freedoms is beyond question."

Australia would do better were it to follow this principle rather than emphasising political and trade relationships with Indonesia at the expense of human rights.

The Australia Government's soft approach to Indonesian human-rights abuses in East Timor has seen no improvement in the overall situation there.

The intimidatory reign of terror continues throughout the country; and it is especially stepped up before UN rapporteurs or US official visitors arrive.

WILLIAM J. BRENNAN

Bishop of Wagga Wagga, Chairman Australian Council
North Sydney, NSW

AUSTRALIA RESTORES DEFENCE TIES WITH BURMA

The Nation (Bangkok), March 18, 1994

Canberra has restored defence contacts with Burma, Australian officials said on Wednesday, almost three years after they were suspended in protest at the Burmese military government's human rights record.

A foreign affairs department spokesman said Australia's new defence attaché in Thailand will apply for accreditation to visit the

INDONESIA FORCES EXPAND ADF LINKS

THE AUSTRALIAN, 22 March 1994, By Patrick Walters. Summary

"In a significant shift, Indonesia's armed forces are now turning to Australia as their main focus for bilateral defence cooperation, particularly in the area of personnel training.

The United States decision in 1992 to suspend defence aid to Indonesia from October 1993 under its International Military Education and Training Program has helped influence the Indonesian Armed Forces to shift attention towards Australia.

Over the past year links with the Australian Defence Force have been strengthened and ABRI is steadily building closer ties with all three services, notably the army.

This year more than 300 army personnel will be involved in two-way exchanges including exercises, intelligence exchanges, courses and visits.

This compares with a total of 17 personnel involved in army exchanges less than three years ago.

ABRI now has a bigger range of cooperative defence activities with Australia than any other country.

Five months ago the first-ever joint air force exercises were held in Meda, North Sumatra and the two navies now regularly conduct joint exercises."

Article goes on to note that the level of defence cooperation has closely tracked political relations between I and A. Mentions range of high level officials on both sides that have visited each other recently. Also notes that Special forces exercises have been a feature of recent army exchanges, with SAS servicemen training in Indonesia

and Indonesian Kopasus forces training in Australia. Kopasus troops have been undertaking anti-terrorist training in Perth (WA) this month.

TIMORESE PAINTER'S STORY OF SURVIVAL

Green Left #137, March 30, 1994

"To me Dili was a really nice place, very peaceful. Everyone was free, living life without much planning for the future," Timorese painter Sebastião Silva recalls his home, which he left behind in 1984, prior to the Indonesian invasion.

It is this tranquillity Silva has sought to capture in his Melbourne exhibition, "Cultural Survival: through the eyes of an artist," in contrast to the war and famine which followed the invasion in 1975. "Most of the things I put on my canvas are the things I can recall from my memories ... they reflect my childhood."

Silva, 30, was born in Dili. He grew up in a large family of farmers and attended missionary college from a young age. Following the invasion, he attended the Externato S. José in Dili, a school run by missionaries.

"The school was the heart of the clandestine resistance," says Sebastião. People resisted the oppressors in many ways, "by not accepting what the Indonesians tell them to do, by helping the guerrillas and educating their children that it is right to resist."

His decision to leave Dili was not taken easily, "because I had to leave my family there." However, increasing persecution by Indonesian forces and the generally oppressive situation in Dili motivated him to finally escape to Portugal in 1984.

"In Portugal, friends encouraged me to paint and I did two paintings ... but to live in Portugal without any support was hard." He found himself at odds with the Timorese community there who had left in 1975 and did not experience Indonesian rule. In Timorese tradition, painting was done on ceramics, sculptures and textiles. Quite a few Timorese artists have only recently taken up painting on canvas.

After having lived in Portugal for a year, Sebastião migrated to Australia. "I did not think about painting when I came to Australia. I had to go to school to learn English and look for a job, because I didn't have rights to government benefits in the first year."

Now he has decided to paint as a career. He recognises that this is a difficult transition, but is prepared to make the sacrifice to enable him to concentrate on painting. His art is testimony to the strength of Timorese culture, one under siege and yet at the same time a culture of resistance.

"Cultural survival: through the eyes of an artist" is at the Steps Gallery, 62 Lygon Street, Carlton South, until April 16.

[This article is based on an interview by Jan Bartlett, presenter of 3CR's Hometown.]

EVENTS IN EUROPE

VOLKER RUEHE IS NOT (GERMAN) MINISTER OF WAR

From "Watch Indonesia!" magazine (Germany), 24 Feb. 1994

The District Court of the city of Halle, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany, accepts the reproach against Germany's Minister of Defence, Volker Ruehe, of supporting genocide. Nevertheless he will not be charged for that crime. On the contrary: A poster on which Volker Ruehe is suspected of aiding genocide is valued by the court to be an insult. Sabine Leloup of the political group "Neues Forum" is sentenced to pay a fine for having distributed the poster.

In June 1993 the first public promise of German soldiers on the territory of the former GDR was celebrated in the city of Halle. For the old cold war fighters, who are facing a psychological crisis since the Eastern military treaty collapsed, it has been a welcomed symbol, which once again gave them opportunity to celebrate themselves as winners. This time they didn't have to hide at the drill-grounds of any barracks, but were allowed to celebrate this Festival of Prussian Tradition at Halle's historic market-place. Such an opportunity cannot be missed by Minister of Defence, Volker Ruehe.

His presence gave reason for some members of Halle's peace movement to demonstrate against Volker Ruehe's share of responsibility for the sale of 39 former East German warships to the bloody regime in Indonesia. The protesters, who for the biggest part are belonging to the people's movement which has overthrown Honecker's GDR, felt cheated by the policy of Volker Ruehe on behalf of the whole Federal Government. After Honecker's fall GDR's last Minister of Defence, Rainer Eppelmann, who did like to be called Minister for Disarmament, had promised that the ships will be scrapped.

At Whitsuntide in 1993 many of the protesters from Halle already took part in the occupation of some warships in the harbour of Peenemuende. The intention was to increase public awareness on Indonesia's continuous violation of human and international rights in East Timor, West Papua, Aceh and other regions. By selling about two thirds of

the former GDR Navy ships the German government is supporting the atrocities executed by Jakarta's military regime. In Peenemuende many posters have been distributed which read beside a portrait: "Aiding genocide - strongly suspected: Ruehe, Volker (CDU), Minister of War, member of the Federal Security Council; has been involved in the licensing of the sale of 39 warships to Indonesia, which tramples upon human rights." Similar posters could be seen showing the portraits of the other members of the Security Council (i.e. Kohl, Seiters, Kinkel, M'Illeemann, Waigel).

Neither the police, nor Mecklenburg-Vorpommern's Minister of the Interior, Rudi Geil (CDU), who has negotiated with the protesters in Peenemuende, took offence at these posters. But different in Halle: Sabine Leloup, secretary of the group "Neues Forum" in Halle, one night before the promise was gluing some of these posters on a billboard, when some police patrols in plain clothes approached. The police has been attracted by the simple fact that somebody was distributing posters at this very unusual time close to midnight. "There must be something wrong," they might have thought and controlled Sabine Leloup's identity card. Trying hard to find a paragraph in the criminal code suitable for this "crime" about 20 minutes they proudly presented Section 186/187a - "insult of politicians."

The next day in Halle protesters have been stucked with police truncheons as it never happened since 1989. Volker Ruehe, who licensed the sale of warships ignoring resolutions by the UN, the EC and the WEU on the human rights situation in Indonesia, as well as ignoring the Control of War Arms Act (KWKG) and the Exterior Economy Act (AWG), called the participants of a demonstration against all that to be "the mob." For of the protesters tried to charge him for insult, but in vain. The public prosecutor did not accept the charge referring to the freedom of opinion.

But if two people do the same thing, the result can be very different. As Nuku Soleiman has explained it in his defence plea during his trial on insulting President Suharto (SDSB - Suharto Dalang dari Segala Bencana): "The difference is: He is ruling, I am ruled." It's just the same in Germany, only with the difference that the maximum sentence here is much lower than the one in Indonesia.

On February 18th the trial against Sabine Leloup started at the District Court. The court-house was nicely decorated with banners reading slogans on genocide and atrocities in Indonesia and East Timor. On the wall residues of the posters showing the portrait of Volker Ruehe could be seen, although somebody has tried to remove

them in the early morning still to be recognized. At an information stand beside the front door of the building still many undestroyed posters have been available. A drummer played hot rhythms against the cold and disturbed the silence in the courtroom. The auditorium was crowded, no free seat has been left. Many of the spectators have been dressed with T-shirts showing the incriminated poster printed on their chest.

But neither judge nor prosecutor did notice the T-shirts, too much they were trying to concentrate on their papers. The prosecutor justified his charge mainly with the design of the poster. He argued that the way the Minister is portrayed was an insult, since people could understand that he is a hardened criminal. Some in the audience applauded this perception by the prosecutor. The argumentation that indeed 'aiding genocide' is a heavy crime, that Volker Ruehe on the poster is only suspected for that crime and that the suspicion is substantiated on the poster itself, was ignored by the prosecutor. He insisted on strictly keeping apart the poster's design from its written contents, although it's just impossible to distinguish between these two things. There was only one objection to the words, namely to the expression 'Minister of War,' which has been understood by the prosecutor as an insult, too.

Obviously neither the Prosecutor nor the police-men and -women interrogated as witnesses before the court can imagine that a politician may be suspected for crime without consequences for the one raising this suspicion. As if Germany never had to suffer under politicians who were criminals! If nevertheless somebody wants to raise a suspicion, his posters, pamphlets and other publications might be considered to be legal, if previously their layout - not their contents! - has been checked and declared unobjectionable by the prosecutor.

Of course, the absurdity of distinguishing between design and meaning of the poster has been criticized by the lawyer, Wolfgang Kalek. He argued that a decision whether or not the poster is an insult can be made, it has to be examined first, whether or not the reproach of aiding genocide is justified. He gave a short review of Indonesia's bloody history during the last 30 years and made numerous applications for taking into evidence. Among others representatives of human right groups like amnesty international, terre des hommes and Watch Indone-sia! as well as the Ambassador of Portugal should be interrogated as witnesses to prove, that there do exist heavy violations of human rights in Indonesia including genocide, and to strengthen the contention, that the situation of human rights can further

deteriorate through the sale of the German warships.

During the break, more than two hours after the beginning of the trial, finally some police-men outside the building became aware of the posters and T-shirts, available at the stand there. They confiscated the posters and noted the personal data of some people.

None of the lawyer's applications has been granted. The rejection was justified with the argument, that there was no connection between the facts to be proved and the charge for insult. At that stage it was clear that the court accepted the prosecutor's illogic argumentation and made that strange distinction, too. But more interesting is another reason for the rejection: The court values the facts on the situation of human rights in Indonesia, East Timor and West Papua as described by the lawyer as "true," in some cases it might be justified to call that genocide. The court also values to be "true," that through the sale of the warships the situation may further deteriorate. Thus, there is no need to examine witnesses.

From the logical point of view, with that declaration by the court Volker Ruehe is no longer suspected for aiding genocide, but he is already convicted to be guilty. Only, the court doesn't care about logic and did not sentence him, but Sabine Leloup. The DM 800,- fine, of course, was much lower than the prosecutor's proposal. The judge valued Sabine Leloup's idealism as an extenuating motif. Nevertheless, Sabine Leloup will lodge an appeal.

WILL JAKARTA AND BAGHDAD BECOME NEW SISTER-CITIES OF BERLIN?

Watch Indonesia, 24 Feb. 1994

In early February it was reported that Berlin wants to have the Indonesian capital Jakarta as a new sister-city. A contract on the partnership already will be signed in April. The German public only came to know the plan from the press, after it has been published in the Indonesian metropolitan /Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 6.2.1994/.

The early date of signature, which meanwhile has been confirmed by the Berlin Senate, too, must be understood as a token that negotiations already proceeded to reach a final stage. Neither the people of Berlin nor the people of Jakarta up to now did have any opportunity to participate in the discussion, a fact that gives proof of the poor democratic understanding of politicians in both cities. Not even the members of Berlin's parliament 'Abgeordnetenhaus' have been informed. When the group 'Bündnis 90/Die Grünen' (Green Party) on February

24 has asked for more detailed information in parliament they were only given very insufficient answers.

The motif of the Berlin Senate after Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest, Paris, Madrid, Istanbul and Los Angeles to prepare for an eighth sister-city is not clear, particularly if considering the small budget available during the actual recession. One important motif presumably is economic interest, for instance possible cooperation in developing a public traffic system for Jakarta. For Jakarta, recently under pressure of the new US administration, the partnership might be a welcomed rise of political reputation, too.

A representative of the human rights group Watch Indonesia! commented, while worldwide Berlin is regarded as a symbol of freedom, Jakarta as a military dictatorship's center of power is representing suppression of other Indonesian regions as well as of any opposition in the country. "What are the criteria for such a partnership?," he asked. "Would Berlin also like to have Baghdad as a sister-city?."

DUTCH MINISTER WELCOMES CONCEPT OF ASEAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE

By Bob Mantiri

THE HAGUE, Mar 1 (IPS) - Dutch foreign minister Piet Kooijmans said Tuesday he would welcome a peacekeeping force in South East Asia set up by Indonesia and its five partners in the ASEAN group of nations.

"An ASEAN peacekeeping force, in close cooperation with the United Nations, could help restore peace in a troubled country in the South East Asian region," Kooijmans said here in advance of his forthcoming visit to Indonesia.

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1967 and consists of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and The Philippines.

His visit, together with Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, is scheduled for Mar. 28 till April 1.

Kooijmans said an ASEAN peacekeeping force could be similar in scope to NATO in Europe which is currently available to the United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for peacekeeping operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"These kind of regional arrangements are playing an increasingly important role in the implementation of certain United Nations activities," Kooijmans said in The Hague.

"In Africa, Secretary General Salim Salim of the Organisation of African States (OAS), has formed a peacekeeping force with

troops contributed by the African member states, which also financed the operations," he said.

"This is also important for other regions, such as Asia, because those countries have a direct interest in maintaining stability in their own region.

"They know the region better. Look what happened in Somalia. Peacekeeping forces from Europe went to that country without any knowledge of the local situation. That is why they wrongly anticipated certain situations," Kooijmans noted.

He added that The Netherlands and its 11 partners in the European Community would welcome a human rights commission set up by the six ASEAN countries.

"A human rights commission would create a forum in which we can discuss human rights. One of the shortcomings of the Asian continent is that there is no regional approach to human rights, contrary to what you see in North America, Europe and Africa. Asia is still an unwritten sheet of paper," Kooijmans said.

"I am aware of the fact that because of the enormous mutual differences. It is very difficult to establish an overall Asian-wide regional human rights organisation," he added.

"But in South East Asia there is ASEAN. It would be important, I think, that ASEAN includes a human rights component," he said.

According to the Dutch minister the matter will be discussed during the annual dialogue between ASEAN and the EC foreign ministers in the so-called post ministerial ASEAN meeting, later this year.

Discussions between the two regional organisations on a new agreement for economic cooperation are deadlocked due to a Portuguese boycott. Lisbon demanded that Indonesia, a prominent member of ASEAN, improve the human rights situation in its former overseas colony East Timor.

Kooijmans did not share the concern of some ASEAN countries that China would jump into a power vacuum if the United States decided to withdraw from the Asian scene.

"On the contrary, I think that president Bill Clinton has increased his interest in Asia. The APEC conference of head of states and government leaders in Houston is a clear indication that the United States is still eager to play a dominant role in the Asia and Pacific region," he said.

The active role of the United States in trying to get North Korea's nuclear weapons programme under international control is according to Kooijmans more proof of Washington's concern over security in Asia.

The Dutch minister said he does not believe that Asia Pacific Economic Coopera-

tion pact (APEC), set up in 1990 to counter the European internal market, would pose a threat to EC's market prospects in Asia.

"There are still too much differences among the members. Malaysia for example does not believe in the usefulness of APEC. "It is obvious that because of the emerging importance of the Pacific Rim, participating members have different thoughts about APEC," Kooijmans said.

ARMS TRADE CONFERENCE IN ANTWERP, APRIL 22-24

ENAAAT-meeting Antwerp invitation

From: Ernst Gulcher, Italeiei 98A, 2000 Antwerp, Belgium +32-3-2250022/2250799(fax), email: flemunpeace@gn.apc.org

To: all groups and individuals with an interest in research on and campaigning against the international arms trade.

Concerns:

- invitation to participate in the spring-meeting of the European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAAT) - Saturday/Sunday 23/24 April 1994
- Stop Arming Indonesia conference, Friday 22 April 1994 (afternoon)

Dear friend,

This is to invite you early, cordially and urgently to the above mentioned meetings of the European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAAT). On the request of ENAAAT both of these meetings will be organized in our peacecenter in Antwerp.

Those who confirm the receipt of this invitation will receive the details of the programme as soon as it has been established (please provide us with your priorities). As in all regular ENAAAT meetings, country reports will be part of the agenda on Saturday and Sunday and also other topics such as landmines, European Community arms trade and production, UN-arms register, campaigns against arms exhibitions, shareholder actions, research, fact-finding and communication, conversion ...etc. . The Friday will be devoted to the special ENAAAT-campaign against arms trade to Indonesia/South East Asia.

The language of communication in ENAAAT-meetings is English. However, to facilitate participation from southern European countries, basic interpretation will be organized for those who can only speak French or Italian. Only condition is that we are informed at an early stage about their participation.

Accommodation/costs:

For those who bring their sleeping mats and bags, a simple free

(floor)accommodation will be possible in the peacecenter. For the others private accommodation, youth hostel rooms, or hotel rooms will be reserved for which payment is requested to be submitted in advance during the month of March (ask me for the details). Meals will be provided at lowest possible costs. There is no participation fee but participants are invited to consider a voluntary contribution according to their financial position. Travel costs cannot be reimbursed. Participants are advised to arrive before Friday-morning 22/4/1994 before 1 PM and not to depart before Sunday-evening 24/4/1994 6 PM.

Please confirm to me the receipt of this invitation and if possible your participation. I would also be very happy if you would distribute this documentation to friends and colleagues. Use the opportunity to visit Antwerp as this proud harbour on the river Schelde is one of the two most beautiful cities of Belgium and can easily be reached by air, train or car (cheapest: autobus from everywhere in Europe).

Best wishes to you, come and join the 'stop the arms trade community,'

Ernst GULCHER
annex:

1. Stop arming Indonesia
2. ECAS-conference 27 April
3. ENAAT international leaflet

* * *

annex 1):

Stop arming Indonesia, why and how.

Conference on Friday 22/4/1994

As decided in the ENAAT-meeting in Barcelona in November 1993, a subsidy request for this campaign has been introduced to the Ploughshares Foundation. Details will be known later.

Concerning the conference on 22 April, a major part of its agenda will be devoted to contributions of content on the military-industrial relations of Western European countries with Indonesia. I hope these contributions can be prepared by the representatives of national groups coming to the conference. The proceedings of the conference will be the basis of the booklet to be edited by me immediately afterwards. For all other suggestions for the agenda of this conference, I rely on BUKO and CAAT. Details will be published later. Details about the campaign and its objectives are available from me. Solidarity groups working in relation to Indonesia and East Timor are especially welcome to this venue.

Please fill in and send to (please use capitals): Ernst GULCHER, IPIS, Italielei 98A, 2000 Antwerp

.....
NAME FIRST NAME

FULL ADDRESS
TELEPHONE/FAX/EMAIL:
will participate in the following ENAAT-meetings: (O) Friday 22/4/1994 ('Stop Arming Indonesia') (O) Saturday and Sunday 23-24/4/1994 (regular ENAAT-meeting) (O) wants to receive more information

**NORWAY RECOGNISES
ANNEXATION OF
EAST TIMOR?**

Diario de Noticias, 12 March 1994. By Helder Fernandes. Translated from Portuguese

(Oslo) Within the last six months, the Norwegian Government has suddenly found itself involved in two embarrassing episodes connected with its alleged "dubious policy" on the occupied territory of East Timor.

The most recent scandal broke out yesterday in Oslo, with the publication of an article in X Magazine - a small magazine of investigative journalism which deals with third world issues. In its last edition, X Magazine reveals how the Norwegian Government (as well as other Scandinavian governments) signed an economic cooperation agreement with Indonesia in 1991, through which, in practice, it recognises the occupation and annexation of East Timor by the Jakarta regime.

The controversy has arisen from the fact that the Norwegian Government delegated (partly) the definition of what constitutes Indonesian territory to Indonesian legislation itself, and it is to that definition that the economic agreement between the contracting parties refers. X Magazine claims that, formally: "The agreement gives Norway the right to exploit occupied East Timor's natural resources."

According to the English version of the document (which is valid in case of discrepancies in the translations), contrary to the Norwegian version, the agreement covers "the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, as is defined by its laws..." According to the Norwegian news agency NTB, this clause "as is defined by its laws" (not found in the Norwegian translation of the text) suggests that the Norwegian authorities accept, without reservation, Jakarta's legal definition of the territory of Indonesia.

X Magazine goes on to recall that the legal definition of Indonesian territory depends on the "Law of Integration of East Timor in Indonesia," approved by Jakarta in 1976 but never recognised by the UN.

In addition to Norway, Sweden and Finland also signed a similar agreement with Indonesia. In the case of Finland, the accord was finalised on 9 February 1992, while Sweden, where the issue even caused some

MPs to appeal to the Government, signed on 17 September of that year.

Still on the question of the agreement's validity, the magazine continues: "...and the adjacent areas, over which the Republic of Indonesia has sovereign rights or jurisdiction, in accordance with the Convention on Maritime Law, approved by the UN in 1982."

X Magazine reveals that the Agreement on Mutual Promotion and Protection of Investments between the Kingdom of Norway and the Republic of Indonesia was signed by the two parties on 26 November 1991 in Jakarta, - just 14 days after the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

On 25 November 1991, the day preceding the signing, Norway and the other Scandinavian countries had issued a public joint statement condemning the massacre, in which it was stated that "the protection of human rights constitutes a focal point in Norwegian foreign policy ... Norway will be carefully monitoring the situation in East Timor .."

Norway has even joined in the condemnation at the UN of occupation of East Timor.

EVENTS IN IRELAND

**IRELAND'S SPRING TO
VOICE
CONCERN OVER EAST
TIMOR**

Irish Times, March 3, 1994

The Tanaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Spring, promised to contact the Australian government to express Ireland's continuing concern at the treatment of East Timor. He said he was very much aware of the wishes of the House and had already written to the Indonesian Foreign Minister about the situation there.

Mr. John Connor (FG, Longford-Roscommon) said that a recent television programme on East Timor showed the Australian Foreign Minister and his counterpart from Indonesia toasting each other in champagne as they flew over East Timor.

The deputy leader of Fine Gael, and spokesperson on Foreign Affairs, Ms. Nora Owen, said that Ireland should take the lead at European Union level and seek sanctions against Indonesia.

Mr. Spring said that he could not cite any specific action that followed from earlier EU proposals. Arms sales were a matter for the UN Security Council. Ireland always advocated restraint on sales of arms and supported the Portuguese at EU level in efforts

to stem the continued killing and oppression of the East Timorese

IRISH SENATE TO DEBATE EAST TIMOR

From East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign, March 25

The debate has been delayed for two weeks.

A number of Senators raised the consequent delay in the debate on East Timor. Senator Tom Enright (FG) said that there were terrible abuses of human rights in East Timor - torture and killings -and it was an affront to the House not to have this debate take place. Senator Dick Roche (FF, Government Party) said that it was important to have a debate on East Timor. A number of Senators also called for a debate on East Timor.

Senator G.V. Wright, the leader of the Senate, said a debate would take place on East Timor next week and he regretted the changes in the Order of Business.

LETTERS TO THE IRISH TIMES

March 25

Sir, With the release of Schindler's List on Friday many people who see the film will be reminded on the inhuman acts committed by the Nazis. Most will echo the phrase "we must never forget." The unfortunate fact is that atrocities similar and worst to what the Nazis did continue to happen around the world. The most dramatic case of all is that of East Timor. If the scale of the genocide there were paralleled to Ireland, the population of Co. Dublin would have been killed, raped and tortured.

Brendan Quinn, Dublin 12.

Sir,

Since East Timor was invaded by Indonesia 1975, at least 200,000 East Timorese, one third of the population have died due to repression and famine. Despite this brutality, some EU member states continue to sell to Indonesia the weapons used to suppress the East Timorese.

I believe that the EU and the UN can play important roles in reducing repression by the Indonesian Government in East Timor. A good first step would be an arms embargo on Indonesia. I urge the Irish Government to speak up on East Timor in the EU and the UN. Yours etc.

Ciarn King, Dublin 3

TIMOR SUPPORTERS TO MEET IRISH LEADERS

Voice of Timor, Dublin Ireland, 29th March 1994

A delegation from Amnesty International, Trocaire (Catholic Agency for World Development) and the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign will meet with the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dick Spring to voice concern over East Timor. The delegation will meet with Mr. Spring at Government buildings on the eve of the screening of the John Pilger documentary "Death of a Nation-the Timor Conspiracy," due to be shown on R.T.E.

TANAISTE SUPPORTS CALLS FOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST INDONESIA

Press Release issued by the East Timor Irish Solidarity Campaign, 30 March 1994

The Tanaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dick Spring TD expressed his support for economic sanctions against Indonesia after his meeting with a delegation who verbalised concern over the human rights abuses perpetrated by Indonesia's military in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

During the meeting this afternoon with Tom Hyland of ETISC and representatives of Amnesty International and Trocaire [the Catholic funding agency], Mr. Spring heard that over 200,000 East Timorese have been killed since the illegal invasion of East Timor by Indonesia in 1975.

Speaking on RTE radio this afternoon, having met the representatives of the three agencies, Mr. Spring said: 'One has to acknowledge that there are serious human rights abuses in East Timor. In the context of the human rights abuses in East Timor, I think the world should be looking for strong action against the Indonesian government. One can justify sanctions in relation to countries where there are serious abuses of human rights.'

Ton Hyland, Co-ordinator of ETISC, commented: 'We obviously welcome the remarks the Tanaiste made this afternoon calling for economic sanctions against Indonesia. We ask the Tanaiste to maintain pressure on those of our European partners who indulge in arms trading with Indonesia and thus facilitate the slaughter of East Timorese people, and the Irish people to consider their own trading partners when buying Javanese coffee, Clarion car-stereos or booking holidays to Bali.'

He added: 'ETISC is in the process of researching those products available in Ireland which hail from Indonesia and will be publicly inviting consumers to boycott them. It seems that one must bring economic, along with political, pressure to bear on the Indonesian authorities to respect the human rights of the people of East Timor.'

IRISH FM SUPPORTS SANCTIONS

Source 98 FM Radio News Ireland. Mar 31, 1994

The Tanaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) and Minister for Foreign affairs, Mr. Dick Spring, has agreed to support Economic Sanctions against Indonesia over human rights abuses in East Timor. During the meeting with representatives of the Voice of Timor, Trocaire and Amnesty International, Dick Spring said "one had to acknowledge serious human rights abuses in East Timor. Tom Hyland co-ordinator of the group said that he welcomed the Tanaiste's remarks. "I think this is major move in support of the people of East Timor and I think that the Tanaiste is to be congratulated over his statement. I think that most people in Ireland are concerned over what's happening in East Timor and I think this is the first major move from a European Government in relation to the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia.

THE DAILY STAR IRELAND

Letter to the Editor, Daily Star, 4 April

Ireland should halt trade with Indonesia because of the continuing human rights abuses in East Timor.

A spokesperson for the Green Party last night said it was "morally irresponsible" for Irish companies to trade with Indonesia.

Amnesty International (Ireland) placed a full page advertisement in the Irish Times on Saturday 2/4/1994 drawing attention to the continuing human rights abuses in East Timor. The advertisement also drew attention to the human rights abuses in Indonesia.

A delegation from ETISC informed the Irish Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the situation with regard to Dr. George Aditjondro. The DPM/Fm was also informed of the recent statement of Xanana Gusmão.

EVENTS IN BRITAIN

TOUTING FOR TERROR

By Mark Curtis, *New Internationalist*,
March 1994.

This is a special issue on East Timor edited by John Pilger. The issue also includes articles by Pilger, Carmel Budiardjo, James Dunn and Max Lane, testimonies from Timorese, and fact sheets. Copies (cover price GBP 1.90 plus shipping) can be ordered from the Coalition for East Timor, Box 2349, London E1 3HX, England, or the New Internationalist, at 55 Rectory Rd, Oxford OX4 1BW, England; 1011 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M6H 1M1; or 7 Hutt St, Adelaide, S.A. 5000, Australia. In the U.S., it can be ordered for \$3.50 from the East Timor Action Network, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.

The supply of British arms to Indonesia is an issue of grave concern for two main reasons. First, the legitimacy of the military dictatorship in Jakarta is enhanced by such sales, narrowing the options of those opposing repression within Indonesia. Secondly, it is believed that British-supplied Hawk aircraft have been used in Indonesian offensives against East Timorese. Frigates, submarine communications equipment and surveillance radar from Britain have also helped the Indonesian military to isolate East Timor from the outside world through a naval blockade. Saladin, Saracen and Ferret armoured vehicles supplied by Britain, meanwhile, have been used for repression in Indonesia after the invasion of East Timor, as have counter-insurgency aircraft which, according to retired US admiral Gene La Roque, 'changed the entire nature of the war.' Supplies of transport aircraft, armoured cars, rifles, mortars, machine guns and communications equipment enabled Indonesia to conduct the slaughters in East Timor in the late 1970s.

Major British arms sales began in 1978, when British Aerospace (BAe) announced an export order for eight Hawk jet trainer aircraft, Rolls Royce engines, spares and training of pilots and engineers. Britain refused to give assurances that the aircraft would not be used in a combat role. Further sales of Hawks and three contracts worth over \$300 million for the Rapier air defence system followed, whilst the Royal Navy supplied three frigates worth \$40 million to the Indonesian Navy in 1984. By 1987 other arms companies were touting for business with Indonesia, with Rolls Royce signing a technical agreement with Indonesia's state-run aerospace company, Thorn EMI

reportedly aiming to sell a radar system, and Vickers a light tank.

These deals were signed amidst continuing terror in Indonesia. In 1983-85, as the contracts for the air defence system were being signed, 3,500-4,500 people were murdered by army death squads. Similarly, on the same day in 1991 that a co-production agreement between BAe and Indonesia was reported, the US press observed that 'foreign human-rights investigators and Western diplomats in Jakarta now estimate that up to 5,000 people have been killed or have "disappeared,"' in Aceh province. 'Although there has been killing on both sides,' the report continued, 'human-rights activists say most of it appears to originate with the Indonesian army.' Amnesty estimated 2,000 deaths between 19B9 and July 1993, with 'most of the victims' having been 'ordinary villagers living in areas of suspected rebel activity.' The Indonesian military commander in Aceh province was quoted in November 1990 as saying that 'I have told the community, if you find a terrorist, kill him. There's no need to investigate him... If they don't do as you order them, shoot them on the spot, or butcher them.'

In September 1991 Indonesian News (published by the Embassy in London) reported that UK Defence Minister Tom King met his Indonesian counterpart, Benny Murdani, to discuss 'improving military co-operation between the two countries.' Murdani had organized and commanded the first invasion of East Timor in 1975. He had also issued, in 1983, a message to resistance leader Xanana Gusmão to the effect that 'there is no country on the globe that can help you. Our own army is prepared to destroy you if you are not willing to co-operate with our republic,' before declaring that he would show 'no mercy' to resistance forces in East Timor. In December 1992, meanwhile, the same source reported that Margaret Thatcher was presented with an honorary medal from the Indonesian Engineering Association by President Suharto at the State Palace in Jakarta. Referring to the award, Thatcher reportedly said: 'I am proud to be one of you.'

Britain was untroubled by the Dili massacre of November 1991, when the Indonesian army killed 200 East Timorese demonstrating against the occupation. The announcement of the sale of a navy support ship was delayed in January 1992 owing to the international outcry over the massacre – and went ahead the following month. It was also later reported that Britain was offering places in military training programmes for three Indonesian army officers. Their boss – chief of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno – had formerly promised to 'wipe out all separatist elements.'

In April 1993 Foreign Secretary Hurd visited Indonesia and signed an agreement for a \$98 million British loan to the country. On the same day as Hurd arrived in Jakarta, a UN special envoy expressed his desire to meet with Xanana Gusmão, captured leader of the East Timorese resistance movement, who was eventually given life imprisonment after his 'trial.' The Indonesian news agency, Antara, reported that 'referring to human-rights issues, Hurd said that Western countries cannot export Western values to developing nations without making adjustments to local economies and cultures. Differences in cultural life and economic level are decisive factors for the adoption of Western values by developing countries, he said.' Antara could further note that: 'What is done by Indonesia is proof of its recognition that basic freedoms such as freedom for union, freedom to express opinion and press freedom is a fundamental right, he [Hurd] said.'

With such apologetics BAe could endure few moral qualms about signing a \$750 million contract for 24 Hawk aircraft (along with \$75 million-worth of engines from Rolls Royce) two months after Hurd's visit, in June 1993. The Managing Director of BAe Defence declared that the deal built on the 'strong business relationship which has evolved' between BAe and Indonesia, whilst Defence Minister Malcolm Rifkind stated that the sale would 'enhance the existing good relations between the United Kingdom and Indonesia.' 'Indonesia is a very exciting part of the world,' a representative of Rolls Royce had observed the previous year, when Britain was on the verge of signing a deal for 40 Hawks, becoming Indonesia's second largest arms supplier.

The principal reason why Britain (and the West) has acquiesced in Indonesia's brutal rule at home and violence in East Timor is that the Suharto regime has consistently offered Western businesses the opportunity to benefit from the country's political 'stability,' most notably by exploiting the country's vast mineral resources. A few months before the invasion of East Timor, a Confederation of British Industry report noted that Indonesia presents 'enormous potential for the foreign investor.' According to one press report the country enjoyed a 'favourable political climate' and the 'encouragement of foreign investment by the country's authorities.' RTZ, BP, British Gas and Britoil are some of the British companies who have since taken advantage of Indonesia's 'favourable political climate' By 1992 a spokesman for the East Timor independence movement termed Britain 'the single worst obstructionist of any industrialized country' over promoting international action on East Timor.

Leading Western aid donors are continuing their economic support for the Suharto regime, with agreements to provide \$4.2 billion in 1993. A US Department of Commerce publication notes that Indonesia offers 'excellent trade and investment opportunities for US companies' under a headline reading: 'Indonesia: trade opportunities here too good to be ignored.'

East Timor itself also offers Western business interests the prospect of substantial profits, with Australia leading the way. A year after the invasion the Japan Times reported on negotiations between an Australian oil company and Indonesia on extracting the vast oil resources in the Timor Sea, whose '200-mile stretch of water constitutes the only gap in the resources line agreed between Australia and Indonesia.' An Australian official commented that with the dispute over East Timor 'Australian access to a potentially good oil area remains in doubt.' 'Until the East Timor issue is out of the way and fully resolved,' he commented, 'there is little we can do publicly.'

In December 1989 the resources issue was finally resolved by an agreement to jointly exploit the Timor Sea, involving Australian, British and US companies, amongst others. A month following the Dili massacre, in December 1991, an untroubled Australian Government approved 11 oil-production contracts with Indonesia.

There have been some recent signs of US willingness to put pressure on Indonesia over human-rights abuses in East Timor. In 1992 Congress halted the US-Indonesian military training programme and in July 1993 the US blocked the transfer of four warplanes from Jordan to Indonesia. In September the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee voted for an amendment to the Foreign Appropriations Bill which asks the President to consult with Congress to determine whether improvements in the human-rights situation have taken place before approving arms sales.

There have, however, been no signs from the British Government that a moratorium on arms sales is in the offing. Rather, further sales of Hawk aircraft are expected to follow shortly. The evidence suggests that Britain's policy will continue to be dictated by commercial interests which – with numerous precedents – override considerations of human rights and international law. It would prefer to profit from the socio-economic conditions offered by the Indonesian military regime despite the fact that, according to Amnesty International, 'disregard for human life is an integral part of the Indonesian security forces' approach to its work' and 'in the quarter of a century since it came to power, the Government of Indonesia has

been responsible for a staggering range of violations of human rights.'

(Mark Curtis is a former Research Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs.)

UK ARMS-AID DEALS WITH INDONESIA NEED SCRUTINY

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following press release 21 February 1994:

The connection between aid and arms deals with Indonesia needs to be scrutinised, said Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, today. TAPOL has made the request in its submission to the Commons Foreign Affairs Committee which is investigating the aid-arms deal linkage in Britain's dealings with Malaysia and the Aid and Trade Provision.

In a 5,000-word submission to the Committee, TAPOL highlights the close proximity between an aid agreement for 65m for a power plant in Samarinda, East Kalimantan signed last April by Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in Jakarta and the visit to Jakarta a month later by Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind when he finalised arrangements for the UK's largest arms deal ever with Indonesia worth 500m for 24 Hawk fighter/trainer aircraft plus technology transfer and training. The power plant will serve a region where coal and gold mining has rapidly grown in the past few years. The mines are owned by British Petroleum and the Australia-based mining company CRA, in which London-based RTZ has a controlling interest. The mines are seriously damaging the livelihoods of tribal people.

The Hawks deal is going ahead despite evidence, to be revealed in a film on ITV on Tuesday 22 February, *Death of a Nation, The Timor Conspiracy*, that Hawk aircraft have been used in East Timor during the Indonesian army's military operations to crush resistance to Jakarta's illegal occupation of East Timor.

TAPOL's submission directs attention in particular to the role of Dr. B.J. Habibie, Indonesia's arms-industry supremo, a close associate of Margaret Thatcher since her visit to Indonesia in 1985. Dr. Habibie, who presides over all of Indonesia's war-equipment manufacturers, has particularly close business ties with British Aerospace. His brother, E.J. Habibie, was appointed ambassador in London a year ago.

The submission also reveals that British Aerospace is becoming deeply involved in the advancement of Indonesia's high-tech industry, as a spin-off from its dealings in arms with one of the world's worst human rights violators.

Along with China, Indonesia is now the priority country for ATP allocations which bring vast benefits to British companies bidding for aid projects.

Not only have arms deals with Indonesia risen dramatically; they are also absorbing a vastly high proportion of export credits. Replies this month to questions from Tom Clarke, Labour's ODA spokesperson, by Trade Minister Richard Needham reveal that export credits to Indonesia backed by the ECGD in 1992/93 amounted to 448.8m as compared to 126.6m a year earlier. In 1992/93, defence equipment exports absorbed 97.3% of ECGD as compared to 1.7% in 1991/92.

GENOCIDE IN EAST TIMOR

The Independent, Letters Page, Feb. 22

Sir:

The 1975 invasion by Indonesia of East Timor and the ongoing 19-year occupation has resulted in more than 200,000 Timorese being killed – one-third of the pre-invasion population. This is genocide on a comparatively greater scale than that which occurred in Cambodia.

Despite 10 UN resolutions calling on the Indonesians to leave East Timor, the British government continues to aid and trade with the Jakarta regime. The government's response to the Dili massacre in 1991, in which more than 180 people were gunned down by Indonesian troops at a funeral, was to increase aid to Indonesia by more than 200 per cent.

Since 1978 the government has been a key supplier of military equipment. Last summer British Aerospace sold 24 additional Hawk ground attack aircraft to Indonesia. Eyewitness accounts of the use of Hawks against the civilian population in East Timor highlight the Indonesian government's deception about the purported "training only" use of the aircraft. Our government's complicity in this deception and indifference to the East Timor tragedy is a disgrace.

Although the recent contract for 24 additional Hawks has been signed the delivery will not be made until 1996. Sixteen other Hawks are under negotiation, and the Indonesian government has talked of buying up to 100 in total. It is imperative that this and all future sales are stopped and that an arms sales embargo is implemented against Indonesia.

Yours,

Juliet Stevenson;
Bishop Donald Arden;
Ann Clwyd, MP; Tony
Benn, MP; Bruce Kent;
John Hegley; Alexei

Sayle; John Kendrew,
Bishop of Malmesbury;
Daffyd Wigley, MP;
Will McMahon; Sue
Brown;
Campaign Against Arms Trade, London,
N4

COMMONS MOTION ON HAWKS

The following Early Day Motion, No 657, has been tabled in the British House of Commons:

EDM 657: Sale of BAe Hawk aircraft to Indonesia

“That this House is appalled and outraged at the evidence shown in Central Television’s ‘Death of a Nation’ shown on ITV on 22 February and notes Indonesia’s continuing illegal occupation of East Timor; the obstruction of human rights investigators in East Timor and in parts of Indonesia; and the sale of 40 British Aerospace Hawk fighter-trainer aircraft to Indonesia; understands that HMG [Her Majesty’s Government] has not been able to guarantee that the Hawks will not be used for political killings or associated human rights violations; believes that the proposed sale would be contrary to HMG’s acceptance at the European Council in 1991 of respect for human rights as one of the criteria for arms exports; and calls upon HMG to withhold licences (for the export of the Hawks.”

On Friday, the day after the EDM was tabled, 21 MPs had signed it. Readers of reg.easttimor in the UK are urged to press their MPs to sign this EDM as soon as possible.

PEACE PROTEST AT BAe HAWKS TO INDONESIA

SIX PEACE PROTESTERS ARRESTED

Press release from organizers, 1 Mar. 1994

Six peace protesters were arrested on Wednesday 23rd February at British Aerospace Warton, Lancashire, England, under “suspicion of possessing items with which to commit criminal damage.” Four were later charged. These were Michael Bane (28), Kate Witham (23), Rachel Julian (23) and Chris Cole (30). They were jointly charged for possession of items such as paint brushes and spray cans. Bottles of paint were also found nearby. The four were detained overnight and taken before magistrates at 4pm the next day. They were released on bail until Monday 28th February when they asked the magistrates for a Crown Court trial.

The other two, who were released without charge, were Tricia Allen (25) and Ed Johnston (16).

The six had entered the factory by climbing over a gate at midday, and had planted seeds in the ground, dedicated to the dead in East Timor. Two of the six approached the runway before being arrested. The six carried banners proclaiming “No more BAe Hawks to Indonesia” and “Heal the world - hammer swords into ploughshares.”

Concurrently, a group of 8 protesters climbed on top of buildings and occupied the rooftops. They unfurled a colourful banner which read “BAe Hawks = Murder.” At the same time, outside the main gate to the factory, protesters gathered to give out leaflets and hold a vigil with coffins, wreaths and banners, asking the workers not to forget - “Don’t leave your conscience behind” it read. They were accompanied by a 6ft “grim reaper.” Many workers took leaflets; most were understanding and expressed regret at the nature of their work.

The demonstrators were protesting about the Hawk ground-attack aircraft manufactured at Warton. Britain agreed in June 1993 to sell 24 Hawks to Indonesia. Experts believe that this figure could rise to 144 Hawks in the future. Indonesia illegally invaded East Timor in 1975 and have since killed a third of the population, some 200,000 innocent people. Eye witness accounts have told of British Hawks being used to bomb civilians in the mountains of East Timor.

Peace activists were also arrested at BAe’s headquarters in Farnborough (near London, UK). Two women dyed the fountains red, and painted on the wall behind - “Fountains of blood. BAe Hawks = East Timor deaths. No Hawks to Indonesia.” The women were Andrea Needham and Emily Johns. They were later arrested and held for 9 hours when they were released with a view to prosecution.

23rd February was the day that the U.N. Commission on Human Rights discussed the issue of East Timor. A message of solidarity and support for the peace activists was sent from José Ramos Horta, East Timor’s Foreign Secretary in exile and delegate to the UN.

For more information, or messages of support, email bane@ma.man.ac.uk (or telephone Tricia on UK 061-881 7460)

Any donations to the defence fund for the four will be gratefully received. Please send them to

Stop the Hawk Deal!
c/o One World Centre
6, Mount Street
Manchester M2 5NS, Britain.

All enquiries about the growing campaign can be made to any of the above.

FOUNTAINS OF BLOOD AT BRITISH AEROSPACE

From Peace News, March 1994

Eight peace activists were arrested on 23 February at two British Aerospace properties, as they protested against Britain’s largest weapons manufacturer and its role in arming the Indonesian regime.

Six were arrested at Warton (Lancashire) for “suspicion of possessing items with which to commit criminal damage” – the items in question being paintbrushes and spray cans. They had climbed over a gate, planted seeds inside the factory fence, and approached a runway before being arrested. Two were later released without charge; the other four were held overnight at Lytham police station and freed on unconditional bail the next day.

The Warton factory is where Hawk ground attack aircraft (praised by former defence procurement minister Alan Clark as “dual use with a capital D”) are made. The campaign against the export of Hawks to Indonesia has gathered momentum since the showing of the John Pilger film *Death of a Nation* on 22 February; Pilger’s film focuses on the Hawk sale as the most visible aspect of British support for Indonesia’s illegal occupation and genocidal rule in East Timor.

Also on 23 February, Andrea Needham and Emily Johns were arrested at BAe headquarters in Farnborough and charged with criminal damage after dyeing the water in a fountain blood-red to symbolise the effects of BAe weapons being used by the Indonesian military against the people of East Timor. Bloody footprints were stencilled on the ground around the fountain and the message “Fountains of Blood – BAe Hawks = East Timor Deaths – No Hawks to Indonesia” painted on a wall behind. They were held for nine hours, reported with a view to prosecution, and released.

Messages of support, and contributions to legal costs to “Stop the Hawk Deal,” c/o One World Centre, 6 Mount St, Manchester M2

BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY SAYS ARMS SALES TO JAKARTA WILL CONTINUE

Radio Renascenca, Lisbon, in Portuguese, Feb. 24 Excerpt.

The ITV [British television] reportage on East Timor has shocked the British public but not the British government. London understands Lisbon’s campaign but is not going to break off relations with Indonesia on that account. So there you have it. Not everyone in Europe is siding with Portugal’s

attempt to isolate Indonesia internationally by making it accountable for massacring the East Timorese.

Such are the conclusions to be drawn from the visit paid to Lisbon today [24th February] by Douglas Hurd and from his meeting with [Foreign Minister] Durão Barroso. The British foreign secretary was keener to talk about current international topics, but neither Durão Barroso nor the media allowed him to forget Timor. Under pressure, Douglas Hurd was frank in his replies. [Reporter] Pedro Adao was at the Necessidades palace [Foreign Ministry].

[Adao] We may be good friends but you've got your policy and I've got mine [play on traditional saying]. Douglas Hurd made it quite clear in Lisbon today that, while it feels solidarity with Portugal's concerns regarding Timor, Britain does not believe that the human rights problem can be solved by isolating Indonesia.

[Hurd at press conference, voice to translation] I don't believe you will change policy in Indonesia by isolation. I don't believe that. Nor by withholding help when that help is needed. I don't believe that. But I do believe that in Indonesia and in other countries where there are human rights problems, this should be part of the agenda in any discussions, so that there is consistent pressure towards better performance. And that's our policy.

[Adao] And since isolation does not solve the problem, London will continue to support Jakarta, both financially and with arms sales, because each country looks after its own interests.

[Hurd] Each country has the right to pursue its own policy as regards sales of military equipment. Most countries have rules in this matter. Britain has rules in this matter. British rules are much more strict, much more restrictive than the rules of most suppliers of military equipment. Those rules have been followed in the case of the sale of military aircraft to Indonesia and we do not believe in the allegations that these aircraft have been used in East Timor, and we don't know of any reliable evidence to that effect. So we shall continue our policy.

[Adao] So not even the world's oldest [Anglo-Portuguese] alliance has helped: let the East Timorese problem be resolved through dialogue. It was all made quite plain at this press conference that followed the meeting with Durão Barroso, to which Douglas Hurd arrived smiling but which he left with an irritated frown.

LONDON DOES NOT WISHTO ISOLATE SUHARTO

Publico, 25 February 1994

Douglas Hurd came to Lisbon to discuss European affairs with Durão Barroso. But it was the sale to Jakarta of weapons made in England that raised all the questions in their joint press conference. The British Foreign Minister made it clear that London does not wish to isolate Suharto.

"Kuwait is not Bosnia. Timor is neither Bosnia, nor Angola nor Mozambique." It was with this obvious geographical distinction that the British Foreign Minister "replied" to the barrage of questions from reporters gathered at the joint press conference held by Britain and Portugal's diplomatic chiefs, to confront Douglas Hurd with the recent news of sales of British weapons to the Suharto regime.

Hurd recognised there was a need to improve the human rights situation in "Indonesia in general, and particularly in East Timor," and admitted the possibility of exercising some pressure on Jakarta. However, he made it clear that London is far from supporting any attempt to isolate the Suharto regime internationally.

The argument that "each case is a different case" was used by the British minister to get around the comparisons made by reporters, and the suggestion that the UK, where arms trading with Iraq are also on the agenda, is applying different criteria when dealing with similar situations. Hurd limited himself to expressing Britain's support for the diplomatic talks underway on East Timor, mediated by the UN Secretary General, directly involving the Portuguese and Indonesian Governments.

QUESTIONS UNANSWERED

Questions concerning revelations which demonstrate the contradiction between British Government officials' public statements and recent information about its arms trading with Indonesia, remained unanswered.

Last Tuesday's edition of the British daily "The Independent" reported that British weapons sales to Jakarta over the last five years have brought the British Government a revenue of about 260 million pounds, contrary to a guarantee given in the House of Lords immediately after the Santa Cruz massacre, according to which the transactions were not worth more than 3.5 million pounds. Neither does this take into account last June's agreement on the sale of Hawk aircraft, worth about 500 million pounds.

The revelations of "The Independent" coincided with ITV's showing of the film on East Timor, "Death of a Nation" (shown the same day by Portugal's RTP), which widely documented London's continued support

for Jakarta, both during and after the invasion of Timor, and it refers specifically to the use of Hawk aircraft in bombings carried out in the territory.

JOBS THAT ARE BOUGHT WITH LIVES

Letter to the editor in The Guardian, 25 February 1994

It is odd to think that, following two years of savage war in Bosnia, a single mortar attack on a market square in Sarajevo, which killed 70 people and wounded many others, forced the UN Security Council and NATO into action. In the case of East Timor, however, the brutal murder and suppression of tens of thousands of Timorese over the past 15 years seems to have passed without any major concern being expressed by Western governments.

Even worse, while preventing the supply of arms to Bosnian forces against Serb aggression for fear of escalating the war and causing more fatalities, the British government seems only too willing to supply arms to the Indonesian government, using the justification of jobs for UK arms manufacturers. It is crucial to detach the issue of human rights, self-determination and economic activity. In the case of East Timor, however, the British government seems to have placed the jobs of UK nationals before the principles of self-determination and human rights.

The Government is using the British public as a shield to justify its arms policy to Indonesia. One wonders whether the British public approve of this. Do we really want to support brutal regimes for the sake of saving thousands of jobs in the UK? Surely the answer cannot be yes. If it is, then we have to take some responsibility for having blood on our hands.

Paresh Motla,
41, Glanville Road, Oxford

LORD AVEBURY IN HOUSE OF LORDS DEBATE ON AID

Statement by Lord Avebury, Chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group, in amplification of his remarks in the debate on aid in the House of Lords, opened by Lord Redesdale, March 2, 1994.

[This is the full text of Lord Avebury's statement. Owing to the large number of participants in the debate, he had to cut the statement down to seven minutes.]

[Background: Britain's provision of aid to the Pergau Dam in Malaysia has resulted in a huge controversy over the government's aid policy, particularly evidence that help for the dam was given as a sweetener to secure arms deals worth 1,000 million for British arms manufacturers, notably British Aerospace. The controversy has led to PM Mahathir of Malaysia re-instating his 'Buy British Last' policy of the 1980s, after a British newspaper exposed corrupt links between Mahathir and a British construction company. TAPOL]

The debate on Pergau has had the useful effect of stimulating a debate on our aid programme as a whole, and in particular on the relationship between the amount of aid given to a country and the volume of its arms purchases from Britain. From the figures published, it certainly looks as though there is some correlation between the two, and that the recipients of the largest amounts of aid are not the poorest countries.

The Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, said at the Overseas Development Institute on June 6, 1990:

The relief of poverty, hunger and disease is one of the main tasks of overseas aid. We cannot ignore suffering. Aid must go where it can clearly do good. Countries tending towards pluralism, public accountability, respect for the rule of law, human rights and market principles should be encouraged. Those who persist with repressive policies, with corrupt management or with wasteful and discredited economic systems should not expect us to support their folly with scarce aid resources which could be better used elsewhere.

Most would agree with this policy, and with the other variations of it which have been issued from time to time by Ministers. For instance, the Foreign Secretary again, in a letter to the European Commission in August 1991 called for a tough new line, basing the EC's L1.5 billion aid budget on three principles:

- Respect for human rights and the rule of law

- Movement towards democratic and accountable government and the rooting out of corruption
- The pursuit of sound social and economic policies.

In the Annual Review, a fourth principle is added to these. 'Concern for the environment,' we are told, 'runs through the whole of Britain's aid activities, and each project... is assessed for its environmental impact.'

One should recognise, however, that no objective measure of performance exists for each of the first three headings, and the best we can do is to aim at consistency of treatment between different countries. Just as there is no threshold below which human rights violations would not result in arms sales being called into question, as Mr. Douglas Hogg, Minister of State at the FCO, said in an unpublished letter of February 11, so there is apparently no threshold above which human rights violations would result in aid programmes being called into question. We look at the three principles very much in the round, and a comparatively poor human rights record might be compensated for, in the view of Ministers, by high marks for the pursuit of sound social and economic policies.

In the case of Indonesia, Baroness Chalker claimed on July 21, 1993 that as a result of our aid, there had been a reduction in absolute poverty levels; that we had retained our influence over Indonesia, and that by giving aid to projects which help British firms, we were influencing the government to improve the human rights of the Indonesian people dramatically.

Certainly the per capita income of Indonesians has been rising gradually, and they are now just below the threshold of \$700 above which they would cease to qualify for ATP aid. The credit is not due to British aid, however. The main sources of Indonesia's increasing prosperity is the commercial exploitation of natural resources, such as the Achehese gas deposits which are the largest in the world. The people of Acheh are not enjoying respect for human rights and the rule of law, however. Amnesty International, in a report of July 1993, Shock Therapy: Restoring Order in Acheh, concluded that 'the pattern of gross human rights violations reported from Acheh since 1989 continues to warrant urgent international concern,' and stated that the fate of thousands of victims remained unresolved. The UN Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Executions, M Bacre Waly Ndiaye, said in December 1993 that the pattern of killings and disappearances in Acheh was similar to that in East Timor, and there was no fundamental change in the conditions which allowed these phenomena to occur.

The Rapporteur wrote to the Government of Indonesia, expressing his interest in visiting East Timor in accordance with the UN Human Rights Commission's Resolution 1993/97 passed in Geneva a year ago. The Indonesians replied that because they had voted against the Resolution, they did not feel compelled to abide by its provisions, though recently they have said he could visit East Timor in 1994. We should press Jakarta to let him visit Acheh and West Papua as well.

The UN Rapporteur on Torture, Dr. Nigel Rodley, said in January 1994 that he had received information indicating that torture 'has been used routinely in Aceh by military and police authorities since mid-1989.' He too has been denied admission either to Acheh or East Timor, as have the UN Working Parties on Disappearances and Detentions.

The Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances received a letter from the Indonesian authorities saying that 'the allegation of disappearances in Aceh as reported to the Working Group is clearly a fabrication.' Amnesty International's comment on that reply is that it follows a long-established pattern in which the government questions the integrity and impartiality of those who make the allegations, rather than address themselves to the substance of the reports.

Amnesty International's overall view is that the Indonesian Government 'with minor exceptions, has failed to comply with the spirit or the substance of the Commission's recommendations.'

The US State Department, in their Country Report on Human Rights for 1993 state that 'extrajudicial arrests and detention, [and] torture of those in custody.... continued in many areas of Indonesia. Legal safeguards against arbitrary arrest and detention are frequently ignored. The armed forces continued to be responsible for the most serious human rights abuses.'

Asia Watch has just published a report on labour rights in Indonesia in which they detail cases of harassment of union members in late 1993 and early 1994. Indonesia did repeal Decree No 342 of 1986, which authorised military intervention in labour disputes, but the legal basis for intervention was being eroded and not removed. Jakarta had only made that concession because they wanted the US to give benefits to Indonesian exports under the Generalized System of Preferences programme. US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor announced on February 16 that the review was being postponed for six months, no doubt because freedom of association is still restricted; military oversight of labour negotiations, dismissals of workers and interference is

strikes is still within the law; the Jakarta military commander has implied that the repeal of Decree 342 will make no practical difference, and reports of bonded labour continue.

In the film by John Pilger broadcast last week in the Network First series, on East Timor, and in articles by Mr. Pilger, Max Stahl and others, in the last two weeks, claims are made of a secondary massacre after the mass murder in the Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili, on November 12, 1991. The Catholic Church in East Timor says that 270 people were unaccounted for after Santa Cruz, and the Working Group on Disappearances has a list of 207 names, of whom eight have been accounted for by Jakarta. According to survivors interviewed by John Pilger and Max Stahl, the wounded were stabbed and clubbed to death by the soldiers, and some were killed by poisoning.

It is the country which perpetrates atrocities like these, and which has been responsible for the deaths of a quarter of a million East Timorese since the illegal occupation of the territory began in December 1975, which receives lavish aid from Britain and the European Union. The World Development Movement say that over the decade 1980 to 1990, UK bilateral aid to Indonesia rose by 111%. It is the ninth largest recipient of UK aid, and the largest outside the Commonwealth. Indonesia has been second only to Malaysia as a beneficiary of ATP funding since 1989, and this money has gone largely to infrastructure projects like railways and telecommunications which have been criticised for having very little impact on poverty.

One of the largest, and most recent projects financed by British ATP aid in Indonesia is the 65 million Samarinda power plant, the contract for which has been awarded to GEC Alstom. Samarinda is the capital of East Kalimantan, on the island of Borneo, and the electricity from Samarinda will be used for a huge expansion of mining and logging in the area. The Kelian gold mine, Indonesia's largest gold mine, for instance, on the Kelian river, which flows through Samarinda, is one of the biggest of these enterprises. The environmental hazards of this operation were unhappily demonstrated when, in April 1992, heavy rain swept 617 drums of poisonous waste into the river, allegedly causing toxic burns to 13 other people. It was only after this accident that East Kalimantan Governor H M Ardans sent an environmental impact analysis team into the area.

The company, which is partly owned by the British firm Rio Tinto Zinc, is also engaged in a running battle with 440 families displaced by their operations, who lost their homes and livelihoods and were paid com-

pensation varying between \$100 and \$500. Some, who received nothing at all, were still camping on the sequestered land in 1993. Now the company plan to alter the course of the river, further interfering with the Dayak forest-dwellers' way of life. The Tunjung Dayak Community has protested to RTZ against the local company's failure to meet its promises, and the health problems they suffer because of pollution by the chemicals used. If there was an environmental impact study on Samarinda, it should have looked at the potential harm caused by works that are enabled to start up or expand by the extra power.

If Indonesia fails to qualify for British aid as a country which is not among the poorest, and which has easy access to market capital; a country which shows little respect for its own environment; a country which fails to respect human rights and the rule of law; a country which is not tending towards pluralism but has a dictator now in his sixth unopposed term; a country which in the words of the Foreign Secretary persists with repressive policies, then why should we 'support their folly with scarce aid resources which could be better used elsewhere'?

WHERE AID REALLY ENDS UP

Letter to The Guardian, March 4 1994. By John Pilger

In response to my article (February 12), BA Bearpark (Letters February 26), head of information of the Overseas Development Agency, writes that it is "inaccurate" to suggest that much of British aid to Indonesia is for war equipment. He provides a list of where "aid for trade" (ATP) ends up: "railways, short-wave public radio broadcasting, a radio communications network to help protect tropical forests, a flight simulator for domestic airlines, power generators, laboratory equipment," etc. Why doesn't he tell the whole story?

Let's take the communications "aid" that he says has no military use and which is a major part of Britain's "aid for trade" with Indonesia. Since 1984 a third of all British telecommunications projects receiving ATP funding have gone to Indonesia. By an amazing coincidence, the British firms supplying this "aid" are the very same firms supplying the Indonesian military with communications, radar and electronic equipment. According to a submission to the Commons Foreign Affairs Committee by the World Development Movement, one of these firms, Marconi, has supplied both shortwave radio transmitters with the "aid" of ATP of nearly GBP 27 million as well as an integrated communications system for the Indonesian military. And this is no ordinary military. In the mid 1960s, it slaughtered between 300,000 and one million Indonesians in its rise to power. In East Timor since 1975, according to a recent Australian parliamentary study, it has caused the deaths of "at least" 200,000 people or a third of the population.

What else is missing from Mr. Bearpark's list? He fails to mention that almost everything in Indonesia is controlled or influenced by the military. And, inexplicably, he omits a British-funded and built power station that will benefit, among other things, an explosives factory that is part of Indonesia's weapons industry.

Last April Douglas Hurd flew to Jakarta to agree a GBP 65 million "soft" loan to pay for this. And by another coincidence, Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind turned up in Jakarta on Hurd's heels to finalise a deal for British Hawk ground attack aircraft worth around GBP 1 billion. If that sounds familiar, it is. The Pergau dam contract in Malaysia was followed by a GBP 1 billion order of Hawks. That is what Hurd calls "entanglement."

John Pilger
Central Productions, London W1

TRICKS OF THE AID TRADE

Letters page, The Guardian, March 10 1994. By Mark Curtis

In my article published in the Guardian just after the Indonesian massacre of protesters in Dili, East Timor in November 1991, I predicted that the British government would quickly forget the incident and continue good relations with Indonesia. This was not a hard prediction to make.

Now, with repression in the territory continuing and with greater public knowledge of Indonesian atrocities there, the pressure on the British government to cease cosy relationships with the Suharto regime is as great as Whitehall's continuing desire to sweep the whole issue under the carpet.

My understanding is that the Foreign Office has never undertaken any investigation into whether Hawk aircraft supplied by Britain have been used in East Timor.

The Government says it would like "hard evidence" to this effect but the truth is that it does not want any evidence at all. It claims that "if we believe a prospective purchase is likely to be used for repressive purposes against a civilian population, the application is rejected."

Yet Indonesian officials have themselves said that Hawk aircraft might be used for ground attack. The Government also says it scrutinises arms sales on a "case by case basis." How bad does the case have to be before arms sales are rejected? Is over 200,000 deaths by Indonesia in East Timor bad enough?

The scandal over Pergau has led to some interesting admissions over British policy towards Indonesia. The Foreign Secretary has just written that "military contacts are reasonably extensive and gradually increasing, with some training in the UK." Asked about the police management training project funded by the Overseas Development Administration, a Foreign Office minister noted that "some Indonesian public officials trained under our aid programme may subsequently serve in East Timor." In evidence to the Pergau inquiry, both the Foreign Secretary and the ODA minister have dismissed, with no noticeable embarrassment, concern expressed over human rights in East Timor.

As with arms sales to Iraq, is not complicity in genocide in East Timor sufficient for a public inquiry? Could MPs fit this around similar inquiries into Britain's close relations with a Turkish regime killing and forcibly removing Kurds and the British army's training of Khmer Rouge guerrillas in the 1980s?

Mark Curtis

40 DEMONSTRATORS AGAINST 40 AIRPLANES - PROTEST IN BRISTOL

Publico, 17 March 1994. Translated from Portuguese

Forty people wearing T-shirts with the inscription "Oil, Arms, Terror" yesterday walked the 10 kms. which separate the Rolls Royce factory gate in Bristol and one of the city's parks, to protest against the sale of British Hawk combat planes to Jakarta, and to show their opposition to oil from the Sea of Timor being drilled by an Australian-Indonesian consortium.

Among the "walkers" were: the producer of the film "Death of a Nation," David Munro, Dr. Peter Carey, specialist in Asian Affairs at Oxford University, representatives of the Conservative Party and the British "Green" party, a Timorese student, and human rights activists from different part of Great Britain and from Indonesia itself.

It was not by chance that the number of walkers was exactly 40. 24 of the protesters symbolised the 24 Hawk airplanes sold to Jakarta in June 1993, and which are expected to arrive in Indonesia in 1996. The remaining 16 protesters, carrying a tin of oil to symbolise the operations in the Sea of Timor, represented the additional 16 Hawks which London and Jakarta began to negotiate last December. The place from which the walk started out was also significant: the Hawks are equipped with Rolls Royce engines.

In the park, waiting for the 40 protesters and the people who had joined them along the way, were various celebrities, including the Bishop of Clifton and a Labour candidate to the European Parliament.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ADVERTISEMENT IN BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

Mar 18, 1994

The following is the text of an advertisement placed by Amnesty International British Section in newspapers in the UK. The ad has run in The Guardian, The Observer and is due to run in The Independent, The Independent on Sunday, The Times (Supplements) and Private Eye. Response so far has been excellent. For more information, please contact Karen Sherlock at Amnesty British Section.

[CAPTION TO PHOTOGRAPH: This picture was taken at the height of a massacre in Dili, capital of East Timor, as Indonesian

troops killed 250 unarmed people. The boy is dying. The woman on the right...]

HOW EMBARRASSING.

The scene is Dili, East Timor, a territory forcibly occupied by Indonesia since 1975. It is 12 November, 1991. The time is 8am.

A crowd of East Timorese, among them children as young as six, had gathered in a cemetery to mourn the killing of a friend and to call for their country's independence.

Without warning, Indonesian troops opened fire on the crowd. People began to run. As bullets struck, scores fell dying.

A foreign film crew and an English photographer were among the crowd. When the shooting started, the photographer dived into a small, open crypt, through which bullets were ripping.

At the instant of this picture, he is flattened against a wall, his body shielding a heap of children - older children lying on younger ones to protect them.

Five feet away, the boy in his friend's arms is dying. Another behind them lies dead.

The blurred shape in right foreground is a woman who has just run into the crypt. The dark marks on her face and clothes are blood. If you had been there, you would have seen that a chunk of her face was shot away.

If this picture were in colour, all you would notice is blood.

INDONESIA: THE CHILLING FACTS.

This savage massacre in East Timor is only a tiny part of the terror that has gripped Indonesia itself since 1965, when the military, led by General Suharto, seized power.

Inside a year, between 500,000 and 1 million people had been murdered by, or with the compliance of, the military.

In Java in the mid-1980s, five thousand people were killed by government death squads. In these 'mysterious killings,' mutilated corpses were left on the streets to rot. President Suharto described this as 'shock therapy.'

Within the last five years, 2,000 civilians have been killed in Aceh, at the northern tip of Sumatra.

Near the village of Alue Mira, Aceh, in July 1993, Amnesty reported a grave containing some two hundred bodies.

Asked about this discovery, Indonesia's Major General Pramono replied, 'I don't think it could have been two hundred bodies. It's hard to tell with arms and heads all mixed up.'

Few other nations are so casual about mass murder.

AMNESTY'S UNHEEDED WARNINGS.

Amnesty has been tracking the Indonesian Government for nearly thirty years.

We have found every form of human rights abuse - and on a staggering scale - imprisonment without trial, political murder, killing of petty criminals, execution of the old and sick, torture, rape, 'disappearance' and mass murder.

The regime holds on to power by a sophisticated ideological and military apparatus. The courts work alongside the military to suppress dissent.

Just owning the wrong book can get someone thrown in jail for many years.

Anyone suspected of harbouring unpatriotic thoughts - by which the regime means any criticism of its actions - is liable to imprisonment and torture, possibly worse.

In November 1992, Antony Ginting, a bus conductor in the town of Deli Tue, North Sumatra, was abducted by police who beat him, rubbed chilis in his eyes, burned him with cigarettes, urinated in his face, smashed his fingers with a hammer, stabbed his head with a screw driver and shot him 12 times in the legs. The reason? They suspected him of theft.

In Madura, East Java, four peasant farmers were killed because they dared to protest against a dam that would drown their fields.

Ordinary Indonesians are afraid and in this climate of fear, human rights abuse has become part of the system of government.

Over and over, year after year, Amnesty has warned the world's leaders. Again and again, they have turned a deaf ear.

MASS MURDER IN EAST TIMOR.

East Timor is the eastern half of the island of Timor, 400 miles north of Australia. It was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since then at least 200,000 East Timorese, one-third of the population, have been killed, or died of starvation.

Recently, at the National Film Theatre, John Pilger's film 'Death of a Nation' - about the fate of the Timorese people - was previewed before an invited audience.

Among them was a group of people from Amnesty International.

The film had been running less than five minutes when a series of brutal images erupted across the screen - the audience found itself looking at footage taken at the Santa Cruz cemetery as the soldiers opened fire.

As the auditorium filled with screams of wounded and dying people - sounds our photograph cannot convey - a man in the audience began to sob and curse.

MASSACRE? WHAT MASSACRE?

At Amnesty we know every frame of this awful footage by heart.

On the day of the massacre, our Urgent Action Network swung into action and thousands of individuals poured faxes, telegrams and letters of protest in to the Indonesian Government. Within 48 hours of the massacre Amnesty had flashed two detailed reports to governments around the world.

Western governments did nothing.

Emboldened by the lack of action, the Indonesians claimed that only 19 people had died. They dismissed Amnesty's reports as lies.

On screen, John Pilger was questioning Indonesia's Ambassador to the UN, Nugroho Wisnumurti.

Pilger: "The statement by Amnesty International described the situation in East Timor as one of arbitrary arrest, torture, disappearance, executions and massacre. Are they lying?"

Wisnumurti: "Yes, I think the..."

Pilger: "Amnesty is lying...really?"

Wisnumurti's face filled the screen as he replied, 'Despite that statement, have you seen people being shot?'

The audience, which had just seen film of the cemetery massacre, gave vent to disbelieving laughter. The man at the back of the cinema screamed 'Liar! Liar!'

But if Indonesian politicians are clumsy with the truth - ours have got hypocrisy down to a fine art.

HYPOCRISY IN HIGH PLACES.

John Major made it a point of his diplomacy to argue that poor countries should spend more on meeting basic human needs - and less on arms.

But in 1991, he shook hands with Indonesia's Trade & Industry Minister, B.J. Habibie, to whom Britain has now agreed to sell 40 Hawk military jets.

Whitehall says the Hawks won't be used against civilians. But how on earth can they be sure?

Especially when the same B.J. Habibie whose hand John Major shook has clearly stated that, 'the planes will be not only be used to train pilots but also for ground attack.'

There are only a couple of places where the Indonesian military could conceivably use ground attack aircraft - in Aceh and East Timor.

For God's sake, what kind of morality is it where sleeping with an actress can get a minister hounded from office - but it's okay to sell lethal weapons without legal guarantees that they won't be used to kill innocent people?

THE CYNICISM OF REALPOLITIK.

When governments pretend not to notice suffering, to whom can peoples like those of Indonesia and East Timor turn for help?

The United Nations? Alas, the deeper you delve, the redder the faces.

The cynicism of realpolitik extends even to the UN Commission on Human Rights, of which Indonesia is a member.

When Amnesty attended the Commission in Geneva last month to urge action on Indonesia and East Timor, we met only embarrassment.

The governments to which we spoke repeated what they've been promising us for 30 years: they will pursue a policy of 'quiet diplomacy.'

They might as well go fishing.

The picture on this page is the result of 'quiet diplomacy.' No wonder governments are embarrassed.

'SHUT UP!'

In the cinema, as evasive politicians succeeded one another on screen, the man in the audience began interrupting virtually every sentence, screaming his frustration.

People began sssshhhing. 'Shut up,' someone hissed, 'we're trying to watch a film.'

But the man in the cinema wasn't watching a film, he was watching his life. Afterwards, when John Pilger took questions, the man apologised. He was East Timorese and three of his brothers had been killed by the Indonesians.

At Amnesty we know how that man feels. Year after year we shout and scream - and people turn away.

Of the millions of people who see this photograph today, few will remember it tomorrow. Fewer still will think about what it means.

Tomorrow in thousands of homes, it will be used to light a fire, to polish shoes on, or thrown away.

If you'd been there and seen with your own eyes what happened in that cemetery, you'd have come home and started your own campaign for those people. No question.

What will you do this morning? Turn the page?

IF YOU READ ON, YOU MUST JOIN US.

In a moment, of course, we are going to invite you to join us and help us try to stop the terror in Indonesia and East Timor.

On past performance, you're quite likely to ignore us and turn the page.

Before you do, let us tell you the rest of the story of this photograph.

When the shooting stopped, soldiers came into the crypt and dragged out the photographer.

He later told Amnesty, 'All the way to the entrance of the cemetery I was confronted by soldiers brandishing knives and thrusting them towards my face. I was

kicked and beaten and had guns put to my head while they screamed at me.'

He never saw what happened to the others.

But according to an East Timorese exile: 'After they stopped shooting, those who had survived, the ones who could have been saved because they were only wounded in the legs and arms, they were stabbed with bayonets, the ones still inside the cemetery were still breathing but lying on the ground, their heads were crushed with rocks until they died.'

Are you really going to turn the page?

If you knew how much good you could do just by joining us - you wouldn't hesitate. So if you've read this far and you're not already a member of Amnesty, we ask you again, please cut the coupon.

Don't do it tomorrow, do it today. Don't have a cup of coffee first. Do it now. If you can't find a pen, pick up the phone. But do it now.

STORM OVER INDONESIAN ARMS SALES

Green Left #137, March 30, 1994. By Paul Clarke

Britain's Conservative government is facing a growing row over its decision to sell 24 Hawk ground attack planes to Indonesia. Hawks have already been extensively used by Indonesian forces against Fretilin liberation fighters in East Timor.

The storm comes in the wake of the February 22 nationwide TV showing of John Pilger's film about Timor, *Death of a Nation*.

Pilger allowed the phone number of the Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT) to be flashed at the end of the film. Despite the late hour (the movie finished at 12.15am), calls flooded in at 4000 per minute. British Telecom said 100,000 people attempted to phone the campaign within 48 hours.

Public protest over arms sales to Indonesia comes at a bad time for Prime Minister John Major. His government is already under fierce attack over an "aid for arms sales" deal with Malaysia, negotiated by his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher. This involved raiding Britain's meagre overseas development fund, giving A\$480 million to help build the ecologically damaging Pergua dam in Kelantan state.

In return Britain got a 1 billion arms deal - again including Hawk bombers. In addition to cash for the dam, 60 million was donated to Malaysia's ruling UMNO Baru party to secure the arms deal.

Until the showing of Pilger's film, the Timor issue was virtually unknown in Brit-

ain. Now a major protest is planned outside the London annual shareholders' meeting of British Aerospace on April 26.

London CAAT coordinator Will MacMahon told Green Left: "John Pilger's film has woken people up to Britain's role in the Timor tragedy. Claims by John Major that Hawk bombers are just 'training' aircraft and will not be used against the people of East Timor have fooled nobody."

EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

BISHOPS AND PROFESSORS SEEK MONEY FOR TIMOR

Publico, 25 February 1994. By Adelino Gomes

On 23 February, Lisbon's two Auxiliary Bishops (one also being Principal of the Catholic University), the Principals of the Universities of Oporto and Coimbra, and the Coordinator of the Days for Timor, delivered a request to President of the Republic Mario Soares that the Portuguese state allocate a "very important and significant" amount of money for actions to promote and secure the "self-determination of East Timor."

In spite of the fact that Portugal's parliament unanimously approved a proposal to open a category in the State's General Budget for 1994, to be managed by the Foreign Ministry, to support the public's initiatives connected with Timor, these five celebrities believe "it is high time" that the State attributes "real, and not just theoretical, importance" to the Timorese cause.

The request consists of a letter addressed to the President of the Republic, President of the Assembly, and to the Prime Minister, signed by Alberto Amaral and Rui Alarcao (Principals of the Universities of Oporto and Coimbra respectively), by Lisbon's Auxiliary Bishops José Policarpo (Principal of the Catholic University), and Januario Torgal Ferreira (Secretary of the Bishops' Conference), and by the Coordinator of the Days for Timor and Oporto Professor Barbedo de Magalhaes.

From among the initiatives and organisations which they believe ought to be given financial support, the signatories highlight: education, and teaching, namely of Portuguese, "legal, material, and moral" support for prisoners and their families, widows and Timorese who are underground, social integration and cultural and vocational training for refugees, the Resistance (including its organisation abroad), the Church, and lobbying activities abroad. Also given special mention were activities relating to the study

of the culture "which some refer to as Luso-Maubere," the creation of an international Foundation or Association for East Timor, and the promotion of dialogue between the peoples of Timor, Portugal and Indonesia "within a framework of respect for the dignity and cultural identity of each, defence of human rights, and international law (including the inalienable right to self-determination), and in accordance with the principles which not only consolidated Portuguese democracy, but also moulded the creation of the Indonesian nation."

This would be a way for "Portuguese democracy" to still successfully bring about "a final and single decolonisation process in East Timor," the subscribers conclude, "confident in the leaders, in whom popular suffrage has conferred the authority to govern the destinies" of "democratic and humanist" Portugal, to which they say they are proud to be part of.

121 PORTUGAL-BASED COMPANIES TRADED WITH INDONESIA IN 1993

Publico, 26 February 1994. By Alfredo Leite. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

(Lisbon) A partially state-owned company, an aviation company, four firms connected with Pedro Feist, and various multinationals are among 121 companies, based in Portugal which traded with Indonesia last year. 4,000,000,000 Escudos worth of trade, but little thought for solidarity.

Business dealings between Portuguese and Indonesians are on the increase. While in 1992 about 80 Portuguese companies traded with Jakarta, the figure rose in 1993 to 121, of which 115 imported Indonesian products and five exported to that country (one company imported and exported). These figures are reported in the foreign trade index, drawn up by the National Institute of Statistics (INE), and refer to the period between January to October 1993.

Just as in 1992, Tabaqueira (Portuguese tobacco company) is listed on the index as having conducted business with Indonesia in 1993. The company's public relations spokesman, Santos Costa, informed *Publico* in writing that "since June 1991, Tabaqueira has not acquired any products originating from that country."

Santos Costa said there was a "quite simple" explanation for Tabaqueira appearing on the list of companies trading with Indonesian in 1993: "Stem tobacco is purchased long before (sometimes over 24 months before) it is actually used in production." "The last customs clearance of Indonesian tobacco, which had been imported before the end of the first half of 1991, took

place in August 1993." Until then, the product was in storage "at customs, in a warehouse belonging to the company."

Portugalia (air transport company) is also on the INE document, although the company's chairman, João Ribeiro da Fonseca, says that "only parts for aircraft have been purchased through FOCA or Swissair, while catering is done in Lisbon." The Portugalia chief affirmed that the company has "no product whatsoever which could have been bought from Indonesia, or even made there."

Pedro Feist, on Lisbon's Town Council, and executive of the toy firm Concentra, also denies any direct trade with Jakarta. "I do not know anyone in Indonesia, nor have I ever spent so much as a cent in that country," he stated, although he did concede that "toys manufactured in Indonesia often reach Portugal" through multinational's in the toy industry. In addition to Concentra, three other companies linked to Pedro Feist (Chaves & Feist, Lda., Feist & Costa Lda., and Sportcom-Comercio de Artigos Desportivos Lda.) are listed by the INE as also having traded last year with Jakarta.

However, when contacted by *Publico*, the majority of these companies denied having any trade relations with Indonesia. The Empresa Madeirense de Tabacos (Madeira tobacco company), with headquarters in Funchal, also denied trading with Indonesia. According to José Luis Macedo, he has been with the company for "over 12 years," and does not recall "any imports from Indonesia." Macedo assured that, if there had been trade with that country, his conscience would not be troubled in the slightest, and added that he had no idea "where their suppliers buy the raw material."

José Loureiro, of gunsmiths A. Montez, Lda., also denies purchases with a "made in Indonesia" label. Regarding the company being on the INE list, he would be sending the Institute a clarification. Construction company Pluma, of Vila Nova de Gaia, also appears on the list, as it did in 1992. However, Isabel Leite explained the reason for this: "Some time ago we imported plywood from Singapore, from a company which later moved to Indonesia, so we then stopped those imports..."

The Vicaima company, belonging to Alvaro Costa Leite, was also doing business with Indonesia, although one of the company's executives explained: "We received a semi-finished wood product, bought from England, but which we later realised was from Indonesia." He acknowledged that, in the wood industry, "they are usually one-off, sporadic purchases, made to try out different wood."

The most complicated explanation came from Ecco'let Portugal, the only company which conducts import and export business

with Indonesia. "We are a Danish group," reveals company public relations person Manuel Pacheco. And the group "does business with Indonesia, and Ecco even has a factory in that country." Company executives said that "the entire production goes to the mother company in Denmark, and only then is it distributed to other countries." Even in these circumstances, Manuel Pacheco denies the existence of trade with Indonesia.

The above are just a few examples of how businessmen have ignored appeals from the Minister of Trade and Tourism. In November 1991, the Minister, Faria de Oliveira, appealed to the business community to cease trade relations with Indonesia. However, time has faded the appeals made in the name of solidarity with the people of East Timor and, now, everything seems to point to relations between the two countries continuing just as before.

In spite of *Publico*'s efforts, it was not possible to get Minister Faria de Oliveira's views on the above data, before going to print.

PORTUGUESE TRADE MINISTER WARNS IMPORTERS OF GOODS FROM INDONESIA

Publico, 27 February 1994. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) The Minister of Trade and Tourism, Faria de Oliveira, admitted yesterday that "it is not possible to do anything to stop the imports" of goods from Indonesia. He did, however, threaten with importers with "the severity of the Inspectorate-General of Economic Activities," which will be encouraged to carry out "inspections to ensure the quality of the goods being imported." This was the Minister's reaction, in statements made to TSF, to the news made public in yesterday's *Publico*, which listed 121 companies in Portugal that traded with Jakarta between January and October 1993. The list includes a partially state-owned company, an air transport company, and various multinationals. Faria de Oliveira regretted the fact that trade with Indonesia had increased, and thought that the situation "clearly justified appealing once again to Portuguese businessmen."

MORE MONEY FOR AFRICA, MONEY FOR A SEMINAR IN ET

Publico, 2 March 1994. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged.

(Lisbon) This year, the money which has been collected, through the sacrifices made during Lent by the Catholic communities of Portugal's 20 dioceses, in preparation for Easter, will go mostly to people of the former Portuguese colonies, and towards the construction of a seminary in East Timor.

East Timor will receive the money collected in three of the dioceses - Lisbon, Portogale, and Vila Real - to build a seminary.

GOVERNMENT ASKS TOBACCO COMPANY FOR CLARIFICATION

Publico, 2 March 1994. By Alfredo Leite. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) The Minister for Trade and Tourism, Faria de Oliveira, is to ask the Tabaqueira (Portugal's tobacco company) for clarification "of whether its trade with Indonesia is inevitable, or if there is simply a need to reiterate the warnings prohibiting trade relations with that country." In statements to *Publico*, Faria de Oliveira confirmed that he had exchanged views "with management," and hoped "to have further clarification on the matter by tomorrow."

These were Faria de Oliveira's comments on the *Publico*'s article (26 February edition) in which state-owned Tabaqueira was included in a list of 121 companies in Portugal which had business dealings with Jakarta in 1993. This figure represents a considerable increase compared to the 1992 figure (about 80 companies), in spite of the appeal by the Minister, launched straight after the Santa Cruz massacre, addressed to the business community, to avoid trade relations, in solidarity with East Timor.

In the Minister's view, in the light of these facts, there is now more justification than ever for "the business community to be called to attention, once again, and asked to avoid any kind of trade relations" with that country. Faria de Oliveira recalled that, "under international trade regulations, our country cannot decree any embargo on trade relations with Indonesia." However, he did admit that "the institutions in charge of inspecting economic activities and quality control of goods which we import, are going to redouble their efforts."

"The Inspectorate-General of Economic Activities is going to be even more vigilant with regard to Indonesian goods," the Minister warned. In cases in which Indonesia's

position "clearly dominates the world market," the Minister admitted that it could be "difficult to find alternatives." He added that "in such circumstances, I think it is preferable to conduct those business dealings through the EC, rather than directly."

COMMUNIST PARTY PROPOSES CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR

Diario de Noticias (DN), 3 March 1994. By Carla Baptista, João Pedro Henriques. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Yesterday in parliament, Communist MP, Miguel Urbano Rodrigues, accused the government of doing nothing "to take up, or to support initiatives that could contribute towards increasing international solidarity."

He promised that his party is going to continue to push for the resolution, presented by the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre, to be put on the agenda and discussed, and he proposed that a conference on Timor be held.

Manuel Moreira, for the PSD (party in government) replied, accusing the PCP of not respecting the spirit of national unity surrounding the issue of Timor. Mario Tome, for the UDP, demanded that material support be given to representatives of the Resistance abroad, while Corregedor da Fonseca (ID) considered it "wrong" that parliament had not ensured representation at the UN Human Rights Commission.

REPORT ON TIMOR

PSD Euro MP, Rui Amaral, is going to propose that the European Parliament instruct its Foreign Affairs Commission to prepare a report on the situation in Timor.

Meanwhile, the Timorese delegation to Geneva managed to negotiate the intervention at the Commission of at least one of the eye witnesses to the so-called "second massacre" in Timor. João Dias has been given five minutes by the Anti-Racism Movement. Max Stahl, the reporter who filmed the documentary in the territory, is also going to intervene.

Yesterday, delegates from Portugal and Indonesia met, and tried to come up with a "joint statement" on the subject of Timor. Greece should be speaking today, on behalf of the EU, on human rights violations, and will include the case of East Timor. A Commission source told the DN that the speech includes a reference to the release of Xanana Gusmão.

Amnesty International was the only NGO to refer yesterday to East Timor. The organisation accused Indonesia of having

"done nothing" to punish those responsible for 12th November, and to find those "missing."

TIMORESE STUDENTS DEMAND INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY

PRESS RELEASE, 4 March 1994

Issued by the Representacao Conjunta da Resistencia Timorese (Lisbon)

The seven Timorese students, who were denied political asylum by the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta, and who recently arrived in Portugal after an intervention by the Portuguese authorities, will take public action, in the form of a symbolic hunger strike, in front of the United Nations secretariat in Lisbon, from 4 March until 11 March.

They are publicly backing the demands of the Timorese resistance, which are:

- 1) that a full and impartial international inquiry be made into the massacre in Dili of 12 November 1991 which should determine the whereabouts of the hundreds of those missing since this tragic event;
- 2) that the meeting of the United Nations Commission for Human Rights, in Geneva, should re-affirm that the violation of human rights in East Timor is a consequence of the violation of the fundamental right of the people of East Timor for self-determination, which makes a referendum in East Timor a matter of urgency;
- 3) that Xanana Gusmão and all other political prisoners be released and that the great leader of the resistance participate in a process of dialogue about the question of East Timor, under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

From Council Representative Luis Cardoso de Noronha. Messages of solidarity can be faxed to: 351-1-397-7128.

CAVACO SILVA CONFIDENT ABOUT PORTUGUESE ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Reuter, March 7 1994. By Robert Powell. Excerpt

(Lisbon) Cavaco Silva accused Indonesia of failing to honour a pledge to improve human rights in East Timor as part of confidence building measures between the two countries.

"Our efforts are concentrated on human rights in the territory because in fact Indonesia is not respecting what she accepted last year in Geneva," he said.

Indonesia invaded and annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1975, but its rule is

not recognised by the United Nations and Portugal continues to demand that its 750,000 people should be allowed to choose independence if they wish.

The Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers are due to meet again in May under U.N. auspices to discuss the dispute.

PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER TO RECEIVE LORD AVEBURY FOR DISCUSSIONS ABOUT EAST TIMOR

Parliamentarians for East Timor issued the following Press Release 11 March 1994:

The Portuguese Prime Minister, Professor Anibal Cavaco Silva, on a two-day official visit to London, will receive Lord Avebury, chair and co-founder of Parliamentarians for East Timor and of the all-party Parliamentary Human Rights Group, for a discussion about East Timor, the former Portuguese colony which is now illegally occupied by Indonesia.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's unlawful integration of East Timor in 1976 and regards Portugal as the Administering Power of the territory.

The meeting with the Prime Minister will take place at 11am on Saturday, 12 March, at the Berkeley Hotel, Wilton Place, SW1.

Lord Avebury, a tireless advocate of self-determination for many suppressed peoples around the world, is one of this country's most outspoken defenders of East Timor's right to self-determination. He founded Parliamentarians for East Timor in 1987, along with MPs from Japan and Australia.

In February this year, Lord Avebury led a delegation of parliamentarians from Sweden, Ireland and Australia to meet UN Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York, to press the UN for a speedy solution to the 19-year-long illegal occupation of East Timor. In March 1991, Lord Avebury met Dr. Boutros-Ghali's predecessor, Dr. Peres de Cuellar, also for discussions about East Timor.

Responding to the Indonesian government's public pledge last September to allow greater access for human rights organisations to visit East Timor, Lord Avebury asked the Indonesian ambassador for permission to visit East Timor last October. He is still waiting for a reply. This is his third attempt to visit East Timor.

Lord Avebury will be available to meet the press immediately following his meeting with Prime Minister Dr. Cavaco Silva.

For more information, ring Carmel Budiardjo on 081 771-2904 today, 11

March 1994, or Lord Avebury on 071 274-4617 this evening or tomorrow.

RETURN TO ITS RIGHTFUL OWNER

O Independente, 4 March 1994. By José Luis Ribeiro. Translated from Portuguese.

(Lisbon) Two Portuguese want to recover their hotel in Dili. The Foreign Ministry has advised them to seek the help of third parties, that are not official Portuguese bodies.

An Indonesian General, thought to be a relative of President Suharto, is managing and reaping the profits from a Dili hotel, known as the Hotel Resende, which is the property of two Portuguese - Antonio José and Maria de Lurdes Coelho. They inherited the property, which is situated close to the Palácio do Governo in Timor, and have been trying to get the Foreign Ministry to assist them. The Ministry's answer, however, was clear: seek the assistance of third parties.

The situation dates to the time when Indonesia occupied Timor. Leocadia Coelho and her children, Antonio José and Maria de Lurdes, were forced to leave Timor. The head of the family, Amadeu Coelho, stayed behind, as did the family's possessions, namely: the Hotel Resende, valued at "hundreds of millions of Escudos," a fleet of cars for hire, and shares in an oil company.

Amadeu Coelho died in December 1975 in Maubisse, as his widow explained in a statement sent to the Foreign Ministry in 1985.

Meanwhile, Leocadia Coelho had made various contacts in an attempt to sell the hotel to the Indonesians. In November 1976, she received a letter from the then "Governor" of the territory in which he clearly wrote that: "The Hotel is yours. Both the Jakarta central government, and the provincial government of Timor-Timur respect property rights." Unfortunately, the words of Lopes da Cruz did not translate into reality. In January 1983, he informed her that "Mario Carrascalão is currently Governor of Timor. Write to him, or to his wife, about your case." Nothing more was heard from the "ex-governor" of Timor, who is now Indonesia's itinerant ambassador, after a fax was sent to him in August 1993, by the lawyer representing the heirs of Ferreira Coelho.

There is one overriding certainty in this case, which is that General Hartanto, believed to be General Suharto's son-in-law, is managing, and profiting from the Hotel Resende. Little is known about what happened to the shares and the fleet of car-hire vehicles. Determined not to give up, and to recover what belongs to them, the heirs sent a

detailed statement to the Portuguese Foreign Ministry last August. According to Guilherme Figueiredo, the lawyer acting for the heirs, the idea was that the Minister would raise the matter in the general discussions underway with Indonesia and, in this way, would bring about the discussion of patrimony left by the Portuguese in Timor.

In its reply, the Foreign Ministry stated that "in the present circumstances, the Portuguese authorities are not in a position to broach their Indonesian counterparts on the subject of settling problems, such as the one affecting the Ferreira Coelho family." It goes on to add: "There is nothing to stop you, in your individual capacities, from seeking satisfaction, or from resorting to third parties (which are not official Portuguese bodies) to act as intermediaries for you." In other words, the Foreign Ministry is advising the Portuguese to try to resolve, in their own way and with whomever they see fit, a problem existing in a territory which the UN says is under Portuguese administration.

And that is precisely what will happen. The lawyer acting for the heirs says that, next summer, if nothing has been resolved in the meantime, he will go to Indonesia to discuss the payment of compensation with the Indonesians.

"Under our own law, and international law, the hotel belongs to the Portuguese. Unfortunately, we cannot get the law to be applied. Quite apart from the comprehensive solution which is being sought for Timor, it is necessary to deal with specific cases, but the Foreign Ministry seems to be washing its hands of that area," stated the lawyer.

According to a Foreign Ministry source, when a "comprehensive solution" had been reached for Timor, "the Portuguese State would make every effort to help in such cases, but is unable, at the moment, to do anything, because of the given political reasons."

Our Foreign Ministry source admitted that the only way is for the Portuguese, in their individual capacities, to take the steps they deem necessary to resolve their problems, including recourse to Indonesian justice.

It looks as though that is what is going to happen. even though it does not please the Ferreira Coelho family, who are going to submit the case to Indonesian legislation, thereby implicitly recognising Timor as territory annexed to Suharto's country.

LUSITANIA GROUP FORMS ASSOCIATION

Diario de Noticias, 11 March 1994. Translated from Portuguese

Tomorrow in Lisbon, just two years after the Mission for Peace in Timor, the 12 November Association is being launched by the same group that, aboard the Lusitania Express in protest about the 12 November massacre, was met by the Indonesian navy.

The coordinator of the Lusitania mission, Rui Marques, hopes that the new association will eventually become a "mass movement" in support of the Timor cause, in which everyone will be able to take part and help the actions of the Timorese. According to the director of the magazine "Student Forum," the Association will act along three lines, complementing other pro-Timorese associations and, at the same time, working to offset the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association.

The first line of action will "support the preservation of Timorese culture and identity," on the basis of the conviction that "the Timorese issue is not just a political and military issue." Rui Marques says the Timorese case is similar to that of the historical struggle of the Jewish people against extermination. The second line is linked to the need "to internationalise and mediate" the situation created in the territory by Indonesia's violent invasion, to which recent TV documentaries, filmed secretly in Timor, bear witness. The third line will deal with creating a "centre for training and emergency help" for young Timorese, and supporting all their actions.

In response to criticism of the Lusitania Express mission, Rui Marques says that "no responsible and credible Timorese criticised the mission," and referred to the letter of thanks written by Xanana Gusmão on 20 May 1992: "I think that only in time will the Lusitania Express be appreciated as being the first action of a coherent idea."

CAVACO SILVA MEETS PET

Publico, 13 March 1994. By Antonio Martins Mourao. Translated from Portuguese

(London) Lord Avebury, Chairman of the International Group of Parliamentarians for East Timor, told Prime Minister Cavaco Silva that, by selling arms to Indonesia, Great Britain was not complying with the rules of the European Council on Security and Cooperation, to which it has subscribed late last year. During the meeting, held yesterday in London, Lord Avebury also informed the Portuguese PM about the activities of this pressure group, consisting of members from 25 countries.

In terms of international action, there was a two-hour discussion on the implications of the joint declaration recently issued by the Human Rights Commission in Geneva, and the chances of the Suharto regime being bound by it. Diplomatic sources told *Publico* that, although the declaration was "on the whole satisfactory," it is no guarantee of any tangible progress for the Timorese cause.

Even so, the new legal instrument could force Jakarta to open its doors to East Timor, to allow humanitarian organisations, diplomatic observers and journalists to enter. And it is here that there could be a difference. "We are going to demand complete freedom of movement within the Timorese territory," Lord Avebury told *Publico*. This is "the only way to clarify whether Hawk aircraft are being used against the civilian population" he said.

The only argument which allows British arms sales to Indonesia to continue could might then collapse, because the British Government says it has received guarantees that the aircraft are only used for training. At the same time, the reliability of eye witnesses has been doubted. However, with more information about the air attacks, "British public opinion will certainly cause pressure," and this has already started to become more evident since the showing of the Pilger film "Death of Nation."

The discontent caused by "years of ineffective diplomacy have led to the current search for stronger positions which could be more disruptive for the Indonesian regime," said Lord Avebury, adding that "The Prime Minister and I agreed on the need to keep the whole process within the recognised institutional rules."

Lord Avebury concluded that the next step will be taken in April, during the bilateral Luso-Indonesian talks, during which self-determination for the Timorese will be requested.

BISHOP AND SOARES TALK ABOUT TIMOR

Jornal de Noticias, 15 March 1994. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) The role of the Australian Church in relation to East Timor, and the situation in the territory were subjects of discussion yesterday between the President of the Republic and the Auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne.

Hilton Deakin, who was in Timor for 30 days, eight months after the Santa Cruz massacre, explained to Mario Soares that he had been very shocked by what he had learned in the territory, especially about the rape and torture of people there.

The Bishop is in Portugal to take part in the conference on "Portuguese expansion and East Timor," to be held tomorrow in at the University of Oporto.

Professor Barbedo de Magalhaes was also present at the meeting with Mario Soares, and said later that the Australian Church has been closely following the East Timor issue.

The Professor, one of the conference organisers, said that "many young Australians are going to offer to go and work in Timor," but added that he had doubts about Indonesia agreeing to such an initiative.

Speaking to journalists, Hilton Deakin admitted he was disappointed with the way the Australian government had treated Timor, and emphasised that Australia's aim is to develop its relations with Indonesia, even if it is prejudicial to East Timor.

With regard to the Bishop of Dili, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, Hilton Deakin said he was a friend of his, although he did not wish to reveal the content of their talks about Timor. He just quoted what the Bishop had once told an Australian journalist: "in Timor, day is like night."

Meanwhile, the statutes of the Together for Timor Association (Associacao Juntos por Timor - AJPT) were approved by the Founding Commission, and its constitution as a legal body can now proceed. Future AJPT actions were also decided. On 16 March at 20.30 hrs. in Povoia do Varzim, a dinner has been arranged, to which the 7 Timorese who sought refuge in the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta have been invited.

COMMISSION LXLT TO BRIEF EMBASSIES IN LISBON

Press Release from Commission LXLT Mar 20, 1994

Commission "Liberdade para Xanana, Liberdade para Timor," (Commission LXLT in short), asked for audiences to the Embassies in Lisbon of Greece (currently heading the EU), the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The goal was to pass these Embassies the Commission's concern about the current situation in East Timor, to urge their countries to adopt a clear and positive standing on the matter during the running UN Human Rights Commission and to make practical suggestions regarding the improvement of the situation of the East Timorese political prisoners.

The audiences took place on the 3rd. and 4th. of March and their outcome was above our expectations. Facts in common for the three audiences were: in all the cases, Com-

mission LXLT's counterpart was a high-ranking officer: the 1st. secretary (USA), the counsellor (UK) or even the ambassador (Greece); a relatively lengthy, sometimes detailed, discussion occurred (around one hour each); they proved that the Embassies staff is in general well-prepared and motivated to discuss the subject; as a result of the talks, in all the cases the Embassy representative informed that he would make a note to his Foreign Affairs Ministry on the content of it.

The degree of information on the matter varies from what can be described as a basic perception (Greece) to a in-deep, "technical," knowledge (UK, USA). Also the atmosphere of the discussion being in general open and friendly was a bit different for the UK, much more on the defensive.

What is probably the most surprising of all is that just two years ago, this Commission (or any other) would hardly have succeed on appointing these meetings. Just after the Santa Cruz massacre, the best some hundreds of East Timor supporters demonstrating in front of the American Embassy could get, was having a receptionist receiving a message.

Some reasons can be suggested for these changes, the most relevant ones being: the new foreign affairs policy of the Clinton Administration; strong criticism against arms trade in the Portuguese press, specially focusing the UK (for instance, during the last visit to Lisbon of Douglas Hurd, two weeks ago, 80% of the questions raised at the press conference concentrated on the Hawks deal); the growing awareness of the question by diplomatic circles and public opinion in general.

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

HALL RELEASES BELO LETTER

March 2, 1994 Congressional Record Extensions of Remarks;

Update on Situation in East Timor by Hon. Tony P. Hall of Ohio

Mr. Hall of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, for many years, I have been deeply concerned over the tragedy in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and has since been the scene of widespread repression and human suffering. At least 100,000 of a population of less than 700,000 perished since the occupation began, far from the spotlight of international attention. The world was also shocked by the televised

images of the massacre of perhaps more than 250 people that took place at Santa Cruz cemetery on Nov. 12, 1991. Both before the 1991 massacre and subsequently, I have been joined by numerous colleagues of both parties in the House and Senate in expressing concern about this situation.

Last March I was gratified to see the strong stand of the Clinton Administration at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, where the United States for the first time voted for a resolution on the East Timor situation. Thereafter, in July, President Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor when he met with Indonesian President Suharto in Tokyo. President Clinton deserves credit for taking these actions.

Nonetheless, the news from East Timor has continued to be extremely disturbing. A letter of January 14, 1994 by East Timor's highly respected Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, outlines recent instances of torture and brutality, as well as problems of missionary priests who are seeking extension of their residency visas. These accounts are consistent with similar reports received by other church and human rights organizations over the past six months, and belie the contention that the situation in East Timor is improving. The consistent nature of the repression in East Timor makes it clear that until and unless there is an unmistakable policy decision on the part of the Indonesian military, systematic abuse of East Timor's people will continue.

Consistent and assiduous American diplomatic pressure on Indonesia's leaders is needed to encourage Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor and bring about a long overdue peace for its long-suffering people. Now is not the time to relax such pressures. The East Timor question will be discussed once again in late February at this year's session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission. I strongly recommend that the Clinton Administration continue to support human rights and peace initiatives on East Timor at the United Nations in both New York and Geneva, and in regular high-level diplomatic exchanges with the Indonesian government. I call upon my colleagues to support such efforts. The situation in East Timor demands no less.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I have attached some excerpts of Bishop Belo's January 14, 1994.

EXCERPTS FROM BISHOP BELO'S LETTER

1) With this letter I would like to let you know that torture continues in East Timor. On December 23, 1993 in the parish of Ossu, County of Viqueque, the military

captured several young Catholics, beat them, tortured them and forced them to declare that they participated in a subversive meeting. On January 4, 1994 in Dili, the military were waiting for a young man named Salvador Sarmiento, who is a student at the Pastoral Institute, and when he left the classroom they took him, stuck him in a military vehicle and took him to a place where he was kicked, beaten, tortured, until he was almost dead. Then they forced his parents, who are illiterate, to declare that they had seen their son participate in subversive meetings. With these kind of injustices, they want to force a declaration that Father Sancho Amaral is a priest who is against Indonesia.

2) We have problems with regard to three of our Salesian missionaries. The military do not want to extend the visas of Father Locatelli (Italian), Father Andres Calleja (Spaniard) and Father João de Deus (Portuguese), because they say that the three are helping Fretilin.

3) The third problem has to do with our young people. The Indonesian authorities have taken more than 400 young East Timorese to Java with the promise of work. When they arrived there, they were distributed amongst a number of factories without keeping the initial agreement, there were changes of factory and the young people did not receive a sufficient salary. Many of the young East Timorese in Jakarta suffer like slaves. Two of them have died already. Others are being persecuted and beaten. It is great injustice and suffering.

ARMS SALES CODE INTRODUCED IN CONGRESS

The "Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers" bill, known as H.R.3538, had 52 co-sponsors in the House of Representatives as of March 3. Representatives and Senators need to be urged to join in this effort, which is being led by Representative Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) and Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR).

The following is the statement of Cynthia McKinney when she introduced the legislation on November 18, 1993.

Mr. Speaker:

As a member of the Georgia State Legislature I gave a controversial speech on the involvement of the United States in the Gulf War. I believed then, as I believe now, that American soldiers should not be victims of a short-sighted foreign policy that provides American support for corrupt and anti-democratic regimes.

That was Cold War thinking – the support of dictators, so long as they were

friendly to the U.S. and unfriendly to the Soviet Union. Well, the Soviet Union no longer exists. It is time to end the Cold War thinking that has influenced so much of our policy on arms transfers.

The Children's Defense Fund has a wonderfully provocative poster that reads "Last year we gave \$8 billion in military aid to countries our undereducated children can't even find on a map..."

For the third year in a row, the U.S. retains the world championship in the arms dealing competition. Not only are we the number 1 arms dealer in the world, but our sales exceed all other competitors combined.

Since the end of World War II, forty million people have died in wars fought with conventional weapons.

Does selling these weapons make the world a safer place?

Does military aid and arms sales promote stability and economic progress in the developing world?

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency estimates that each year about one trillion dollars is spent on armed forces around the world. A staggering \$200 billion of this is spent by developing countries, which is equal to about 4 times all the bilateral and multilateral foreign assistance they receive.

The arms race talking place in the Third World drains badly needed funds from infrastructure development, social spending, and business investment. Regional competitors strive to keep parity with one another. Sadly, the weapons are as likely to be turned on domestic populations as historic regional enemies.

We simply can not afford the arms sale frenzy in which we have been engaged. Our children cannot afford it. The children of the developing world cannot afford it.

For years we sold weapons to dictators and provided military training for their officers. We armed the Shah of Iran, we armed Iraq, we armed Panama, we armed Somalia and we armed Haiti. We continue to pay for these sales with American tax dollars and American lives.

There are presently some restraints on the arms trade. But the failures of the present regimen are all too apparent. In Haiti, the military that has overturned the elected government of President Aristide and scorned the Governor's Island Accord is comprised of an officer corps trained in America.

At the very least, American arms should not be sold and U.S. military training should not be provided to governments that oppose American principles.

The United States has led the effort to establish the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms and this is an important

achievement. The United States has engaged in negotiations to reduce the arms trade in volatile regions of the world. The Foreign Affairs Committee, on which I serve, has eliminated many of the earmarks for military aid to countries that abuse human rights and reduced security assistance. These are important actions.

Despite these efforts, the arms trade continues at an alarming level. Something more is needed to reduce the global trade in conventional arms.

The legislation I introduce today will establish a "code of conduct" for arms sales and transfers. An identical bill is being introduced by my Senate colleague, Senator Mark Hatfield. I believe that this is a sensible approach that will increase the chances that we will at least think about what we are doing – to ourselves, to our children, to the world.

Essentially, the legislation would prohibit United States military assistance and arms transfers to foreign governments that are undemocratic, do not adequately protect human rights, are engaged in acts of armed aggression, or are not fully participating in the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, unless the Congress acted to approve such a sale or transfer.

Change is always difficult. There are many interests that view arms as export products. I believe we must export products that reflect the American ideal of prosperity and the good life all our neighbors wish to share.

A tremendous grassroots effort is already underway, and I am pleased to include in the Record a listing of religious, international development, human rights, and economic conversion groups who have endorsed the Code of Conduct campaign. I thank them for all their efforts, which have been crucial to the development of this legislation. The work of these citizen groups represents the best of our vital democracy.

We must end the U.S. role in promoting the global arms trade. Otherwise, we will not be able to accomplish the most important jobs ahead of us – investing in our children's health and education, making sure we all have jobs and homes, making sure we have a global economy that is growing and producing markets for American products – and that every country on the map will be one that every child in America can identify.

I urge my colleagues to lend their names to this important effort.

House Co-sponsors as of March 3:

Rep. Unsoeld, Rep. Oberstar, Rep. Waxman, Rep. Furse, Rep. McCloskey, Rep. Evans, Rep. McDermott, Rep. Rahall, Rep. Woolsey, Rep. Shepherd, Rep. Abercrombie, Rep. Kopetski, Rep. Dellums,

Rep. Sanders, Rep. Penny, Rep. Serrano, Rep. Markey, Rep. Payne, D., Rep. Olver, Rep. Kreidler, Rep. Ford, H., Rep. Stark, Rep. Johnson, T., Rep. Minge, Rep. Maloney, Rep. Blackwell, Rep. Wynn, Rep. Mink, Rep. Jacobs, Rep. Wyden, Rep. Meehan, Rep. Rangel, Rep. Norton, Rep. Durbin, Rep. Faleomavaega, Rep. Clay

MOYNIHAN FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

Letter from New York Democratic Senator Daniel P. Moynihan to the East Timor Action Network. Given his role in the history of East Timor (Moynihan was U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations at the time of the 1975, invasion and worked diligently and successfully to keep the U.N. ineffective), his current views are almost an epiphany.

– Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
March 7, 1994

Dear Mr. Scheiner:

Knowing of your interest concerning the continuing human rights abuses by Indonesia in East Timor, I write to share with you some thoughts on the issue. I share your concern for this longstanding violation of the Charter of the United Nations and for the human rights abuses which Indonesian troops continue to commit. Even Indonesia concedes that the people of East Timor have the right to "self-determination" and yet it refuses to permit them to exercise that right. And the killings continue, as when Indonesian troops slaughtered participants in a peaceful march at the Santa Cruz cemetery near Dili in 1991.

As you may know, one of the final actions of the 102nd Congress was to terminate all military training (IMET) funds for Indonesia indefinitely. I have repeatedly urged the Department of State to take a stronger stand on human rights in Indonesia and East Timor and I support the termination of all non-humanitarian aid to Indonesia. In June, I joined 41 of my colleagues in writing to President Clinton to urge him to discuss the situation in East Timor when he met with Indonesian President Suharto at the time of the G-7 meetings in Tokyo. Additionally I supported an amendment to foreign aid legislation offered by Senator Feingold which requires the President to consult with the Congress as to whether improvements in human rights have taken place before military sales can be approved. The time has long since come for the United States to take a tougher approach with the Indonesian government.

Please be assured that I will continue to monitor this situation and to speak out against human rights violations in Indonesia.

Please do not hesitate to contact me on this or any other issue of concern in the future.

Sincerely,
/signed/
Daniel Patrick Moynihan

A NEW APPROACH TO U.S. FOREIGN AID

Voice of America, March 14. By Erica Benis/Washington

The Clinton Administration is proposing a radical overhaul of the U-S foreign aid program that would support broad objectives, such as "non-proliferation and arms control," "transition from communism to democracy," and "environment, health and population" – and allocate money to achieve such goals, instead of giving aid to specific nations. The draft legislation submitted to congress is called the "peace, democracy and development act of 1994." In this report, _____ looks at the proposed reform of foreign aid, the most far-reaching in the history of the United States.

Calls for reform of U-S foreign assistance have been heard in Washington over the past several years. Building on the 1989 Bush administration proposals, the Clinton administration now has its own reform effort underway. But both Congress and the administration are facing tough choices over how much the United States is willing to spend to promote its interests abroad.

According to the Clinton administration, what has emerged is a smaller and more focused international affairs budget, crafted specifically to address the new foreign policy challenges of the post-cold war era.

The administration is requesting about 20 billion dollars in the 1995 fiscal year, a modest 44 million dollar increase over fiscal 1994. But the administration is seeking more money for its contribution to multilateral development banks such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Richard Bissell is a research fellow at the Overseas Development Council, a policy institute in Washington that studies the economic and social issues of developing countries. He says the new foreign assistance act makes "sustainable development" – through environmentally sound management of land and resources – a high priority.

Bissell: "What's important about the new act that has been submitted by President Clinton to the Congress is that it encompasses much more than [the] traditional

development agenda. We now know in our experience of the last decade or two that it is important, first of all, to have a program that is environmentally sensitive, and there are certainly strong provisions written into the new law that would support environmentally sustainable development."

The United States distributes most of its foreign aid through the Agency For International Development (AID). And the Clinton administration has proposed a new design for the agency.

Andrew Natsios is vice president of "World Vision" – an organization that provides emergency relief, community development and leadership training in 94 nations around the world. He says that along with the new approach will come an enhanced status for the Agency for International Development.

Natsios: "AID is not a statutory agency, so it does not have permanence in the law of the United States, which gives it a much more tenuous and insecure position bureaucratically in the political wars in the city. This bill would make it a permanent agency. And that's a big change."

Under the proposed new approach, the executive branch, rather than Congress, will decide which projects will be funded and in which countries. The Congress is also yielding some of its authority to the administration to design the aid agency the way the administration wants it to be structured.

But some observers say that, even if the foreign assistance bill is rewritten, foreign aid for fiscal 1995 will continue to flow in the familiar pattern already established by the u-s congress. A substantial portion of the overall foreign aid budget, for instance, would continue to go to Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the former soviet union.

Mr. Natsios says that, in fact, 38 percent of the money allocated to U-S foreign aid goes to security assistance for developed countries. That approach, he says, remains controversial.

Natsios: "World Vision view is there needs to be a review of that. Not just in the case of one country or two countries, but worldwide. Our aid should be focused on those countries that are shaky, that are moving toward reform, that are problematic. Assisting countries that are already relatively prosperous or relatively along in the development process, and look like they know what they're doing, probably doesn't make a lot of sense."

The need to reassess U-S international economic policy is underlined by the fact that many developing countries – in part because Of U-S aid – have achieved substantial economic progress. This is the reason behind the phasing out of U-S foreign assistance programs in countries such as Costa

Rica, Botswana, Thailand, Oman, AND Tunisia. Thirteen Latin American countries and nine South Pacific countries are in the same category.

Will the Clinton administration's "Peace, Democracy and Development Act of 1994" make any practical difference? Analysts believe that much will depend on the final version of the act that is passed by Congress, and whether those who help implement the new approach will cooperate with the spirit, as well as the letter of the reform. (signed)

FOREIGN AID OVERHAUL LANGUISHES IN CONGRESS

By Carroll J. Doherty, Congressional Quarterly. April 2, 1994

WASHINGTON – The Clinton administration's ambitious proposal to overhaul the nation's foreign aid program appears to be in trouble in Congress, which shows little interest in tackling the subject this year.

Lawmakers have criticized a number of provisions in the administration's bill, which they say could erode Congress' power of the purse.

But the fundamental difficulty is that, with elections looming this fall, senior Democrats appear uncertain whether to expend the political capital necessary to reform the foreign aid program. The administration, which had billed its foreign aid initiative as nothing less than a cornerstone for a post-Cold War foreign policy, has grown increasingly concerned over the stalemate.

In an effort to jump-start the process, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and J. Brian Atwood, administrator of the Agency for International Development (AID), met recently with the principal players on the legislation – Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on international economic policy.

The session apparently produced no breakthroughs. Hamilton seemed pessimistic about the fate of the administration's plan, which he cosponsored in the House with Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman, R-N.Y. "It's not real clear where that stands, quite frankly," Hamilton said in an interview. "We'll judge whether or not to go forward sometime in April."

The staff of Sarbanes' subcommittee has been drafting its version of a foreign aid reform bill. But the Maryland senator is facing a tough re-election campaign this year, and may have little time to concentrate on foreign affairs.

Christopher and Atwood want to scrap the 1961 law governing foreign aid, which

has become encrusted with scores of outdated provisions and numerous congressionally mandated objectives and accounts.

In its place, they have proposed a slimmed-down bill that would link foreign assistance more closely to clearly identifiable goals – such as promoting peace and democracy – that mirror Clinton's overall foreign policy objectives.

Congress has not enacted a foreign aid authorization bill since 1985. Instead, foreign aid has been provided through the annual foreign operations appropriations bills.

Although most lawmakers believe that the law governing foreign aid needs to reflect the dramatic changes that have taken place in the world, the task of rewriting the statute hardly approaches the sense of urgency of reforming the nation's health care or welfare programs.

Most members of Congress take a dim view of anything associated with foreign aid – even legislation that purports to improve the program's efficiency.

Some advocates of reforming the foreign aid program have urged Clinton to break through that mind-set with a strong pitch in behalf of the legislation. But the president has yet to weigh in, while Christopher and other members of Clinton's foreign policy team have been preoccupied by high-stakes international crises, such as the nuclear standoff in North Korea.

Consequently, the lobbying effort has largely fallen on the shoulders of AID – an agency with scant congressional support or loyalty.

Equally important, the administration's goal of providing the president with greater flexibility to allocate foreign assistance has collided head-on with Congress' traditional desire to control funding.

Many lawmakers have been resistant to the administration's goal of removing all earmarks – congressionally mandated spending levels for specific programs or countries – from the bill. Supporters of Israel long have asserted that the \$3 billion in military and economic aid Congress routinely earmarks for Israel is the "engine" that pulls the foreign operations appropriations bill through Congress. The earmark ensures the backing of politically influential Jewish-American organizations for the legislation.

The administration has indicated it would accept an earmark for Israel, but that could open the door for lawmakers to establish minimum spending levels for other countries and programs.

Sarbanes reportedly has reminded the administration that the Senate, unlike the House, has no Rules Committee to control debate and limit the number of amendments. As a result, the foreign aid bill could trigger extended debate or a filibuster, tying the

Senate in knots. With health-care legislation and other big domestic initiatives coming down to a head this year, Senate leaders may not have room on the calendar for foreign aid.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH / ASIA CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

Testimony of Sidney Jones, (Executive Director, Human Rights Watch/Asia) on Human Rights in East and Southeast Asia before the House Subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs

March 17, 1994

(Country-specific sections other than Indonesia/East Timor omitted).

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me the opportunity to testify. My name is Sidney Jones, and I am the Executive Director of Human Rights Watch/Asia, formerly Asia Watch. The region of East and Southeast Asia is so vast and the human rights issues so complex, that I will have to be selective rather than comprehensive in addressing them. I would like to focus on China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Burma, Thailand and Korea.

Indonesia

Indonesia is an example of a country where unilateral economic pressure from the US made a real difference on the human rights front but again, that pressure needs to be sustained. In June of last year, the US Trade Representative warned Indonesia that it would have eight months to improve its labor rights practices or face losing tariff benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences that were worth some \$640 million annually to the Indonesian government. The labor rights problems that prompted the warning were largely related to freedom of association, both the efforts to prevent any challenges or alternatives to the government-controlled union and the routine interference by the military in the settlement of labor disputes, to the point of sitting in on negotiations between workers and management and hauling away, interrogating and sometimes torturing labor organizers. Reports of forced labor in the easternmost province of Irian Jaya were also a concern.

The labor rights issue brought together many of the human rights concerns that have plagued Indonesia for years: arbitrary detention, tight controls on freedom of expression and association, torture, lack of adherence to the rule of law and the position of the military as beyond the reach of the law.

As Indonesia's economic development comes to depend more and more on export-oriented manufacturing, labor rights issues have become a top priority of local human rights groups. US pressure gave an enormous morale boost to these groups and sparked an unprecedented debate in the Indonesian press. We monitored editorials around the country, and the reaction was very similar: the US is exerting pressure for its own domestic economic reasons, eager to prevent competition from cheap Indonesian exports, but we do have a serious labor problem that must be addressed. The combination of US and domestic pressure made for a potent mix.

The USTR's office was supposed to make a decision on February 15, last month, whether or not to cut off GSP benefits for Indonesia. A month before that decision was due, the Ministry of Manpower announced a series of reforms that included repeal of a law which authorized military interference in the resolution of labor disputes and adoption of a new regulation allowing workers to negotiate collective bargaining agreements at the plant level. In November, again due in part to American pressure, the Indonesian government invited a delegation from the International Labor Organization to come to Indonesia and present confidential recommendations on labor rights reforms.

All these steps were positive, but the pressure should have been kept up until Indonesian willingness to enforce the new measures could be tested. Instead, the USTR's office in February said its review of labor rights practices would be "suspended but not terminated," and it would conduct an assessment of progress toward protecting labor rights in six months. The problem is that six months will bring us to August, only a few months before President Clinton heads to Jakarta for the next summit of the Asia-Pacific Regional Cooperation (APEC), and the chances that he will take a hard line with Indonesia are almost nil.

The problems of enforcement have been underscored by the arrests and pending trial of several activists from an independent but as yet unrecognized union called the SBSI which tried to call a one-hour general strike last February 11. To head off that effort, police rounded up some 20 union activists, and while all now are out on bail, the trials of five from the West Javanese town of Tangerang are expected to take place shortly.

The government's commitment to reform has also been put into question by its handling of a murder case that more than any other single incident fuelled the domestic debate on labor rights. In May 1993, a month before the USTR issued its warning, a young woman labor organizer named

Marsinah, employed at an East Javanese watch factory, was killed days after a strike for higher wages and the dissolution of the local branch of the government union. Marsinah had been involved in the strike, and she also tried to intervene on behalf of thirteen of her co-workers who had been forced by the local military commander to sign letters of resignation because of their role in the strike.

The murder, in which the local military was widely believed to have been involved, caused national and international outrage, and while a police investigation was begun, there was no sign of progress for over five months.

Then, suddenly, nine people associated with the factory where Marsinah worked, including the owner, director and personnel manager, were arrested in October and charged with her murder. But the arrests raised more questions than they answered, again pointing out the routine, everyday nature of human rights abuse in Indonesia. Human rights violations by the Indonesian government don't just happen in East Timor, but by the same token, reports of abuses in East Timor are rendered the more credible by understanding what happens in the heart of industrialized East Java.

All nine of the "suspects" in the Marsinah case, eight men and one woman, were arrested without warrant by men without uniforms. They disappeared for nineteen days: not only did their families have no idea where they were, but local military and police, when asked, denied any knowledge of their whereabouts. When they finally surfaced, it turned out that they had all been held in the custody of military intelligence, that several of the men had been tortured with electric shocks and the woman threatened with rape if they did not sign interrogation depositions "confessing" to their role in the murder. The woman was two months pregnant when she was arrested; she miscarried while in custody. All recanted those depositions in court, as did many of the witnesses who were reportedly given similar treatment. Nevertheless, the woman was convicted and sentenced to seven months in prison last week, and the trials of the others are just beginning.

Human rights activists, who believe the military was deeply involved in the murder, have appealed to the new national Commission on Human Rights in Jakarta to undertake an investigation both into the murder, possible cover-up, and treatment of the nine "suspects." The Secretary-General of the Commission threatened to resign last week unless that investigation is, in fact, undertaken.

I should note that local activists were willing to give the new Commission far

greater benefit of the doubt than we were willing to do, and while we still question its independence and lack of investigative powers, several members of the Commission have been both courageous and enterprising in their efforts to raise concerns publicly about human rights cases involving ex-prisoners suspected of once supporting the Indonesian Communist Party and people subjected to prolonged arbitrary detention in Aceh. The Commission has not been willing to undertake any investigations into cases involving East Timor, however.

The arbitrary application of the law and disregard for international human rights standards evident in labor rights issues can also be seen with respect to the government's treatment of critics of President Suharto. A young student activist named Nuku Soleiman was just sentenced to four years in prison for re-defining a well-known acronym to mean "Suharto, Mastermind of All Disasters," printing up stickers with the new definition, and passing them out at a student demonstration in Jakarta. The "disasters" he had in mind were incidents of army killings of civilians over the last decade, including in Tanjung Priok (Jakarta) in 1984, East Timor in 1991, Aceh in 1989-91 and Madura in 1993. He was charged with insulting the head of state. Twenty-one other students who took part in the same demonstration are about to go on trial on similar charges for having urged that President Suharto be held accountable for human rights abuses. If the Indonesian government is serious about moving toward greater political openness, it must realize that openness by definition involves tolerating dissent, including, if not especially dissent from high-spirited students.

East Timor remains an area where freedom of association, expression and movement are tightly controlled by the Indonesian army, the replacement of combat troops with territorial troops notwithstanding. East Timorese clergy have come in for particular harassment, as the Catholic church remains the only institution in the territory that is independent of the Indonesian government. I should note that the Indonesian government has invited the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions to visit East Timor this year, a move that partially but not fully fulfills the recommendation made in a 1993 resolution of the United Nations Human Rights Commission to invite three other U.N. human rights bodies as well. Many East Timorese continue to serve lengthy sentences for their non-violent role in the November 1991 demonstration in Dili or the protests in Jakarta that followed the Indonesian army's massacre of the Dili demonstrators.

INDONESIA MAY BUY U.S.-BUILT F-16 JET FIGHTERS

UPI, March 24

Jakarta – Indonesia plans to buy more advanced U.S.-made F-16 jet fighters in a bid to strengthen the existing combat capability, the official Antara news agency reported Thursday.

Air Force Chief Marshal Rilo Pambudi told Antara that the purchase would be completed in 1996.

He said additional F-16 jet fighters were needed to bolster the Air Force's capability in helping maintain security in the entire territory of Indonesia, however, he did not say how many F-16 aircraft would be purchased. Indonesia also is scheduled to take delivery of 24 Hawk jet fighters from Britain in 1996.

The Indonesian Air Force currently operates modern jet fighters, including the U.S.-built F-16 Fighting Falcon. Last year, the United States rejected Jordan's request of authorization to sell four used U.S.-made F-5 jet fighters to Indonesia. Washington targeted Jakarta's widely-criticized human rights record in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

For the same reason, Washington last year also decided to cut off its military education training aid to Indonesia.

HIGH-LEVEL INDONESIA BUSINESS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK

**YOUR CHANCE TO PROTEST,
ATTEND, OR BOTH!**

From ETAN/US, March 31.

The East Timor Action Network is posting this information as a public service. Although we probably dissent from nearly all of the views which will be expressed by most of the speakers at this conference, we thought readers of reg.easttimor would be interested in knowing about it.

We are taking the opportunity of Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas' presence in New York to peacefully demonstrate against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

On Wednesday, April 13, we will hold a picket outside the Asia Society building (the conference site) at 725 Park Avenue (70th street) at 5:30 pm.

Some ETAN members will also attend the conference, and we encourage others to do so as well, in the spirit of constructive dialogue.

The remainder of this posting is the complete (except for hotel and registration information) text of the conference brochure distributed by the Asia Society.

INDONESIA, THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD TODAY

A conference sponsored by The Asia Society; The Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta; and The United States-Indonesia Society in cooperation with The American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce

April 13-15, 1994 at The Asia Society, 725 Park Avenue, New York, New York

CORPORATE BENEFACTORS: Bell Atlantic International, Inc., Freeport-McMoRan Inc., Mobil Oil Corporation

CORPORATE PATRON: TEXACO

CORPORATE SPONSORS: American Express Bank Ltd., J.P. Morgan & Co. Incorporated, Union Texas Petroleum Holdings, Inc.

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THE ASIA SOCIETY

The Asia Society is America's leading institution dedicated to fostering understanding of Asia and communication between Americans and the people of Asia and the Pacific. The Asia Society presents a rich array of educational programs on Asian contemporary affairs, business and culture. The Contemporary Affairs department develops and implements symposia, lectures and conferences which provide an important forum for policy makers, business executives, academics, the media and general public to gain a greater understanding of Asia today.

THE CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, JAKARTA

The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) is an independent, non-profit research organization, established on September 1, 1971. CSIS's main activities consist of policy oriented studies on both domestic and international affairs. CSIS undertakes research on issues, organizes conferences and lectures, and produces publications, books and occasional papers on domestic and international topics.

THE UNITED STATES-INDONESIA SOCIETY

The United States-Indonesia Society was formed in February 1994 by a group of Americans and Indonesians who are concerned by the lack of knowledge about Indonesia in the United States. It seeks to expand understanding of Indonesia and of the importance of the bilateral relationship through advancing the study of Indonesia in

the United States and sponsoring publications.

COOPERATING SPONSOR: THE AMERICAN INDONESIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Since 1949, the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce has been the principal locus of information in the U.S. on doing business in Indonesia. The Chamber provides information on ...[fax illegible] investment regulations, the U.S. and Indonesian legal systems, international trade agreements, government tenders, and business practices. Through its network of experienced business executives and other professionals, the Chamber assists new investors and traders as well as companies with established business relationships in Indonesia to better understand the bilateral business environment.

"UNCOVERING INDONESIA: INSIGHTS FOR THE 1990s"

This conference "Indonesia, the United States and the World Today" represents the inaugural event of a year-long public education program entitled "Uncovering Indonesia - Insights for the 1990s." This multi-faceted project is designed to broaden American understanding of Indonesia and its growing importance as a regional and international power and as a valuable global partner of the United States.

The project will include a policy roundtable on U.S.-Indonesia relations, two high-level Indonesian study missions to the United States, a total of eight regional public programs, and publication of a multi-author book examining the interaction between politics, economics and culture in Indonesia.

Other upcoming programs on Indonesia: Following the New York conference, members of the Indonesian delegation will remain in the United States to participate in a series of public symposia on political, economic and social developments in Indonesia:

April 18-19 Houston, Texas: The Asia Society Houston Center. (713)439-0051

Los Angeles: The Asia Society/Southern California Center, (213)624-0945

Seattle: Washington Council of International Trade, (206) 443-3826

Please contact the above organizations for more details on these local programs.

A second series of symposia on Indonesia will occur in the fall in cities likely to include Washington, DC, Minneapolis, Atlanta, New Orleans and San Francisco. Please call The Asia Society (212) 288-6400 for more information.

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Wednesday, April 13

5:00 PM REGISTRATION

6:00 PM OPENING RECEPTION

6:45 PM WELCOMING REMARKS: Nicholas Platt, President, The Asia Society; Jusuf Wanandi, Chairman, Supervisory Board, Centre for Strategic and

International Studies, Jakarta; Edward Masters, President, The United States-Indonesia Society

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:

His Excellency Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Thursday, April 14

SESSION I: INDONESIA, ASEAN AND THE WORLD TODAY

8:30 AM OPENING ADDRESS:

Thomas Hubbard, Deputy Assistant Secretary, East Asia and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State

INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE: Juwono Sudarsono, University of Indonesia

ASEAN PERSPECTIVE: Kusuma Snitwongse, Institute of Security and International Studies, Bangkok

10:00 AM Coffee break

10:30 AM PANEL Discussion: Linda Lim, University of Michigan; Carolina Hernandez, Institute of Strategic and Development Studies, Manila; Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Indonesian Institute of Sciences; Jusuf Wanandi, Centre for Strategic and International Studies

12:00 PM LUNCHEON

SESSION II: THE INDONESIAN ECONOMY

1:30 PM KEYNOTE Address

His Excellency Hartarto, Coordinating Minister for Industrial and Trade Affairs

2:00 PM PANEL DISCUSSION: Overview of Economic Trends and Policy

Emil Salim, Centre for Policy and Implementation Studies Iwan Jaya Azis, University of Indonesia; Marianne Haug, World Bank

3:30 PM COFFEE BREAK

4:00 PM PANEL DISCUSSION: Critical Issues: Trade, Investment, and Technology

Robert Cassidy, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative; Toshihiko Kinoshita, Export-Import Bank of Japan; Iman Taufik, PT Gunanusa Utama Fabricators; Hadi Soeastro, Centre for Strategic and International Studies

5:30 PM RECEPTION

6:30 PM EVENING PROGRAM FOR ASIA SOCIETY MEMBERS

Friday, April 15

8:00 AM COFFEE

SESSION III: INDONESIA SOCIETY AND POLITICS

8:30 AM PANEL DISCUSSION: Society Today Robert Hefner, Boston Univer-

sity Harsja Bachtiar, University of Indonesia
Abdurrahman Wahid, Nahdlatul Ulama
10:00 AM COFFEE BREAK

10:30 AM PANEL DISCUSSION: Political Outlook
William Liddle, Ohio State University; Donald Emmerson, Stanford University; Marzuki Darusman, Indonesian National Committee for Human Rights; Goenawan Mohamad, TEMPO Magazine
12:00 PM LUNCHEON

SESSION IV: UNITED STATES- INDONESIAN RELATIONS

1:30 PM WASHINGTON
PERSPECTIVES: Congressman Gary Ackerman, Chairman, Subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs; Paul Wolfowitz, Dean, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

Trends and key issues in the U.S.-
Indonesian relationship

OVERVIEW: Arifin Siregar, Ambassador of Indonesia to the United States; Robert Barry, Ambassador of the United States to Indonesia

3:00 PM COFFEE BREAK

3:30 PM PANEL DISCUSSION: Sidney Jones, Asia Watch; John Bresnan, Columbia University; T. Mulya Lubis, Center for the Study of Development and Human Rights; R. M. Sunardi, Department of Defense

SESSION V: FUTURE OUTLOOK ON INDONESIA

5:00 PM SUMMARY REMARKS Robert Scalapino, U.C. Berkeley; A. Hasnan Habib, Minister-at-Large

6:00 PM CLOSING RECEPTION

APRIL 17-19: WASHINGTON LOBBY FOR EAST TIMOR

Announcement from ETAN/US March 22

Send Congress a Message

This spring, ETAN activists will converge on Congress to urge action on East Timor. Your participation is crucial to the success of the April 17-19 Lobby for East Timor.

In Washington, DC, we will raise Capitol Hill consciousness and press for increased congressional action in support of East Timor. Your participation is essential to the success of this major lobbying effort. The more people who participate, the more representatives and senators we can reach.

During the Lobby for East Timor, we will meet with legislators and their aides to inform them about East Timor and their constituents concerns. At the meetings, we will press for a cutoff of all arms sales to Indonesia and urge legislators to support human rights and self-determination for the East Timorese through concrete legislative action. During the Lobby for East Timor,

we want strengthen the resolve of those who are already taking leadership on East Timor, move those who only sign letters to supporting legislation; and increase the number of letter-signers.

When we meet legislators and their aides, we will talk to them about the basic issues of East Timor and U.S. policy toward Indonesia and provide them with written and visual material. If you cannot come to Washington, you can arrange a meeting in your home district. We can provide organizing guidelines and a packet of materials to give to your legislator.

Don't worry if you feel you are not an expert. Several briefings are planned to update and coordinate our citizen lobbyists before they start walking the corridors of Capitol Hill. A 2-hour briefing will be held 6-8 pm, Sunday, April 17 at IPS, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW 4th flr. (near DuPont Circle). At 9 am on Monday and Tuesday mornings, we will meet at the Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 2nd St. NE for briefings.

Please join us in Washington for one day or both.

Questions? Concerns? Need Help with transportation? Contact: ETAN/U.S., PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602; (914)428-7299, fax: (914)428-7383; e-mail: cscheiner@igc.apc.org. For housing and other logistical information, contact: Sally Levison, ETAN/DC; (301)593-4305.

RESOURCES

IPJET ANNUAL PRIZE

IPJET, the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor, is offering its Annual Prize for a thesis or extended essay on a legal topic concerning East Timor.

Submissions may be written in English, French, Spanish or Portuguese.

Prize: \$1,000 plus certificate plus publication.

Deadline: 31 August 1994

Entries should be sent to:

IPJET Secretariat, Gruttohoek 13, 2317 WK Leiden, Netherland

EAST TIMOR GOPHER SET UP ON PEACENET

This new Gopher is at
GOPHER.IGC.APC.ORG.

It is maintained by John M. Miller of the East Timor Action Network/US (fbp@igc.apc.org). These are preliminary contents; additional items will be added. Suggestions welcome.

The URL is gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org/11/peace/timor.gopher

[1]About The East Timor Menus

[2]Chronology on East Timor Action and Reaction

[3]PET Memorandum to UN SG

[4]AI: East Timor Fact & Fiction

[5]ETAN/Canada Update #29

[6]Ramos-Horta Statement to Foreign Correspondents Club

[7]Message from Xanana Gusmão

[8]Xanana's defence statement

AETA RESOURCE LIST

From Australia-East Timor Association, PO Box 93, Fitzroy Vic. 3065, Australia

BOOKS

(Two prices given are retail price and (if listed), postage & packaging, in \$A.)

Traveller's Dictionary in Tetun-English and English-Tetun from the Land of the Sleeping Crocodile: East Timor by Cliff Morris. Baba Dook Books, Melbourne 1992. Contains an introduction to Timorese culture, grammar, pronunciation, phrases for travellers and dictionaries. 77 pages. Convenient pocket size paperback with durable plastic cover. \$6.95 \$1.

Black Armada: Australia and the struggle for Indonesian Independence 1942-49 by Rupert Lockwood. Hale and Iremonger, Sydney 1982. 352 pages. Paperback. \$19.95

Death in Dili by Andrew McMillan. Hodder & Stoughton, Sydney 1992. An Australian tourist from Darwin gets involved in Timor's politics while holidaying on the island. A documentary account, told in a racy style. 235 pages. Paperback. \$15.95

East Timor: An International Responsibility. A Catholic Institute of International Relations 'Comment' series booklet. London 1992. 28 pages. \$3. \$1.

East Timor: Betrayed but Not Beaten - The Ongoing Struggle for Independence in East Timor 1975-83 by Ian Bell et al. Australia-East Timor Association, Melbourne 1983. 33 pages. Paperback. \$1. \$1.

East Timor, Land of Hope: 2nd Seminar on East Timor of the Oporto University by Barbedo de Magalhaes. Rectory of the University of Oporto Porto 1990. Part I: Historical Introduction, Part II: Seminar Report. 117 pages. Paperback. \$10.

East Timor: The Silence and the Betrayal. New Internationalist, Oxford 1994. The March issue of The NI, a magazine about the North/South, focuses on East Timor. Highly recommended. 36 pages. \$4.75 \$1.

I am Timorese: Testimonies from East Timor. Catholic Institute for International Relations, London 1990. 41 pages. Paperback. \$7. \$1.

Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor by John G. Taylor. Zed Books, London and Pluto Press, Sydney 1991. 230 pages. Highly recommended. Paperback. \$24.95

Little Tree and the Everlasting Forest by Shirley Shackleton with illustrations by Peter Kendall. Little Tree Books/Greening Australia, Perth 1990. A beautifully illustrated 'green' children's book by a Timor activist. It is not about East Timor. Hard cover. \$14.95

Mai Kolia Tetun: A Course in Tetum-Pra A, The Lingua Franca of East Timor by Geoffrey Hull. Australian Catholic Relief and the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, North Sydney 1993. A text book of the Tetum language. 297 pages. Paperback. \$17. \$2.

'Opening up': Travellers' Impressions of East Timor, 1989-1991. Edited by Kirsty Sword and Pat Walsh. Australia-East Timor Association, Melbourne 1991. 50 pages. Paperback. \$5. \$1.

Telling: East Timor: Personal Testimonies 1942-1992 by Michele Turner. NSW University Press, Sydney 1992. Interviews with Timorese people about the often horrific events they have lived through. World War II Australian commandos also recollect experiences. 218 pages. Paperback. \$19.95

The Church and East Timor. A collection of documents by National and International Catholic Church Agencies. Catholic Commission for Justice, Development and Peace (Melbourne Archdiocese), Melbourne 1994. 62 pages. Paperback. \$7. \$1.

The Indonesian Occupation of East Timor 1974-1989: A Chronology by John G Taylor. Catholic Institute for International Relations, London 1990. 102 pages. Clothbound. \$38.

The Redundancy of Courage by Timothy Mo. Chatto & Windus, London 1991. A gripping novel about events in the imaginary island nation of Danu which bears a strong resemblance to East Timor. Shortlisted for the 1991 Booker Prize. 408 pages. Clothbound. \$29.95. Remainder copy. Clothbound. Small mark on side of book. \$10.95 \$2. Vintage London 1992. Paperback. \$14.95 \$2.

Timor: Legends and Poems from the Land of the Sleeping Crocodile by Cliff Morris. H.C. Morris, Melbourne 1984. Parallel English-Tetun text. 209 pages. Paperback. \$7.50 \$1.

BADGES

HANDS OFF EAST TIMOR'S OIL. Black/Sea Green. (AETA). \$1. \$1.

XANANA Red/Yellow/Black. (AETA). \$2. \$1.

BOYCOTT BALI! Jade Green/Light Blue. (AETA) \$1. \$1.

CAR STICKERS

BUT IT'S NOT OUR OIL, GARETH. Black/Sea Green. (AETA). \$1. \$1.

TIMOR GAP: OIL PIRACY. Black/Sea Green. (AETA). \$1. \$1.

INDONESIA OUT OF EAST TIMOR ... NOW! Black/White/Red. (AETA). \$1. \$1.

Map of East Timor. 88 cm X 60 cm. Black and White. Very detailed. (AETA). Folded. \$1. \$2.; In mailing tube. \$1. \$5.*

MUSIC CASSETTES

I'M STILL FIGHTING by Agio Pereira. 3CR, Melbourne 1990. \$14.95 \$2.

MY COUNTRY by Midnight Oil. On Side 2 Midnight Oil and the Xanana Choir sing the traditional Timorese tune Kolele Mai with words by Francisco Borja da Costa. Columbia. Sydney 1993. CD single. \$6. \$2.

WE CAN'T BE BEATEN by Paul Stewart and Colin Buckler from Painters and Dockers, David Bridie from Not Drowning Waving and various East Timorese musicians including Zeni Gusmão. B side: Hamutuk by Angelo Madeira. Sung in Tetum. Melbourne 1993. (AETA). Cassette single. \$6. \$2.

PAPER STICKER

STOP THE GENOCIDE! FREE EAST TIMOR! Black/White. Round. 3.5 cm in diameter. (AETA). \$0.20 \$0.45* Postcards

POSTCARD SET. Eight (8) Black and White postcards featuring scenes from East Timor. \$8. \$1.

XANANA. Red/Yellow/Black. (AETA). \$1. \$0.45

POSTERS

XANANA. Red/Yellow/Black. (AETA). Folded. \$2. \$1. In mailing tube. \$2. \$5.*

BOYCOTT BALI! Full Colour. (AETA). Folded. \$2. \$1. In mailing tube. \$2. \$5.*

T-SHIRT

HANDS OFF EAST TIMOR'S OIL / TIMOR GAP. Black/Sea Green. Sizes XL, L, M, S. (AETA). \$20.

TRADING TERMS

Australian orders: Postage rates quoted are for single items. When marked * same amount of postage is payable regardless of number of items ordered. Maximum postage for retail orders is \$5.. Items will be sent by

surface mail. Small orders from individuals should be paid for in advance.

Overseas orders: Please specify air mail / economy air / surface mail. (NB: Postage rates quoted above are for Australian orders only.) The equivalent of A\$5 must be added to all payments NOT made in Australian dollars to cover bank charges.

One third discount for East Timor solidarity groups (unless otherwise stated) plus postage and packing. (Bulk orders only). 40% discount for retailers plus postage and packing -applies only to items published by AETA.

Phone orders: (03) 489 7661 or (03) 416 2960. From overseas: 61 3 489 7661 or 61 3 416 2960.

April 1994

MISCELLANEOUS

JRH: INVASION HAD BEEN DECIDED IN APRIL 1974

Publico, 17 March 1994. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) The idea that preparations for the invasion of East Timor started straight after Portugal's 25th April is supported by José Ramos-Horta in his book "Tomorrow in Dili," launched yesterday in Lisbon.

The book, written by the representative abroad of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), is an updated and revised version of a text published in English in 1986, and is part testimony, part analysis. Ramos-Horta is particularly hard on the international community's attitude towards East Timor. Portugal does not escape criticism either, except in regard to some initiatives taken by Lisbon in the time of the Democratic Alliance, and Portugal's diplomatic activity since 1986. In spite of this, Ramos-Horta is convinced that Lisbon could have been more effective at international organisation level. In contrast to Indonesia, he says, Portugal did not always play its trump cards in the "quid pro quo" of diplomatic transactions that can determine voting in one or another direction. On a positive note, Ramos-Horta says that the African Portuguese-speaking nations (PALOP) never haggled over their support for the Timorese cause.

"Tomorrow in Dili" gives a detailed explanation of the step by step plan which Ramos-Horta puts forward as the way to reaching a referendum in Timor, and insists on the need for Portugal to pay for a pro-Timor lobby in Washington.

The book, with Preface by Noam Chomsky, also contains a document appendix

with six texts signed by Xanana Gusmão, and a letter signed by the current leader of Timorese armed resistance, Konis Santana.

COMPUTER WARGAME ON EAST TIMOR

Discussion care of David Webster, ETAN/Toronto

We have put in an inquiry to the manufacturers regarding a more detailed description of the nature of the game and its specifications and have requested a demo or beta version. All we know at this point is that the scheduled release date is June 1994 for the MacIntosh PowerPC. Do you have any suggestions on how we might proceed to stop this release (if possible) or blacklist/boycott it via reviews (MACuser, MACworld, TorontoComputes, the WEB, the ACTivist...etal) due to its obvious extremely bad-taste and sheer lack of compassion for those who have and continue to suffer in East Timor.

WE REGRETFULLY REPRINT THE AD FOUND IN APPLE'S POWER MACINTOSH SOFTWARE DIRECTORY – A quick guide to software applications optimized for Power Macintosh Computers – SPRING 1994

Harrier Assault, Version 1.0

Harrier Assault is the first flight simulator to combine a full-featured flight model with a complete war game. As Commander of the U.S. Marine Assault of East Timor – an island in Indonesia – you must fly Harrier strikes against ground targets in support of the ground forces you control. Thanks to the speed of the Power Macintosh, Harrier Assault can run four aircraft simultaneously while updating the war game in real time. Harrier runs in 640 by 480 pixel resolution with speeds of up to 30 fps.

Features include:

- %Fast, fluid polygon graphics
- %Multiple-view support
- %Full war game runs while the player flies over the island
- %Cooperative missions – up to three other computer-controlled Harriers
- %Award-winning realistic flight model of the vectored thrust Harrier "Jump Jet"

Localized versions:

U.S. English; by 6/94 – Int'l English, French, German

Ordering Information:

DOMARK SOFTWARE, INC.,
1900 S. Norfolk Street, San Mateo,
CA 94403. 1-800-695-4263 or (415)
513-8929

Comment from Charlie Scheiner –

This appears to be the Mac version of an existing PC game which was described by TAPOL last year.

I don't know how much (and with how much effectiveness) has been done on this. My first thought is not to try to get the game banned, but to use it as a consciousness-raising tool. There are, I think, some good points that could be made in a leaflet or op-ed. Perhaps this is a way to reach a whole new constituency – and raise some consciousness about war games and war. Here's a very quick proposal for the argument such a piece could make:

We agree with the game's premise that the situation in ET is intolerable and cries out for outside intervention. However, an armed assault by the U.N. or the U.S. is not necessary and would not advance self-determination or human rights in the occupied territory. It would only increase the already unconscionable number of people who have been killed there.

Rather, the Indonesian occupation and genocide is actually easier to end than with AV88 Harriers. If certain 'democratic' countries – such as the U.S. Britain, Australia, Canada, Japan and Germany – would stop providing economic aid, weapons, and diplomatic legitimacy to the Suharto regime, Indonesia would find it the path of least resistance to withdraw from East Timor.

It is ironic that the game premises the use of Harriers to oppose the Indonesian army. In fact, warplanes provided by the Indonesian military by the U.K. and the U.S. have been used for bombing, strafing surveillance, and other activities responsible for the killings of thousands of East Timorese people.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING GROUP ON INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS REPORT

By Torben Retboll

Following is the chapter on East Timor, written for the IWGIA Yearbook 1993. IWGIA is International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, with headquarters in Copenhagen, Denmark.

On December 15, 1993, a so called meeting of "reconciliation" took place between two groups of East Timorese: those who are living in the former Portuguese colony which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, and those who are living in exile.

The meeting took place in Britain, about 30 kilometres from London. But the exact location was secret. Two reporters were allowed to interview participants on the explicit condition that they would not reveal the name of the place. Even though the

meeting was organised by the Indonesian embassy in London, the official position is that Indonesia is not involved.

The external delegation was headed by Abilio Araujo, who was ousted some months before as president of FRETILIN, the resistance movement, because he was too friendly with the Indonesians. There were two items on the agenda: development and justice. There was no communiqué and no press conference.

It was an extraordinary meeting, the first of its kind, and it is still not known what consequences it will have. Perhaps it has already had one: On December 23, 1993, AFP reported from Jakarta that Abilio Araujo was allowed entry into Indonesia.

"We will welcome anyone who wants to return, on condition he will not question the political status of East Timor, which is a part of Indonesia," said Susilo Sudarman, Coordinating Minister for Security and Political Affairs.

Still in prison Meanwhile, the leader of the resistance movement is still in prison. Xanana Gusmão was caught by the Indonesians in November 1992. In May 1993, he was sentenced to life in prison after a trial which Amnesty International and other independent observers were not allowed to attend.

Three months later, president Suharto reduced his sentence to twenty years in an attempt to ease criticism over Indonesia's internal and external line of policy. The prisoner has been transferred to Indonesia itself: the Cipinang prison in Jakarta.

In December 1993, UPI reported from Jakarta that Xanana had written to the International Commission of Jurists in order to have his verdict cancelled. The Indonesian authorities were furious: how had he succeeded in having a letter smuggled out of prison and out of the country?

"We will see whether the motive behind it was money or another reason," said General Feisal Tanjung, Commander of the armed forces.

The Indonesian regime cracks down hard on any opposition or protest against the occupation of East Timor:

In December 1993, an activist from East Timor, Alberto Rodrigues Pereira, was sentenced to 22 months in prison for ripping an Indonesian flag.

The prosecutor had demanded a three year prison term, pointing out that the accused had committed his crime on August 16, on the eve of Indonesia's independence anniversary. Apparently, this was considered an aggravating circumstance.

The verdict against Pereira was handed down shortly after another East Timorese, Pedro Sarmiento da Costa, was sentenced to

one year in prison for "defacing the Indonesian currency," the rupiah.

Pedro Sarmiento da Costa had written a note to president Suharto on a 10,000 rupiah bill (value about U.S. \$5.00) demanding compensation for the victims of the November 1991 massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery, during which Indonesian soldiers killed at least 100 persons and wounded many more.

The local bishop One of the few persons who is able to criticize the Indonesians without reprisals is the local bishop, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo. The Catholic Church is the only legal institution not controlled by Jakarta. Many people join the church, because it is the only legal way to express your protest (as in Poland during the cold war).

Indonesia does not want a conflict with the Vatican. Thus, the bishop is given special rights. On the other hand, he knows he must tread carefully. Thus, his criticism focuses on humanitarian and not political questions.

In November 1993, he was in Australia, on one of his few visits abroad, during which he attended a special mass in Saint Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne, on the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre.

"Think of the future and how to build a new generation - a future based on peace and justice and reconciliation," the bishop said, knowing that he must be careful if he wants to return home again.

As he was leaving the cathedral, Australian journalist Mark Baker asked him 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. "You believe that?," he said, smiling broadly. "Myself, I like to see first, to check."

Solidarity Outside of East Timor, many activities are taking place in order to show solidarity with the struggle of the East Timorese people. In Britain, for instance, a campaign is being organised in order to prevent British Aerospace from selling more Hawk jet fighter planes to Indonesia, because they are being used to commit genocide in East Timor.

In June 1993, Indonesia signed a =A3500 million contract with British Aerospace for 24 Hawk aircraft and associated equipment and training. It is widely believed that Indonesia intends to purchase no fewer than 144 Hawks to equip six squadrons with 24 warplanes each, even though it is not threatened by any foreign power. The military equipment is being used to subdue the population at home and in the occupied territories (East Timor and West Papua).

The campaign is being organised by British Aerospace Campaign working with other groups such as TAPOL (the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign), British Coalition for East Timor and the Irish East Timor Solidarity Campaign.

The government in Jakarta has often stated that the question of East Timor is settled. The resistance is broken and the people are satisfied, it is claimed. But the facts speak otherwise: In spite of difficult conditions there is still active and passive opposition against the bloody occupation.

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DOCUMENTARY FILMS

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ELECTRONIC NETWORKS

reg.easttimor, news and information about East Timor.

reg.indonesia, news and information about Indonesia.

INVESTING IN INDONESIA: CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES REVIEW DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

By Aaron Paulsen, *Varsity (U. of Toronto)*, 28 Feb. 1994.

Comment from ETAN/Toronto: This article provides a glimpse into the debate over Canadian universities' CIDA-funded aid projects to Indonesia that is raging at some of the universities. The debate is particularly active at the University of Guelph in Guelph, Ont., and Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, British Columbia. The East Timor Alert Network has made interventions in the review process at both universities.

Two years ago, after the Indonesian military brutally suppressed a demonstration against the annexation of the island of East Timor, the University of Guelph's Senate committee began reviewing the university's development project in Indonesia.

Guelph's review was mandated to discover whether the Sulawesi Project, which has provided technical assistance for rural

development to the Indonesian government, violates the university's policy on university involvement in international activities.

Known as the "Dili Incident," the demonstration was captured on video and received widespread media attention in Canada and around the world. Although one of the most widely recognized incidents of human rights abuses, the "Dili Incident" was not an isolated occurrence in the islands of Irian Jaya and East Timor, according to human rights activists. They say that since Indonesia's invasion of the island of Irian Jaya in 1963 and its annexation in 1969, 200,000 Irianese have died at the hands of the Javanese-controlled military. And the Indonesian government has refused to act on a United Nations resolution passed last year which called on Indonesia to improve its human rights record, arguing that Western concepts of human rights are alien to Indonesian culture.

The "Dili Incident" did, however, result in many governments, including Canada's, reconsidering their commitment to spending aid money in Indonesia.

Over the objections of the Indonesian government, the Canadian government suspended three new aid projects in the country after the incident. Although those suspensions are still in place, projects originating before the Dili massacre, like Guelph's project, are continuing.

But universities currently involved in Indonesian development projects are increasingly being pressured to review those investments. The results could be similar to the South African divestment policy many universities adopted in the 1980s after massive student pressure.

Although U of T, in response to the "Dili Incident," passed a resolution saying the university would not involve itself in Indonesia, eight other Canadian universities, including Guelph and Simon University (SFU) in British Columbia, are still operating in Indonesia. According to the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) universities receive millions of dollars per program from a number of granting agencies.

David Szablowski, former member of Students for Human Rights at SFU, says that because many of the projects universities are involved in are geared towards applied science they reflect the interests of the transmigrant settler population that has been encouraged to spread outward by the government from the island of Java. Indigenous ethnic populations or the large number of aboriginal people in the islands do not benefit, he says.

Chris Dagg, project director at SFU, says the university does emphasize science programs but it also offers undergraduate courses in anthropology at campuses on the

island of Irian Jaya, "to make (the development) process more sensitive to indigenous concerns."

The SFU project aims to develop "science programs at the undergraduate level at four universities in eastern Indonesia to support applied science" departments, says Dagg.

He says Indonesian universities have strong programs in fields like fisheries and agriculture, but lack sufficient training in basic sciences like chemistry and physics. Professors and instructors from Indonesian universities are brought to Canada on exchange programs to receive further technical training.

But Szablowski is also critical of the review process at SFU. He says that unlike the review at Guelph, where outside experts were involved, at SFU, the review was completed within the university.

"Guelph sent outside experts to see and check the project in the field. Simon Fraser contented itself with having this panel of four academics and a student from the Senate committee listen to petitioners from both human rights activists and university administrators," Szablowski says.

"It was like investigating a murder by hearing two sides of the story, choosing the method in-between and settling the issue without ever leaving the office."

Because Guelph, unlike Simon Fraser University, included two experts from outside the university administration in the review process, Guelph's report is expected to be much more critical than the conclusions reached by SFU. The SFU project has entered its second phase of operations, after the university senate okayed the review findings in 1991.

Bruce Sells, chair of the committee reviewing Guelph's involvement, says universities have to be concerned about whether their involvement gives legitimacy to an oppressive regime.

"Is our presence beneficial to the evolution of human rights? We have to be concerned about giving esteem to a repressive government," says Sells.

But Harry Cummings, past project director, says the university is actively involved in the Indonesian government's attempts to decentralize regional authority in the country.

"We are stressing bottom-up planing," Cummings says of the project's attempts to aid the region's indigenous populations.

Cummings' view is shared by other university administrators. While all acknowledge Indonesia's appalling record of human rights abuses, some argue that change can best be brought about by working with the Indonesian government. As a brochure for Guelph's program states, "all training and

related development activities are developed in conjunction with the Indonesian government."

Even critics of these programs concede that not all aid efforts are destructive.

"I bet you have development programs that are sneaked in the margins that are incredibly humanitarian," says Szablowski. "Not all projects have to be part of a sinister plot."

Both the Guelph program and SFU's are run in conjunction with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Most of Guelph's \$34 million in bilateral contract funding (money spent directly by one government agency on behalf of a foreign government) comes from CIDA. Through its contract with the federal agency, U of G provides planners in rural development, health, agriculture, the position of women and other regional development concerns in the four provinces of Sulawesi.

CIDA is to provide \$30 million in funding to the second phase of SFU project, run through an office in Jakarta, under the auspices of the Indonesian Department of Education. The money will be matched by the Indonesian government. Phase one received \$19 million from CIDA.

Some human rights activists, however, raise concerns about Canada providing aid of any kind to the military dictatorship of General Suharto.

Antonio Palma, of the East Timor Alert Network office in Vancouver, says the programs being funded must be seen in light of larger issues.

"They're buying weapons to kill their own people and the East Timorese," says Palma.

He adds that Indonesia's military expenditures dropped \$50 million during a ceasefire in the late 1980s – roughly the same amount that Canada spends in Indonesia in a year.

David Webster, member of ETAN in Toronto, also points out that aid dollars pale in comparison to the amounts of money foreign companies have invested in Indonesia. Canada is the third-largest investor in Indonesia (sic), surpassed in recent years only by Japan and the United States.

"Why only link aid to human rights when you can link trade (and) investment as well?" Webster says.

(SIDEBAR) FUNDING FIGURES

At least six other Canadian post secondary institutions are receiving large amounts of money to finance programs in Indonesia.

Dalhousie, York and Waterloo are cooperating on the Environmental Management in Indonesia project, in association with Indonesia's Environment Ministry. Total funding is \$34 million.

McGill University operates the Islamic Education Institute Development project, in association with the Indonesia Institute of Islamic Studies. Total funding is \$9.4 million.

The University of Manitoba is named, along with several universities for graduate fellowships through the Professional Development Water Resources Training project. Funding for the fellowships is \$5 million.

And the Open Learning Institute of Vancouver provides assistance to Indonesia's Universitas Terbuka. Total funding is a further \$5 million.

PROTEST TENNIS TOURNAMENT IN JAKARTA

URGENT ACTION Appeal from LXLT Commission ("Free Xanana, Free East Timor"). Lisboa, 21 March 1994

Reference: 21 March Publico article (Sports section): "Tennis: Masters in Indonesia; Portuguese boycott arrives at PTA [Professional Tennis Association] Tour" by Pedro Keul with Reuter.

According to the above cited article, the selection of Jakarta for the Pairs Masters PTA event has already caused one protest action from the Portuguese journalists (currently covering the PTA tour), that raised up the East Timor issue.

The PTA tour president (Mr. Mark Miles) has already received documentation about the actual political and human rights situation in Indonesia, that might cause the changing of place for this important sport event.

The PTA tour president announced that the decision of organizing the pairs Masters in Jakarta, in the next two years, might be reconsidered after the protests of the 14 journalists that cover this sport event.

Last Saturday, a meeting occurred in Key Biscaine with Miguel Seabra, spokesman of the 14 journalists, and Mark Miles that said that, in case the situation gains more projection, the PTA tour organization might reconsider the place's event.

The decision to hold the Masters of pairs players in Indonesia, was taken three weeks ago, during the Rotherdam Open and provoked immediately the referred protest,

taking completely by surprise the Tour promoters that didn't know the East Timor problem

Afterwards, the journalists delivered a protest letter and annexed some documentation; "the ten self-determination E.T. U.N. resolutions," a "Death of a Nation" I.T.V. videotape and one letter of João Lagos (director of the Estoril Open) also protesting for the lack of care in choosing the PTA Tour. It is also written that the ex-N:1 John Mckenroe considered ridiculous organizing the Masters in one country that never took attention to tennis and where people are perishing from starvation.

RECOMMENDED ACTION:

To all E.T solidarity groups/activists, please send faxes (in English):

- protesting for the decision of holding the PTA Pairs Master event in Jakarta and "connecting" that the E.T. issue;
- urging for the change of place of this Master to another country/city based on a country's human rights performance

APPEALS/PROTESTS TO:
 Mark Miles, ATP Tour President, Fax: + 904-285-5966 (U.S.A.)

DISCUSSION OF EAST TIMORESE GENOCIDE FIGURES

From: pws@cuug.ab.ca (Paul Salim), March 28. Abridged.

INTRODUCTION

On 11 and 12 March 1994, I posted a questionnaire in soc.culture.indonesia Newsgroup:

1. WHICH event do you believe MORE: Killing Field in Bosnia (where hundreds of thousands of Moslems were massacred), OR Killing Field in East Timor where estimated 200,000 ETese have been massacred by the Indonesian army since 7 Dec. 1975 ?
2. If you chose "Killing Field in Bosnia" for question no.1, please tell me WHY you did that ?

The purpose of the questionnaire is to get some information of why the majority of Indonesian people in soc.culture.indonesia can hardly believe the massacre in East Timor (just a few miles from their hometowns); whereas they more believe other massacres (such as that in Bosnia).

DISCUSSION

From the first two responses and many others that I have seen in soc.culture.indonesia, it is apparent that the massacre in East Timor which claims 200,000 people is not well-publicized; or, if so, the message is not scientific enough to convince (especially) Indonesian viewers in Internet who are mostly scholars.

Well... in this article I am trying to minimize the above problem and trying to do calculations/projections using East Timor's censuses that have been performed so far. Hopefully, at the end of this article, many more Indonesian viewers will share my concern about East Timor's massacre.

Population of East Timor (formerly called Portuguese Timor) in the 1950 census was composed of [1]:

Table 1 - Composition of East Timor's Population in 1950

European	568
Mestico (mixed blood)	2,022
Chinese	3,122
Other non-indigenous (Goan, etc.)	212
indigenous - civilizado	1,541
indigenous - nao-civilizado	434,907
TOTAL	442,378

In reference [1] it was also recorded East Timor's population in the 1960 census as 517,079.

Given two data of East Timor's population, I conducted population projections based on the following methods (source [8,9]):

1. arithmetic rates of change
2. compound rates of change
 - a. geometric rate of growth
 - b. exponential rate of growth

The following formula represents the first method of population projection:

$$P_t = P_{t-1} + I \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

where: P_t = the population at time t
 P_{t-1} = the population at the previous time
 I = the amount of change between time (t-1) and (t)

For East Timor with the 1950 and 1960 censuses, $I = (517,079 - 442,378)/10 = 7,470$. Population projection for East Timor in 1980 (20 years from 1960) would be $517,079 + (20 \times 7,470) = 666,479$; and that in 1990 would be $517,079 + (30 \times 7,470) = 741,178$.

The formula for a geometric rate of population growth is as follows:

$$P_n = P_0 \times (1 + r)^n \dots\dots\dots(2)$$

where: P_n = the population at time n
 P_0 = the initial population
 r = the annual rate of growth
 n = number of years between the initial population and P(1/10)

I found $(1+r)^n$ for East Timor to be $(517,079/442,378) = 1.01572$ (based on the 1950 and 1960 censuses). Population projection in 1980 (20 years after the last census in 1960, so n=20) for East Timor would be:

$$517,079 \times 1.01572^{20} = 706,454$$

and that in 1990 would be:

$$517,079 \times 1.01572^{30} = 825,748.$$

A formula for population projection based on an exponential rate of change may be represented as follows:

$$P_n = P_b e^{rn} \dots\dots\dots (3)$$

where: P_n = the population at time n
 P_b = the base population
 r = the annual rate of growth
 n = number of years between the base population and P_n

In this calculation, I assume that r is the same as that for the geometric rate method, that is,

$$r = 1.01572 - 1 = 0.01572$$

In 1980 (20 years after the last census in 1960, so n=20) East Timor's population would be estimated as:

$$517,079 e^{(0.01572)(20)} = 708,107$$

and that in 1990 was found to be:

$$517,079 e^{(0.01572)(30)} = 828,784.$$

However, the growth rate (r) between 1960 - 1990 for the compounds rate methods may contain an error, since it is based on the 1950 and 1960 censuses. In order to have a more valid growth rate for East Timor, I collected population data for the Province of Nusatenggara (comprising most of the Lesser Sunda Islands, principally Flores, Lombok, Sumba, Sumbawa and West Timor) as results of the 1961, 1971, and 1980 censuses (please note that the 1990 census is not yet available for general public). Hopefully the data could represent East Timor during the period in question.

Table 2 - Population of Nusatenggara [4,5]

Year	Population	Date of Census	Growth Rate (r)
1961	3,785,000	1961	0.017431
1971	4,499,000	9/24/71	0.021785
1980	5,462,000	10/31/80	

Original source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Indonesia

The growth rates (r) in the last column of Table 2 were respectively calculated from Equation (2) (Note: for 1961-71, $P_{61} = 3,785,000$ and $P_{71} = 4,499,000$; for 1971-80, $P_{71} = 4,499,000$ and $P_{80} = 5,462,000$), and were in good agreement with the one using the 1950 and 1960 censuses. Using r in Table 2, I could recalculate equation (2) for the 1970 population projection based on the last census of East Timor in 1960:

$$517,079 \times (1 + 0.017431)^{10} = 614,620$$

The 1980 population projection based on the 1970 projection with equation (2) was found to be:

$$614,620 \times (1 + 0.021785)^{10} = 762,434$$

Assume that r for a period from 1981-90 to be equal to that from 1971-80, and with the same fashion, the 1990 population projection for East Timor was given below:

$$762,434 \times (1 + 0.021785)^{10} = 945,796.$$

Recalculating equation (3), with the same fashion as equation (2) and with Nusatenggara's population growth rate and reporting

the result with the others I have got so far, I can summarize them in the following table 3.

Table 3 - Results of population projection in East Timor in 1980 and 1990

Method	Population Projection in 1980	Population Projection in 1990
Arithmetic	666,479	741,178
Geometric	706,454	825,748
Exponential	708,107	828,784
Geometric*	762,434	945,796
Exponential*	765,368	951,659

* with Nusatenggara's population growth rate

Two recent censuses conducted by Indonesia on 31st October 1980 and 31 Oct. 90 yielded the population of East Timor of 555,350 [4] and 747,750 [5], respectively. The comparison of census results and population projections in Table 3 is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4 - East Timor's Population Difference[#] in 1980 and 1990

Method	Population Diff. in 1980	Population Diff. in 1990
Arithmetic	-111,129	+6,572
Geometric	-151,104	- 77,998
Exponential	-152,757	-81,034
Geometric *	-207,084	-198,046
Exponential *	-210,018	-203,909

population difference is defined as the census result minus population projection in the same year

* with Nusatenggara's population growth rate

I believe that the census result for East Timor on 31st October 1981 may contain some errors and inaccuracies, because at that time the situation was very uncertain and a certain portion of East Timorese people were probably not touched by the Indonesian census officials.

For instance [13]:

1. in 1979, the Indonesian Army launched "Operation Clean-Up" in which the systematic execution and disappearance of people who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces appeared to have reached its peak from March to May 1979
2. during the night of 10 June 1980, Fretilin guerrillas are reported to have attacked a broadcasting station in Dare, a suburb north of Dili, and a barracks in Becora which was the base of Battalion 745 of the Udayana Division, manned by locally-recruited Timorese serving under Indonesian officers. Indonesians and Timorese are reported to have died in the attacks
3. from April to September 1981, the Indonesian army launched Operation Security, during which thousands of East Timorese were deployed to form "fences" of people who were to converge on and flush out remaining Fretilin forces. This operation also

became known as "Operasi Pagar Betis" (Operation Fence of Legs).

Because of the above reason, the 1990 census becomes more reliable. However, there are disparities between each method. So, which projection method is more accurate? To answer this question, let's pay attention to the basic demographic equation:

$$P_1 = P_0 + I - O + B - D \dots\dots\dots(4)$$

where: P_1 = the current population

P_0 = the previous population

I = the number of immigrants since P_0

O = the number of outmigrants since P_0

B = the number of births since P_0

D = the number of deaths since P_0

Let's assume that P_0 is the 1960 census result for East Timor. Except for the arithmetic projection method, all methods underpredict terms O and D because the projections are higher than the 1990 census result. Table 5 will show the number of (O + D) underprediction from 1960 to 1990.

Table 5 - East Timor's (O + D) underprediction[#] from 1960 to 1990

Methods (O + D)	underprediction from 1960 - 90
Geometric	77,998
Exponential	81,034
Geometric *	198,046
Exponential *	203,909

(O+D) underprediction also means the number of outmigrants and deaths in East Timor NOT ACCOUNTED FOR in the 1980 and 1990 censuses

* with Nusatenggara's population growth rate

To calculate the term O (the number of East Timor's outmigrants from 1960 to 1990), I chose three main areas which most likely the East Timorese migrated to:

1. Australia
2. Portugal
3. other parts of Indonesia

There are no published data for points (2) and (3), so they are assumed negligible; however, reference [5] reports that, since 1975, some 3,500 Timorese have been admitted as refugees in Australia (extracts from "Settlement of Refugees in Australia: The Facts," published by Australia's Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, March 1983). Thus, it's determined that O is 3,500, and the number of D for each projection method is presented in Table 6.

Table 6 - East Timor's D underprediction[#] from 1960 to 1990

Methods	D underprediction from 1960 - 90
Geometric	74,498
Exponential	77,534
Geometric *	194,546
Exponential *	200,409

D underprediction also means the number of deaths in East Timor NOT ACCOUNTED FOR in the 1980 and 1990 censuses

* with Nusatenggara's population growth rate

The number of deaths in Table 6 can be caused by:

1. civil war from August 1975 - Indonesian invasion
2. killings performed by Fretilin
3. killings performed by the Indonesian army

Some proofs are available in the literature [13]:

1. the reported killing of up to 50 Chinese males in the town of Maubara in December 1975 by Indonesian troops
2. the reported killing of up to 400 men, women, and children on Mount Aitana near Lactuna in September 1981 during Operation Security by Indonesian troops
3. the reported killing of as many as 200 people in the village of Kraras, Viqueque, in reprisal for and shortly after the killing of 16 Indonesian soldiers in the village on 8 Aug.1983
4. the reported killing of about 100 males living in the vicinity of the village of Hauba near Bobonaro in March 1984 by Indonesian soldiers
5. (the list still continues, and please go to source [13])

Given the results in Table 6 and proofs in reference [13], it's believable that the Indonesian soldiers must carry the blame for the East Timorese deaths since 7th December 1975. As the number of East Timorese deaths is concerned, I can't decide which projection method gives a more accurate result, since there is no hard evidence (i.e. the number of dead bodies of the East Timorese people) that has been publicized so far. Therefore, this article is NOT conclusive; but, if there is chance to collect the evidence, the following actions should be taken in East Timor:

1. all cemeteries (especially the unmarked graves) should be checked and the bodies of unidentified persons be counted
2. all missing persons should be documented and searched

FACING FACTS: THE WORLD SHOULD ACCEPT THAT EAST TIMOR IS A PART OF INDONESIA

Asiaweek Editorial, March 23

It's high time the United Nations took a more pragmatic approach to the long-festering question of East Timor. The first step is for the world body to recognise that if positive change is going to come to the troubled region, it is going to have to be within an Indonesian context. It is farcical to continue insisting that the former Portuguese colony is still under Lisbon's administration. In the wake of its 1974 "Carnation Revolution," Portugal all too happily abandoned the East Timorese to their fate. The flight of the governor when civil strife boiled over clearly underscored Lisbon's unwillingness to take responsibility for their colony. Today, Portugal has as much claim to East Timor as Holland does to the rest of the Indonesian archipelago.

The territory's incorporation into Indonesia became a fait accompli the moment paratroopers landed in the capital, Dili, in December 1975. There was no protest from U.S. President Gerald Ford, who just days before had been in Jakarta. Nor was there a dissenting word from Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, who many believe agreed to turn a blind eye to a takeover when he called on President Suharto earlier that year.

That Portugal continues to lobby for a referendum on Timor is less a sign of Lisbon's interest in its former colony than a pointer to the influence of the Timorese expatriate community. Its members, many of whom are descendants of mixed-blood Timorese, once held a privileged place in Timor society. Their interests are also advanced by the many ambassadors of the rebel group Fretilin, who make use of Portuguese clout in their efforts to lobby world leaders. No one should believe for a moment that they are - or ever were - representative of modern Timor. So long as Portugal allows itself to be used by this once-powerful elite, its motivations will be suspect.

Even so, there is much Indonesia can do to consolidate and further legitimize its rule in East Timor. Over the past two decades, Jakarta has poured considerable resources into building roads, schools and health centres. But its treatment of the inhabitants of its newest province has fueled discontent and even rebellion. Especially fateful was the killing by troops in November 1991 of largely unarmed civilians at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. The incident underscored contempt for the life of ordinary Timorese

on the part of soldiers and their commanders. To this day, the graves of only nineteen of the victims are known - even though the government itself has acknowledged that at least 50 died.

If East Timor is to become truly a part of the far-flung Indonesian nation, the armed forces and other elements who consider the province their fiefdom will have to accept the need for change. The territory has long been a training ground for the military, which is reluctant to loosen its hold. The Foreign Ministry, which keeps a close eye on Indonesia's image abroad, has been encouraging military authorities to accept visits by journalists.

The restrictions on movement and personal liberties also contrast sharply with conditions in neighbouring West Timor, which gained independence from the Dutch along with the rest of Indonesia in 1949. There the unique culture of Timor still thrives - unlike in the island's hapless eastern half. And despite the province's material advances, Jakarta would do well to heed the call of Mr. Xavier Do Amaral, the former Fretilin leader, to pay more attention to the mental and spiritual development of East Timorese.

The U.N.'s Committee on Decolonization kept the world's attention fixed on the territory over the years. Media scrutiny has highlighted Timor's problems and in many cases has helped spur positive changes. But the committee's purpose has been served. By persisting in its refusal to accept reality, the U.N. will be able neither to make Indonesia withdraw nor Fretilin win independence. All it will do is keep alive a lost dream of left-leaning independence.

More importantly, the prolonged stalemate directly jeopardizes the welfare of the East Timorese. It blocks off vital development aid and makes Jakarta take a tighter grip than it probably would otherwise. It is time for the international community to recognise Indonesia's right to rule its part of the globe. In return, Jakarta needs to work harder at giving the long-suffering people of East Timor all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other Indonesian citizens. That's the surest way of bringing them into the family.

From Martin Wesley-Smith:

If anyone would like to respond to such
bxxxxxxx, s/he may write to

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PETER GABRIEL FOR EAST TIMOR

BLITZ [Portuguese Newspaper of Music] 5 April 1994. Translated from Portuguese.

(Lisboa) Peter Gabriel dedicated one song to East Timor ("Biko," the same song that he had, some years ago, offered to Steve Biko, a South-African anti-apartheid activist) on his recent Hong-Kong concert. His interest on the E.T. issue was also stated in one interview he gave to Robert Carroll (a journalist rooted in Hong-Kong and assistant of "Tribuna de Macau") in which he says that "is terrible what is happening in East Timor: I'm an Amnesty International supporter and, in its most recent report about human rights violations, it is included E.T."

Asked about the possibility of [participating in] one East Timor concert - in Portugal, eventually - Peter Gabriel says that "I'm interested in that event, but I would have to be invited, just like the concert that is going to happen in South-Africa where I'm going to play for the first time." About playing or not, in Indonesia, Peter Gabriel says that is always difficult to take one boycott position towards a country that has a human rights violating "performance": "I've already talked about that with musicians from all over the world and I didn't reach any definitive conclusion: I don't know if it's better to refuse playing in these countries (China and Indonesia, for instance), or going there and denounce what is happening during the concerts..."

After interviewing Peter Gabriel, Robert Carroll contacted other music players (in Portugal, USA and UK) asking them about the possibility of upholding one festival for E.T.. In Portugal, he contacted Rui Simues [music manager] from Encore (enterprise of GNR and Luis Represas) who became very enthusiastic with the idea - what Rui Simues has confirmed after to BLITZ - and Unico Lisboa ([enterprise that manages] Resistencia, Madredeus, etc.) from which hasn't yet received any answer. In the U.S. and the U.K., the contacts where hold with Miles Copeland, Sting's manager, mentioning that Sting had as a priority the Amazonia [issue], not excluding nevertheless that, this musician could consider other possibilities for "beneficence concerts." Music players from Fleetwood Mac, the ex-Shakespeare Sisters Marcella Detroit, East 17, Ace of Base and

Brand New Heavies were also contacted and still are expected to answer Robert Carroll.

After all, East Timor is not on the end of the world ...

Comments: 1) GNR, Luis Represas, Resistencia and Madreus belong to the "modern wave of Portuguese music" and are quite famous around Portugal. All of them raised the E.T. question in several occasions and by several means.

2) After reading this article, I've contacted BLITZ and I've spoken with Antonio Pires. This article was the result of a bigger interview that, on account of lacking editing space, had to be shortened. Antonio added that Robert Carroll had already been a music player (in the beginning of the 80's) and got interested on the E.T. issue when he moved to Hong Kong/Macau.

Rather than presenting himself as an E.T. concert "organizer," Robert Carroll is checking how far this idea can go.

Anyone wanting to know the final results of Robert's international music contacts (and what are the future perspectives) can contact him by the following phone/fax number: 853.520167 (Macau).

3) If we add to the above mentioned music players, the well known names of others that had already dedicated songs to E. T. (or raised this issue somehow) like Robert Wyatt, Ext reme (a U.S. rock group that "started his engagement" when Nuno Bettencourt - a Portuguese guitar player and member of this group - participated in Rui Veloso's "Maubere"), Midnight Oil (an Australian group that released during 93/94 a CD single containing one song dedicated to E.T.) and A-HA (a Norwegian pop group, that is acquainted with this struggle and wants to participate on one "E.T. musical event"), we can dare to think that a international music event in solidarity with the E.T. struggle can be achieved.

Of course, such a project can't be worked out only by human rights activists. It has to involve music enterprises, music managers, artists, etc. Further comments/opinions are welcome.

4) This article highlights another important question that should be considered in a near future. Internationally, the E.T. issue starts to be known by many different artists (music players, theater/cinema people, etc.) that are willing to move on action. As far as I know, there isn't any kind of movement of artists committed to this problem. Shouldn't we think about promoting the idea of such an association? I'm trying to discuss this idea here in Portugal with several people.

Further comments/opinions are (also) very much appreciated.

Manuel da Silva