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TABLE OF CONTENTS

BALIBO REMEMBERED	7
BALIBO MASSACRE BACKGROUND	7
THE 5 GHOSTS OF BALIBO RISE ONCE MORE TO HAUNT INDONESIA & US	10
INDONESIA WON'T REOPEN BALIBO INVESTIGATION	13
CHRIS HAVILAND MP TO MOVE PRIVATE MEMBERS MOTION ON BALIBO	13
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES "NOTICE OF MOTION"	13
INDONESIAN TROOPS KILLED AUSTRALIAN NEWSMEN -RADIO	14
CALL FOR NEW INQUIRY INTO JOURNALISTS' DEATHS IN EAST TIMOR.....	14
TIMOR MURDERS PLANNED; SOLDIERS	14
<hr/> RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS	15
PRO-CATHOLIC DEMONSTRATION IN DILI	15
AMIEN RAIS: DON'T LET EAST TIMOR BECOME A PARASITE	15
THE THREAT OF WIDER RELIGIOUS CONFLICT	16
DILI'S BISHOP TO MEET THE POPE.....	17
BISHOP BELO'S INTERVIEW WITH GATRA.....	17
MUSLIMS BACK HARD LINE ON EAST TIMOR.....	18
CARDINAL URGES GOVERNMENT TO WIN TIMORESE TRUST.....	19
BLASPHEMIES AGAINST CATHOLICISM IN EAST TIMOR	19
CATHOLIC LEADERS SAY RIGHTS COMMISSION TEAM DISTORTS RIOT ISSUE	19
INDONESIAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS SEEK HELP FOR EAST TIMORESE.....	20
RENETIL: THE FLAME OF STRUGGLE WILL NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED	20

100 ULAMAS WANT DIALOGUE WITH BELO	21
BELO DENIES WANTING 'CATHOLIC REGION'	22
EAST TIMORESE NEED TIME TO ADAPT	22
ANTI-BELO DEMONSTRATION IN YOGYA	23
YOUNG MOSLEMS AGAINST XIMENES BELO	23
JAKARTA PUTS PRESSURE ON THE POPE	24
MILITARY PLEDGES OF CONSTANT RAIDS	24
NU & EAST TIMOR	24
ET INTRA-RELIGIOUS FORUM	25
CNRM STATEMENT ON RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS	25
GOD AND COUNTRY: ATTACKS ON MUSLIMS IN TIMOR PROMPT BACKLASH	26
INDONESIAN MINISTER TO FLY TO VATICAN ON TIMOR	27
POPE MEETS INDONESIAN MINISTER	27
SUHARTO URGES PEOPLE TO AVOID CONFLICT	28
RIOTS IN EAST TIMOR.....	28
PROTESTS ROCK TWO CITIES	28
EAST TIMOR PROTESTS SEE THREE DETAINED	28
TWO CIVILIANS KILLED IN EAST TIMOR	28
RIOTS BREAKS OUT IN VIQUEQUE	28
UNREST IN DILI: MANY ARRESTS	29
MORE ON CURRENT UNREST IN DILI	29
LUSA: DISTURBANCES IN DILI, 3 KILLED, SEVERAL ARRESTS	30
MORE ON DILI AND VIQUEQUE DISTURBANCES	30
POLICE ASSERT CONTROL IN EAST TIMOR AFTER RIOTS	30
MILITARY APPEALS FOR CALM IN EAST TIMOR	31
MORE ON CONFRONTATIONS THROUGHOUT ET	31
RELATIVE CALM RETURNS TO TROUBLED EAST TIMOR	32
DILI UNDER CONTROL AFTER TWO DAYS OF VIOLENT RIOTING	32
TIMORESE FEARED TORTURED AFTER RIOTS: RESIDENTS	32
AI: MORE THAN 50 DETAINED AFTER EAST TIMOR RIOTS	33
EAST TIMOR BISHOP SAYS RIOTS UNDERLINE UNHAPPINESS	33
BISHOP BELO RADIO AUSTRALIA INTERVIEW	34
TIME FOR THOUGHT	35
ALBRIGHT CONCERNED BY EAST TIMOR RIOTS	35
SOEHARTO PLAYS DOWN DILI RIOTS	35
CNRM STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR YOUTH UPRISING	36
XANANA GUSMÃO'S STATEMENT OF SUPPORT TO EAST TIMORESE YOUTH UPRISING	37
TEN PEOPLE ARRESTED FOR TORCHING MARKET IN DILI	37
AI: ARREST/TORTURE UPDATE	37
MILITARY SUPPORTS DIALOG TO EASE TIMOR TENSION	38
CNRM UPDATE ON EAST TIMOR RIOTS	38
RIGHTS COMMISSION TO PROBE EAST TIMOR RIOTS	39
BELO CRITICISES ABRI ON THE DILI RIOTS	39
ETCHRIET- URGENT ACTION 27 DETAINED	40
INDONESIA INCREASES MILITARY PRESENCE	40
TIMOR MILITARY BUILD UP DENIED	40
KWI BLAMES FRUSTRATION FOR RIOTS	40
SUHARTO SAYS TIMOR RIOTS SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED	41
TEAR GAS AND TORTURE HIT DILI STUDENT PROTESTORS	41
AVERSION TO GOVERNMENT POLICIES SPARKED EAST TIMOR RIOTS	41

'PITCHED BATTLES'	42
EAST TIMOR RIOTS 'BID TO SHAKE OFF YOKE'	42
RECENT ARRESTS	42
TWO DEAD: DILI TENSE.....	43
MORE SHOOTING IN DILI	43
EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR CALLS FOR ARMY TO RESTORE CALM.....	44
SIMBOLON DENIES USE OF FIREARMS.....	44
SITUATION IN DILI VERY TENSE.....	44
ARMY STRIKES HARD	44
INDONESIA STAGES SHOW OF FORCE IN EAST TIMOR	45
INDONESIA SAYS RESTORES ORDER IN DILI, ARRESTS 120	45
AI: UP TO 120 DETAINED AFTER NEW RIOTS IN DILI	46
COMORO POLICE PRISON	46
VOA — 'ORDER RESTORED'	46
"PLEASE DO NOT MINIMISE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE HEROIC PROTESTS"	47
TIMOR: RESISTANCE SAYS 5 KILLED BY INDONESIANS.....	47
MANUEL CARRASCALÃO ASKS FOR HELP	48
DILI UNDER SIEGE.....	48
TIMORESE YOUTH ROUND-UP CONTINUES	49
EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR DENIES REQUESTING SHOOTINGS	49
WRONGFUL INTERPRETATION	49
JAKARTA CRUSHES DILI PROTEST.....	50
E. TIMOR GOVERNOR TO FIRE CIVIL SERVANTS	50
INDONESIA RELEASES MORE THAN 100 EAST TIMORESE.....	50
INDONESIA MILITARY SAYS RIOTS PURELY CRIMINAL	51
INDONESIA POLICE CONTINUE SEARCHES IN EAST TIMOR.....	51
OTHER EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR	51
EAST TIMORESE PRISONERS WRITE U.S. CONGRESS	51
TIMORESE ON TRIAL FOR HELPING FALINTIL	52
"BEATING OUT" THE ENEMY	52
VILLAGE MADE TO PAY A HIGH PRICE.....	53
MILITARY SAYS GUERRILLAS KILL THREE CIVILIANS.....	54
TIMORESE WOMEN WANT FREEDOM FROM RAPE.....	54
TWO BATTALIONS WITHDRAWN	54
MILITARY TRAINING FOR CIVIL SERVANTS	54
EAST TIMOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.....	54
KONIS SANTANA WANTS SABALAE CAPTURE INVESTIGATED.....	55
TIMORESE SAY NO TO APPRENTICESHIP	56
XANANA'S DRIVER'S TRIAL POSTPONED	56
PRISONERS TO BE MOVED	56
EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR AND BIKERS ESCAPE SHOOTING.....	56
FEAR STALKS THE STREETS OF DILI	57
TIMORESE BEAR THE SCARS OF REPRESSION	57
MORE INDONESIANS LEAVE TIMOR.....	58
POLICEMAN FIRES ON SOLDIER	59
EAST TIMOR GETS LOW COST HOUSES	59
UNPRECEDENTED PRISONER EXCHANGE IN TIMOR	59
RESISTANCE DENOUNCES "COLLABORATORS"	59
INDONESIA HOLDS TALKS WITH EAST TIMOR LEADERS	59
JAKARTA WARNS TIMOR OFFICIALS	60

ARMED RESISTANCE NOT 'MORIBUND'	60
FRETILIN IN REPLY TO <i>LE MONDE</i>	61
TWO DECADES OF DEATH, DESPAIR & TORTURE IN INDONESIA'S ACHILLES HEEL	61
LIVING IN DEATH'S SHADOW; THE LAST GUERRILLAS FIGHT ON	63
EAST TIMOR AN UNCERTAIN PRIZE FOR INDONESIA.....	63
EAST TIMOR VISITS RAISE HOPES	64
PRE-ANNIVERSARY CRACKDOWN RUMORED IN DILI	65
EVENTS IN WEST PAPUA	65
FIRM "MORALLY INVOLVED" IN ALLEGED IRIAN KILLINGS	65
NEW INTERNET RESOURCE ON WEST PAPUA.....	65
INDONESIAN MASSACRE CONFIRMED	66
IRIAN JAYA REPORTS	66
INDONESIA PROBES HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES	68
AID CANCELED FOR GOLD PROJECT IN INDONESIA	69
EVENTS IN INDONESIA.....	69
LIBERATING OUR COLONIAL MINDSET	69
AJI JOURNALISTS ON TRIAL.....	72
ACHMAD TAUFIK AND EKO MARYADI, TRI AGUS TRIALS	73
INDONESIA SAYS WILL CHECK PORTUGAL'S TV PLAN.....	74
INDONESIA'S SUHARTO SEES NO PLACE FOR OPPOSITION.....	75
INDONESIAN JOURNALIST JAILED FOR "INSULTING THE PRESIDENT"	75
INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT "FACTS" ON EAST TIMOR.....	75
INDONESIA'S BRASS POLISHES ITSELF.....	77
HOW BAD IS BAD IN EAST TIMOR?.....	78
INDONESIAN HOUSE TO HOLD PLENARY SESSION ON EAST TIMOR.....	79
JAKARTA POST: THE EAST TIMOR ISSUE.....	79
INDONESIA: DEALING CAUTIOUSLY WITH RUMORS	79
INDONESIA ACTS AGAINST PAMPHLETEERS.....	80
INDONESIA'S LEGACY OF SUPPRESSION CONDEMNED ON 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF COUP	80
ELEVEN INDONESIAN NGO'S ISSUE STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR	81
SURABAYA LBH CRITICISES NGO'S ON TIMOR	81
THE DYNAMICS OF THE INDONESIAN PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT.....	81
ABRI NAMES FACES BEHIND INCIDENTS	86
UNIONIST, ACADEMIC DENY THEY ARE COMMUNISTS.....	87
INDONESIA ETERNALLY ON ALERT TO COMMUNIST THREAT	87
ARMY RUMBLINGS OF COMMUNIST THREAT DEEMED DIVERSIONARY	88
INDONESIA SCHOLAR SAID IMMUNE FROM EXTRADITION	89
INDONESIA HOLDS NAVAL WAR GAMES	89
EAST TIMOR AT BEIJING CONFERENCE.....	89
A MESSAGE TO THE BEIJING CONFERENCE FROM THE EAST TIMORESE WOMEN	89
OMOMO MELEN PACIFIC.....	90
IFET'S GAL AT THE BEIJING NGO WOMEN'S FORUM	90
JAPANESE TV COVERAGE OF BEIJING.....	91
UNITED NATIONS.....	91
UNSG PROGRESS REPORT	91
GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT MENTIONS EAST TIMOR IN OPENING STATEMENT.....	92
EAST TIMOR: U.N. PICKS UP THE PACE	92
UNGA FOURTH COMMITTEE DISCUSSION BEGINS.....	93
EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK CALLS FOR MORE FORCEFUL UN ACTION ON EAST TIMOR.....	94

PROTESTORS FLOCK TO U.N. ANNIVERSARY GATHERING	94
SOARES BLASTS "OUTRAGEOUS SITUATION" IN EAST TIMOR.....	95
ALATAS' RESPONSE TO SOARES' UN SPEECH	95
UNITED NATIONS AT 50 AND EAST TIMOR: IT'S TIME FOR CHANGE.....	95
<hr/>	
EVENTS IN EUROPE.....	96
NEON METIN IS BACK	96
OPEN LETTER TO NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER.....	96
NORWEGIAN PM MEETS SUHARTO	98
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION	98
INDONESIA CONDEMNED BY MEPS	98
OH TIMOR! (PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS COMMITTED TO ET).....	98
BISHOP BELO NOMINATED FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.....	99
"THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING"	99
PEREZ DE CUELLAR ON INDONESIA	99
<hr/>	
TIMORESE SEEK ASYLUM AT UK EMBASSY.....	100
TIMORESE SEEKING ASYLUM AT UK EMBASSY IN JAKARTA	100
BRITISH COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR PRESS RELEASE.....	101
ASYLUM BID 'UNDER CONSIDERATION'	102
ANN CLWYD: ASYLUM MUST BE GRANTED	102
TIMORESE PLEAD FOR UK ASYLUM	102
EAST TIMOR REBELS ASK BRITAIN FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM.....	102
TIMORESE FLEE TO EMBASSY	103
ASYLUM SEEKERS LEAVE TO PORTUGAL.....	103
<hr/>	
EVENTS IN ENGLAND	103
BRITISH AID TO INDONESIA UNDER FIRE.....	103
EAST TIMOR AND ARMS TRADE ON STAGE.....	104
IRISH PRESIDENT ATTENDS PLAY	104
RIGHT LIVELIHOOD AWARD FOR CARMEL BUDIARDJO	104
'ALTERNATIVE' NOBEL PRIZE TO HONOUR FOUR ACTIVISTS	105
JAKARTA: AWARD FOR CARMEL BUDIARDJO 'A POLITICAL JOKE'	105
INTERVIEW: RLA LAUREATE CARMEL BUDIARDJO	105
<hr/>	
EVENTS IN IRELAND.....	107
PLAYING THE GAME AND RESISTING BRITISH ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA	107
NEW WEST PAPUA CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND	107
SPRING AND ALATAS CUT SHORT MEETING.....	107
SPRING WALKED OUT ON INDONESIAN MINISTER OVER TIMOR.....	107
ALATAS ATTACKS IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER.....	108
CORRECTING ALATAS'S "INACCURACIES" ABOUT "TRANSMIGRATION" IN EAST TIMOR	109
ALATAS UPSET AT SPRING'S TIMOR WORDS.....	110
OFF THE BUS AND ON TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ROAD	110
<hr/>	
EVENTS IN ASIA-PACIFIC	111
APCET PROPOSAL: "LIGHT A FIRE" SYMBOLIC ACTIONS.....	111
NGO PARALLEL CONFERENCE TO THE APEC OSAKA SUMMIT.....	111
APEC OSAKA ET PRESS CONFERENCE.....	112
<hr/>	
EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA.....	113
REALPOLITIK V: THE LAW OF NATIONS	113
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION	113
KEATING, SUHARTO TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS.....	113

CANBERRA KEEPING ON JAKARTA'S RIGHT SIDE	114
KEATING HITS HUMAN RIGHTS BLOCK ON WAY TO BOOST JAKARTA TIES	114
JAKARTA HINTS AT ENVOY MOVE.....	115
EAST TIMORESE PLEAD FOR UN ACTION	115
LEGAL MOVES AGAINST EAST TIMOR REFUGEES.....	116
BACKSLIDING SHAMES AUSTRALIANS.....	116
REFUGEE TRIBUNAL WILL TREAT EACH CASE ON MERIT.....	117
HOSTAGES TO HISTORY	117
RECONSIDER TIMOR MOVE.....	118
DIGGERS FIGHT FOR BOAT PEOPLE	118
TIMORESE DISMISS CLAIM BY KEATING	118
LET THE TIMORESE REFUGEES STAY!	119
REFUGEE RULING SPARKS ANGER	119
EAST TIMOR REFUGEES: LET THEM STAY!.....	119
IN MEMORY OF DENIS FRENEY	121
EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND	121
FLAG PROTEST.....	121
FLAG BURNING RESPONSES.....	121
NZ REGRETS REPEATED BURNING OF INDONESIAN FLAG	122
ET INDEPENDENCE COMMITTEE PROTESTS POLICE HARASSMENT OF MANU CADDIE.....	122
TIMOR ACTION CALL	122
NEW ZEALAND VIGIL / JOSÉ RAMOS HORTA VISIT.....	122
EVENTS INVOLVING THE UNITED STATES.....	123
AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT IN JAKARTA	123
THE DEBATE OVER U.S. TAX DOLLARS IN EAST TIMOR.....	123
FEINGOLD AND STATE DEPARTMENT VIEWS ON IMET AND EAST TIMOR.....	124
JIMMY CARTER TO LOOK INTO TIMOR ISSUE.....	126
INDONESIA AND THE U. S.: 30 YEARS OF LIVING DANGEROUSLY	126
COMING NY EVENTS ON EAST TIMOR	127
NAIRN: FREE EAST TIMOR	127
ACTION ALERT: CALL CONGRESS ON IMET	128
CONGRESSIONAL LETTER ON IMET.....	128
CONGRESS LIMITS IMET FOR INDONESIA.....	129
CONGRESSIONAL LETTERS TO CLINTON.....	129
CLINTON, SUHARTO MAY AVOID RIGHTS ISSUES	130
PRESIDENT CLINTON RAISED EAST TIMOR WITH INDONESIAN PRESIDENT T SUHARTO	131
CLINTON, SUHARTO TALK HUMAN RIGHTS	131
INDONESIA WOOS AMERICAN BUSINESS	132
FIVE NAMED FOR PRESS FREEDOM AWARDS.....	132
INDONESIA BUYING U.S. F-16'S?.....	132
NO US ARMS SALES TO DICTATORS	132
OWENS: US MAY LIFT F-16S SALES BAN.....	133
INDONESIA STILL STUDIES US OFFER TO SELL F-16S	134
JET FIGHTERS DO NOT VIOLATE RIGHTS	134
INDONESIA PLAYS DOWN MILITARY PURCHASES	135
CLINTON OFFERS F-16S TO INDONESIA - NEWSPAPER.....	135
INDONESIA SEEKS U.S. EXPORT CREDITS FOR F-16S	136
VOA — US F-16S TO INDONESIA?	136

RESOURCES	136
“EYEWITNESS” BOOK LAUNCH	136
BOOK TO PORTRAY ‘91 MASSACRE	137
TIMOR NET AROUSES INDONESIA’S CURIOSITY	137
ELECTRONIC RESOURCES ON EAST TIMOR.....	138
NEW ET MONOGRAPH	139

BALIBO REMEMBERED

BALIBO MASSACRE BACKGROUND

*Extract from TIMOR — A PEOPLE
BETRAYED by James Dunn*

THE MURDER OF THE ‘AUSTRALIAN’ TV CREW AT BALIBO

16 October 1975

The Indonesian assault in the Balibo sector involved about 300 troops, who were under the command of a major, believed to be Major Andreas or Junus. The attack began at about 4.00 a.m. and at near 7.00 a.m. the force entered the village square. The Fretilin opposition consisted of about 40 troops equipped with one machine gun and small arms. Therefore, they began to withdraw as soon as the invading troops entered the village, firing as they retreated. Left in Balibo were the five Australian newsmen who had decided to remain in the village, presumably confident that their non-combatant status would be identified and respected by the other party to the conflict. No doubt they realized that they were taking risks, but Indonesia was, after all, Australia’s nearest neighbour, and a great deal had been said in the previous two years about the close and friendly relations that had developed between the two countries. The confidence of these newsmen was not, however, shared by their Fretilin escorts, nor by the Portuguese television crew, both of whom had tried to persuade them to withdraw on the previous day. In order to allay the fears of Fretilin the newsmen prepared and signed a statement releasing the Fretilin officials from any responsibility for the consequences of their decision to remain and witness the action. And it was certainly action they got: within one to two hours of the entry into Balibo of the Indonesian special forces troops, all five were dead, the circumstances of their deaths creating one of the most controversial and bitter episodes in the entire Timor tragedy.

The group have been commonly referred to as the ‘Australian newsmen,’ but this description is only partly correct — only

two members were actually Australian citizens. These were Greg Shackleton, 29, a television reporter from HSV7 in Melbourne, and Tony Stewart, about 21, a sound recordist from HSV7. The other members of the group were Malcolm Rennie, 28, a British citizen who had been working as a reporter with the Nine Network in Melbourne; Brian Peters, 29, also British, who was the cameraman accompanying Rennie; and Gary Cunningham, 27, a New Zealander and the cameraman with Shackleton. The party was in fact not one, but two television teams from rival networks, who had been sent separately East Timor within a few days of the reported attack on Batugade, with the purpose of establishing proof of whether Indonesian forces we involved in the fighting against Fretilin.

Behind the decision to send the Channel Nine team was one of Australia’s leading current-affairs personalities on television, Gerald Stone, the Channel’s news director who, it will be recalled, had himself led a television crew to the territory late in August, and had maintained a close interest in subsequent developments. In the case of the HSV7 team, the initiative appears to have come from Shackleton himself, who was reportedly looking for a break from the monotony of routine reporting in Melbourne. Shackleton Cunningham and Stewart arrived on 10 October, and the others two days later. Both teams spent a little time in the capital before heading for the border, and most of the intervening days were spent in the Maliana-Balibo area, where they took some film and conducted a number of interviews.

The Indonesian military assault could not have been a surprise to these crews. There was an expectation that an attack was imminent and, from the battlements of the old fort at Balibo which offer a commanding view of the coastal stretches on both sides of the border, they themselves had been able to observe the bustle of Indonesian naval activities in the waters nearby. Perhaps a kind of naive spirit of high adventure prevailed among the group, but Shackleton’s last recorded interviews indicate that there was also a strong sense of commitment to the task of bringing out the truth about the

war in Timor. When the newsmen chose to remain behind, they must have expected to be captured, or at least detained by the Indonesians, and to end up behind Indonesian lines. But, given the good relations between Canberra and Jakarta, they no doubt felt assured of an early release.

Since 1976 there have been a number of articles and studies about this tragic affair, notably by Jill Jolliffe and Hamish McDonald. A disappointing contribution was a report by three Australian diplomats (tabled in the Parliament in 1976) which sheds more light on official attitudes to the affair than on the affair itself. But the Balibo killings are not an unsolveable mystery, as the departmental report suggests. . from the work of Jolliffe and McDonald, and extensive interviews with Timorese who were in the vicinity of Balibo on that fateful day, it is possible to discern a clear pattern of events, and to come up with a credible explanation of how the newsmen were killed, and in what circumstances.

Australian government ministers and officials have invariably referred to the attack on Balibo as an incident shrouded in confusion and mystery. In fact, as we have seen, there is really no mystery about the attack at all. It was an entirely Indonesian military operation in the sense that the commanders and the combatants were Indonesian. A few Timorese were taken along, but they were very largely in support roles, with no combat responsibilities. The dominant Indonesia role is made very clear in the U.S. intelligence agency assessments contained in the ‘Timor Papers.’ It can be assumed that these assessments were also available to the Australian government, indicating that the government was not telling the truth when it expressed doubts about who was responsible for the attack. On 31 October the CIA described the operation thus: ‘Some 2000 Indonesian regular infantry troops, special forces, marines, and Timorese partisans, launched coordinated attacks along the border and captured at least six border towns in Portuguese Timor on October 16. In fact, the Timorese partisans amounted to about 100 men who came not from the rank of Fretilin’s UDT adversaries, but from Colonel Sugiyanto’s guerrilla training camp in West Timor, that is, the Atsabe Timorese

who had been secretly 'recruited' earlier in 1975, with the help of Tomas Gonçalves.

The troops who entered Balibo appear to have been a mixture of Kopassandha (special forces) and KKO (naval commandos), perhaps with some soldiers from the Brawidjaja Division. Hamish McDonald has suggested that the force was entirely Kopassandha, but several Timorese who were in the village on that day spoke of the presence of the KKO. The retreating Fretilin troops also spoke of different styles of head-gear. The invaders came not from the west — the direction of Batugade — but from the south-east, preceded by three hours of continuous shelling. The Fretilin garrison, anxious not to be surrounded and cut off from the main body of Timorese forces hurriedly withdrew, and the Indonesian soldiers streamed into the village.

The newsmen apparently took painstaking steps to advertise their non-combatant and Australian identities to the advance guard of the attacking forces. Greg Shackleton had painted a large 'Australia' sign on the wall of the house where they were staying, and beneath it he sketched a rough, but identifiable, drawing of an Australian flag. As several witnesses have attested the newsmen also took care to be dressed in unmistakably non-military clothing, and they did not possess any arms. The last Fretilin soldier to withdraw from the village (whose interview the writer attended in Dili in late October 1975) claimed that the Australians had moved out into the open and that there was some filming when the attack began. The soldier, orderly named Guido dos Santos, stated that the newsmen had then moved back towards their house and pointed to the signs on the wall in an obvious attempt to draw the Indonesian soldiers' attention their identity. But clearly they did not get their message across. According to this Timorese source, the attackers fired in the direction of the newsmen and he saw one of them fall, apparently after having been hit. The other newsmen then began shouting 'Australians!' and feverishly pointed to the signs on the wall. Dos Santos then withdrew. As he ran he claimed that he could still hear the shouting, but there was some more firing, and the shouting stopped. About ten days later Roger East, another Australian journalist who was himself to meet a similar fate after the invasion of Dili, interviewed some other Fretilin soldiers, who claimed that they had watched the Australians while retreating from Balibo. This version is not so different from that of dos Santos, but it is rather more detailed. One of these soldiers, Lucas Jeronimo, told East:

The Australians ran toward their house about 200 metres away. One kept stopping,

looking back and pointing his camera. He was a big man. . . The Indonesians kept firing. The man with the bald head [Peters] was still filming, then he cried out and fell down. The other Australians were screaming 'Australians, Australians!' with their hands up. The soldiers circled them and made them turn their backs and face the wall of the house. The firing died down and we crawled away through the undergrowth. We heard the Australians screaming and then there was burst of automatic fire.

The evidence so far available suggests that things moved very quickly on that day at Balibo, and it is probable that within an hour all five of the newsmen had been killed, not by 'UDT-Apodeti forces' as Indonesian officials have consistently tried to make Australia believe, but by regular troops of the Indonesian armed forces. Most of this evidence has come not from Fretilin sources, but from other Timorese who were in Balibo on 16 October, several of them having accompanied the Indonesian troops from West Timor in order to carry out guide and interpreter functions. A few accounts have also been obtained from the Indonesian side. All in all, there is enough corroborative evidence from these various accounts to enable us to construct a credible picture of the circumstances in which the newsmen met their fate.

It seems that the newsmen were convinced that there was less risk in exposing themselves to the incoming troops than in remaining in the house. Therefore, when the attack began they came out into the open and tried to establish their identity as a group of Australian journalists. Peter evidently decided to do some filming, which was probably unwise in the circumstances. The Indonesian troops opened fire and he was hit. When this firing began another member of the group tried to make a run for it, but he was shot down before he got very far. The troops then closed in on the remaining newsmen who, by shouting 'Australians' and pointing to the markings on the wall, made a desperate bid to save their lives. One of them appears to have been struck with a knife — perhaps this caused the screaming that the Fretilin soldiers claimed to have heard during their retreat from the village. In the event, the surviving members of the party were shot after capture, perhaps within half an hour, and four of the bodies presumably excluding the body of the journalist who had tried to run away, were taken into the house. It appears that one of the group was still alive. A Timorese who was present told his brother later that the newsman was badly wounded, but that he was wearing headphones and had something like a radio strapped on his back. He said that the newsman 'appeared to be

almost dead — near unconsciousness — and was talking into the radio. This could easily have been Tony Stewart the soundman, vainly attempting to record something of that terrible incident. According to a source interviewed by the writer, a Timorese moved towards the wounded man, but was ordered back by an Indonesian marine lieutenant, who then shot the newsmen.

The killing of the journalists was reported by radio to operational headquarters at Batugade, thence to Kodam headquarters at Den Pasar and to Jakarta, probably to Murdani. Colonel Dading and Louis Taolin then at once flew to Balibo by helicopter. Their visit was followed by a bizarre sequel to this wanton killing. Two or three of the bodies were taken out of the house, dressed in Portuguese uniforms, of the kind used by Fretilin, which had been discovered among the stores in the local barracks, and then the corpses were propped up behind some captured machine guns in front of the 'Australia sign. An Indonesian soldier then proceeded to photograph the scene. Accounts of this macabre incident came from a number of sources and there can be no doubt of its veracity. One Timorese had been ordered to help remove the bodies, and he noticed that, although the corpses had severe wounds the uniforms in which they were clad were unmarked. Another, who had served in the Portuguese army had been ordered by the Indonesians to put into working order the weapons that had been placed in front of the bodies. He had spent a whole day on this task, but had not been successful because key parts of the weapons were missing. A former senior UDT leader also related this incident. He said that although he had not been there at the time, an Indonesian Bakin officer had later shown him the photographs of the journalists seated behind the machine guns. Bakin, he was told, intended to make use of these photographs, and the weapons to show that the newsmen had in reality been combatants for the cause of Fretilin.

However, for reasons that are not clear, the Indonesians did not go ahead with this sordid act of disinformation. Perhaps it was because the weapons could not be put in working order, or maybe the scheme was rejected at a higher level. Yet there are some grounds for believing that it was more than the whim of a junior intelligence officer. For one thing, the hoax was set up shortly after Colonel Dading Kalbuadi arrived at the scene, suggesting that the order to arrange the deception may have come from him, or was at least approved by him. It is interesting to note that although this bizarre hoax was not used at the time, it has subsequently been given some publicity by Sir Keith Shann, a former senior public servant and ambassador to, among other countries,

Indonesia. Shann remarked in 1981, after a visit to Indonesia that he understood that the journalists had been dressed in uniforms when their bodies had been discovered.

But let us return to events in Balibo. Later in the day the bodies were taken to another house where, together with some other bodies, they were burnt after having been immersed in petrol. This provided the setting for a story that was to emerge from sources in Jakarta, that the newsmen had been killed in a rocket attack by UDT-Apodeti forces! But before the bodies were incinerated some of their possessions were looted. Not all of the looting was carried out by the Indonesians. J Tavares, a Timorese — one of the few ex-UDT members to cast his lot with the pro-integration faction — ‘souvenired’ a watch from of the dead newsmen and a camera from another.

It has often been charged that the Indonesians ‘executed’ newsmen at Balibo. This may not be an appropriate term, since it suggests a formal sentencing, or at least the culmination of a process of some kind, when in fact the newsmen were summarily dealt with. There is no doubt however that at least three of them were not killed in the heat of battle. Nor, in the circumstances, is it conceivable that they were taken to be comrades-in-arms of Fretilin. All the creditable evidence points to the fact that the newsmen did their utmost to advertise their non-combatant status, and there could have been no doubt about their identity in the minds of the Indonesians who killed the remaining three.

It was reported that the Indonesians had not known that there were journalists in the area. This too, is difficult to accept. Timorese then in the refugee camps in Indonesian Timor later told the writer that even they were aware of the presence of the television crews in the Balibo area on the eve of the

* Tavares was subsequently appointed bupati, or senior district officer, of the Balibo regency.

attack. As for the Indonesians, one need only turn to the account by Hamish McDonald, who reported that there were two Timorese radio operators in Colonel Hernoto’s communications centre, for the specific purpose of monitoring Fretilin broadcasts. Furthermore, the Indonesians were well aware that there were a number of foreigners, including journalists as well as aid workers, in East Timor, whose neutral status warranted appropriate respect. Only a week or so before the Balibo attack ABC, Reuter, an AAP journalists had visited the border area and their extensive reporting on the situation would not have escaped the attention of Murtopo and Murdani in Jakarta.

In the circumstances, it is virtually impossible to avoid the conclusion that these newsmen were not the victims of an accident or misunderstanding. Clearly, at least three of them were killed in cold blood, almost certainly in order to remove the risk of exposure to the international media of Indonesia’s covert military intervention. Hamish McDonald later wrote that, although Indonesian special forces troops involved in the operation denied any prior knowledge of the presence of the television crews at Balibo, they did admit that, in any case, ‘the attacking force was under explicit orders to kill any witnesses to their covert intrusion into foreign territory.’ To put it simply, the killing at Balibo, of at least three of the men, was nothing less than an act of murder.

The reaction of the Australian government and its diplomats to the wanton killing of five members of the nation’s press corps was consistent with other aspects of its dismal record in relation to the rape of East Timor. What is particularly disturbing is that the Whitlam government knew about the impending attack some days before it took place. The writer was warned about it by a sensitively placed senior official before he left for Timor with the ACFOA team on 7 October. Five days earlier, U.S. intelligence analysts, using information to which Australia also had access, advised their government that the attack would be launched in a few days. Hamish McDonald wrote: ‘According to sources in Jakarta interviewed by this writer, the Australian Embassy was told of plans to attack Balibo two or three days before they were carried out. Almost certainly this information would have been passed on to Canberra. Thus the government had at its disposal enough information — and enough time to warn Australians in East Timor of the impending risks at the border. More importantly, they could have advised the Indonesians of the presence of journalists in the area, and stress that they should be afforded protection according to their status.

Perhaps it would have been difficult to convey such a warning to the newsmen themselves. The crews were probably already on their way to Timor when the government became aware of Indonesian plans to attack Maliana and Balibo. But Australian authorities already knew about the Indonesian operation against Batugade, and they must surely have concluded that further military operations were to come. Some officials later claimed that they knew nothing of the newsmen’s plans to visit the border area. It is hard to believe such a claim: their arrival in East Timor was common knowledge to a number of Australian officials, and it should have been assumed that they would proceed to the border. The main

reason for sending television crews in the first place was to establish whether the Indonesian military were involved in the fighting at the border, as Fretilin officials had alleged. Perhaps government officials knew too little about the situation on the ground in East Timor itself. Indeed, it was the writer’s distinct impression at the time that some of the key officials in the relevant policy area of the Department of Foreign Affairs felt that the less they knew about what was happening in the colony, the easier it was for them to cope with the contradictory aspects of the Whitlam’s Timor policy.

The tragic outcome at Balibo led some officials to contend that teams should not have ventured into such a dangerous situation in first place. It was also alleged that the newsmen had rushed off to the colony without first seeking a brief from the Department of Foreign Affairs, and without even informing Australian authorities of what they were planning to do. There is an element of hypocrisy about such criticisms, which come mostly from official sources. The Whitlam government’s devious handling of the Timor problem, the contradictory reports coming from Jakarta and the territory, and the reported dangers being faced not just by a small neighbour, but by a people who had rallied to Australia’s cause during World War 2, surely presented the media of this country with an obligation to expose the truth of the situation to the Australian public. After all, the Timorese had for some time been appealing to Australia for help; there was widespread public disquiet at what seemed to be happening in the Portuguese colony, and conjecture on whether the government was really facing up to its responsibilities in its approach to the crisis.

Perhaps the teams should have sought a briefing from government sources, but this begs the question: just what kind of a briefing would they have been given at that time? It is hard to believe that they would have been provided with a frank background assessment. If officials had talked uninhibitedly with the newsmen, the frailty of the Whitlam government’s Timor policy would almost certainly have been compromised. Also, Gerald Stone and others might have feared, from their earlier experiences, that the government would have merely tried to persuade them not to go, and, therefore, to have consulted officials beforehand would have meant providing the latter with an opportunity to obstruct the venture.

Whatever the circumstances of the newsmen’s departure from Australia, it is indeed a weak argument to suggest that government actions to protect its own correspondents should have been contingent on

such formalities as prior consultation. In any case, there were already Australian journalists in Timor, including Tony Menatti of the ABC, and Rick Collins and Jill Jolliffe of AAP-Reuter, who had already ventured to the border area. Did the Australian embassy in Jakarta seek assurances from the Indonesian military that aid workers and journalists would be accorded protection appropriate to their status? There is little evidence of this. Notwithstanding the public fiction of the 'civil war' in Timor, frank informal exchanges were going on in Jakarta at that time between Australian embassy officials and representatives of the Indonesian military establishment and more frank briefings on the Timor situation were being provided to the military and intelligence representatives on the staff of the embassy. Apparently the Department of Foreign Affairs did make an effort to pass on a warning to journalists in Dili, although it came rather late. According to Jill Jolliffe: 'On the Thursday on which the journalists perished, the head of AAP's Darwin bureau telephoned the Dili correspondent with the information that Foreign Affairs had warned that: "something big" was to happen in East Timor that day and that the Dili correspondent should be alerted.' As Jolliffe herself pointed out the 'something big' had already happened that very morning — the newsmen at the border had by that time been dead for about four hours!

Although the official reaction in Australia to reports that the newsmen were missing and may have been killed was slow and extremely cautious, it has been credibly reported that within less than 2 hours the government knew that the crews had been killed in an Indonesian military operation. This information came from one of Australia's most closely guarded intelligence operations, a system of electronic surveillance, operated by a very sensitive component of the Defence Department, the Defence Signals Division. The role of DSL in this particular incident has already been analysed by Richard Hall, Desmond Ball, and Hamish McDonald. Perhaps the most interesting account comes from the pen of McDonald, who wrote:

After monitoring the battle for Balibo as it happened — through a mass of signals that detailed the movements of small units, ships and aircraft — the Shoal Bay DSD station sent recorded data immediately to DSD headquarters in Melbourne, almost next door to the HSV7 studios in St Kilda Road.

But the few government ministers (perhaps only two), and a handful of Foreign Affairs and Defence analysts were not the only persons to have disclosed to them that the Indonesians had killed the journalists.

John Kerin, at the time secretary of the ALP's Caucus Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee and a critic of Whitlam's Timor policy, was telephoned by an anonymous caller — presumably a troubled intelligence operative — and provided with some details of the killing at Balibo on 17 October. On the same day a similar contact was made with a Channel Nine executive who had been sent to Darwin. According to McDonald, John Foell was called to the Travelodge lobby and told by a nervous stranger that the newsmen had been 'machine-gunned and their bodies burnt.' It was a case, it seemed, of the troubled consciences of a few intelligence officials outweighing the force of their security pledges.

The official Australian response to the killing of the television crews fell not far short of total inaction. In their attitudes to the incident most officials were defensive, and some were even inclined to blame the journalists for having gone to Balibo in the first place. Implicit in this view was the notion that Australians should have stayed away from Timor and let the Indonesians resolve the problem in their own way, that is, let 'events take their course.' Those who did not comply with this rule of good sense and discretion could not blame the authorities in Australia, and nor could they expect any quarter from the Indonesians, whose disregard of fundamental international rule of behaviour needed to be judged against Jakarta's fears that the nation's legitimate security interests were under threat.

THE 5 GHOSTS OF BALIBO RISE ONCE MORE TO HAUNT INDONESIA & US

*Sydney Morning Herald, October 14 1995
David Jenkins, Asia editor*

[Summary — a long article giving 3 versions of the killing of 5 journalists at Balibo on October 16, 1975. The article is accompanied by a map of Balibo and a summary of 3 versions of what happened at Balibo.

Version 1: Two journalists are killed in crossfire, the others are murdered by Indonesian troops. According to former Australian consul in Dili, James Dunn, 'at least three of the surviving members of the party were shot after capture, perhaps within half an hour. The killing by knifing and the vain attempt by one of the group to escape have surfaced in a number of accounts' source: Timorese witnesses

Version 2: There is no line-up and execution 'but quick ruthless killings in the heat of battle.' 'I saw one Australian come out of the door with his hands up saying something like 'Australian! Journalist!' He was

struck down instantly by a knife blow from an Indonesian soldier' source: Timorese witnesses

Version 3: They were caught in crossfire. 'They were not killed in cold blood. I know it was a pertempuran [combat, battle]. They were in between Fretilin and the advancing Indonesian troops. And who was to know in the heat of battle that they were Australians?' source: Indonesian generals]

It will be 20 years on Monday since 5 Australian-based TV journalists were killed during an Indonesian army attack on Balibo, East Timor. It was an accident, the authorities said. But as David Jenkins reports, they now confirm that they knew the journalists were there and had been monitoring their transmissions.

The house where Channel 7 reporter Greg Shackleton painted the word 'Australia' and a small likeness of the Australian flag is still there and much neater now, done up in the pastel blue colour scheme that was so popular in Portugal's overseas territories.

But the shutters are closed and there is no sign of life. In a town of down-at-heel stores and slovenly open spaces, the house sits like a well-tended mausoleum — which in a way it is.

'We've daubed our house with the word Australia,' Shackleton said in his last report from Balibo, a bleached mountain outpost where the dry grassland and stunted eucalyptus evoke powerful memories for any Australian visitor. 'We've hoping it will afford us some protection.' That, as it turned out was a forlorn expectation.

Four days later, troops from Indonesia's crack paracommando regiment swarmed into Balibo, pouring automatic weapons fire into everything that moved and much that didn't. In less than an hour, they were dead.

Those deaths have never been adequately explained. What happened in Balibo?

For hundreds of years, Muslims from Java, Sulawesi and Sumatra have been slowly extending their influence into the eastern backblocks of what is now Indonesia where the Malay world rubs up against Melanesia. Twenty years ago, that slow evolutionary process made a sudden spurt forward.

Alarmed by the success of the left-wing Fretilin independence movement, which had defeated its conservative UDT rivals in a brief but bloody civil war, Indonesia decided that it was time to intervene.

It trained a volunteer army of pro-integration Timorese. It launched clandestine commando raids inside Timorese territory, deliberately fuelling the instability that it would later cite as an excuse for a full-scale invasion. And then it went in boots and all.

As is usual in such circumstances, Jakarta turned first to the elite paracommando unit Kopassandha (Secret Warfare Force) later renamed Kopassus.

On Tuesday, Oct. 7 (1975), about 100 Kopassandha troops commanded by Colonel Dading Kalbuadi captured the coastal town of Batugade, 2 km inside Portuguese Timor, forcing Fretilin defenders to pull back to Balibo, 10km further east.

Dading, who became the first Indonesian commander in East Timor after the invasion and who retired as a lieutenant-general in 1987, established a forward headquarters in an old Portuguese fort. One of his assistants, the late Col. Agus Hernoto, set up a radio unit to monitor Fretilin radio traffic.

At this stage President Suharto was continuing to hold out against pressure from his army commanders for a full-scale military invasion of East Timor. But as a leaked CIA report was to reveal, he had 'approved a plan of action that will increase pressure on Fretilin forces operating near the border.' Under the plan Indonesian troops would attack Maliana and other border towns beginning on October 14th. The participating troops wore uniforms with no insignia and carried older style Soviet weapons. In theory the Indonesian plan was top secret. In practice everyone knew what was coming.

In this atmosphere of imminent crisis, a 3 man TV crew from Channel 7 in Melbourne (Greg Shackleton, 29, a reporter, Gary Cunningham, 27 year old New Zealand cameraman and Tony Stewart, 21 year old soundman) arrived in Balibo on October 11, 1975. They hoped to get the first footage of Indonesia's covert war against its tiny neighbour.

On the same day Indonesia sent additional troops and Soviet-made PT-76 amphibious tanks across the border to reinforce Batugade. Fretilin believed, and Col. Dading encouraged this — that the Indonesians would advance up the mountain road to Balibo. Knowing it could not hope to hold Balibo, which was within range of Indonesia's heavy naval guns, Fretilin kept a token force of 60 men there. Their task was to ambush any Indonesian column coming up the exposed mountain road.

On Monday, October 13th a team from Channel 9 in Sydney (Malcolm Rennie, 28 year old English reporter, and Brian Peters, 29 year old English cameraman) joined the Channel 7 crew in Balibo. They spent the night in an abandoned Chinese shophouse at the dusty intersection where the road to Cova joins the main Batugade-Maliana road.

The building, initially dubbed the 'Australian Embassy,' now became the 'Commonwealth Secretariat.'

What would the TV crews have done once the Indonesians broke through Fre-

tilin's flimsy defences, as was inevitable? We have no way of knowing. They might have chosen to withdraw, taking the inland mountain roads and bridle paths back to Dili, 70km to the north-east as the crow flies. Or they might have chosen to stay on, believing that their status as neutral non-combatants would afford them protection. Whatever the case, they had made a fateful decision.

The East Timor border area was an increasingly dangerous place in October 1975. Indonesian scouting parties were making regular forays into Portuguese territory and they were not in any mood to have their cover blown. According to a detailed National Times article by Hamish McDonald the troops who eventually attacked Balibo were under explicit orders 'to kill all witnesses to their covert intrusion into foreign territory.'

Pro-integration East Timorese were also operating in the border area, filled with a consuming hatred for the Fretilin forces to which the TV crews were attached.

As the TV crews made their plans to cover the anticipated Indonesian attack, the Australian embassy in Jakarta, acquired intelligence that 'pro-Indonesian irregulars reinforced with Indonesian regulars' were preparing three border towns — Balibo, Maliana and Atsabe — from Fretilin.

'We did not know if any Australians were in that area,' said Richard Woolcott, Australian Ambassador at the time. 'However we sent a priority cable to Canberra on October 13, urging that if there were any Australians in the Balibo area, they should be advised urgently of the impending danger in which they might find themselves.'

'The rest is a tragic piece of history. The journalists were killed in the pre-dawn attack on Balibo on October 16th. Either the warnings were ignored or communications in East Timor in October 1975 were poor and messages, if sent, did not get through.'

Until now, the Indonesians have always insisted that they, too, were in the dark about the presence of journalists in Balibo, even though it was well-known in East Timor and beyond that as many as a dozen Western correspondents had visited border areas.

That claim has now been discarded. A highly placed Indonesian military source told the Herald that Jakarta was well aware that there were journalists in Balibo.

'According to the reports that I have read, these Australian journalists were camped in an old house in Balibo,' said the source on condition of anonymity. 'And from there they were sending messages to Dili to radio.'

As Col. Hernoto's officers listened in to the messages, the source said, they con-

cluded the journalists were not just sending news reports back to Dili for relay to Australia but were 'helping Fretilin by conveying information of a military nature.'

'They had a radio and we had a monitoring system. They reported to their chief in Dili or Darwin. But intelligence had the impression that they reported back to [someone] in Australia, whether he be a Timorese or an Australian.'

The Indonesians set up a Joint Task Force Command under Col. Dading and had begun to mass about 3500 regular troops on their side of the border to seize 6 East Timorese towns. The attack came, with guile and ferocity, before dawn on October 16th.

At 3am Col. Dading ordered the Marine Corps tank crews to start their engines and begin moving about the Batugade area. The Soviet-made PT-76 is a growling, screeching vehicle and to the Fretilin soldiers on the Balibo road it would have looked as if the offensive was about to begin. This was a ruse.

'I made an operational plan to deceive,' Col. Dading said yesterday, 'I had no intention of advancing up the main road. I would have been crazy to do that. I attacked from behind. They were very surprised. When I took Balibo, we found that all the machine guns were pointed towards the main roads. They were not professional soldiers, like me. I am a professional. They just tried to ambush us.'

As Fretilin soldiers waited in their ambush positions on the western approaches to Balibo, more than 100 Kopassandha troops swept into Balibo from the south and east, laying down a deadly barrage of fire. There was virtually no resistance. Kopassandha suffered only one casualty, a soldier who was lightly injured.

The attack was led by Captain Yunus Yosfiah, a 30 year old Buginese special forces officer, who is now a major-general. General Yunus is married to a Timorese woman and commanded the Infantry Training Centre in Bandung in the early 1990s. He was in Australia recently for the Kangaroo 95 military exercises. He was described yesterday by a senior Australian military officer as 'a fine officer.'

There are at least three versions of what happened when the Kopassandha forces reached Balibo.

According to James Dunn, who interviewed a number of Timorese witnesses, the Australians came out into the open as the Indonesians advanced into the town, attempting to establish their non-combatant status.

Dunn has written 'Brian Peters evidently decided to do some filming. The Indonesian troops opened fire and he was hit.' One of

the other journalists was shot down as he tried to make a run for it. A third, he wrote, appeared to have been struck with a knife.

Dunn concluded 'In the event, at least 3 of the surviving members of the party were shot after capture, perhaps within half an hour. The killing by knifing and the vain attempt by one of the group to escape have surfaced in several accounts.'

According to a Timorese witness quoted by McDonald, 'there was no line-up and execution, but quick and ruthless killings in the heat of battle.' The witness, who said there was little resistance by Fretilin, claims to have an unobstructed view of the house where they were sheltering. 'I saw one Australian come out of the door with his hands up saying something like, 'Australian !, Journalist!'

'He was struck down instantly by a knife blow from an Indonesian soldier. I then saw Indonesian soldiers fire through the window of the house on the others inside, as well as the one who fallen from the knife blow. I then saw a wounded man run out the back to a house, formerly a Portuguese security post, behind the other. I saw him frantically trying to open the door but couldn't, turn, run a short distance, then drop dead.'

According to a number of accounts, the Indonesians later dressed the dead journalists in Portuguese army uniforms of the kind used by Fretilin and propped them up behind a machine-gun behind the house where Shackleton had painted the word 'Australia.' They were then photographed in a crude attempt to suggest that they had taken up arms with Fretilin.

In the event, Dunn notes, the 'Indonesians did not present this sordid disinformation to Australian investigators.' There is little doubt that the incident took place. When asked about the allegation, a well-informed member of the 'Indonesian lobby' in Canberra acknowledged as much with the comment, 'Yes, well, that's very Indonesian.'

Dading, who had arrived by helicopter from Batugade as the fighting drew to a close, emphatically rejects the claim that any journalists were killed in cold blood. 'That's not right,' he said, 'I know about that .. After we took over Balibo we checked and found there were some bodies that were burned in the house. But you know we did not do anything like that. No, it's not true. We were in combat. We didn't know form where the white men came. After the attack we just knew some white men were killed in action. It could happen anywhere. It's the risk of the journalist in combat.'

Dading however claimed that the Indonesian trained East Timorese volunteers who accompanied Kopassandha force had been

ill-disciplined and vengeful. Arriving in the town they had begun to put every house and shop to the torch. 'I had to order them to stop,' Gen. Dading said, 'I gave the order, 'Don't burn the houses' 'But sir, we don't like Fretilin.' 'Oh my God,' I just said, 'Don't burn the houses! That's an order!'

According to Dading the volunteers claimed that Fretilin troops had been inside the house and had opened fire on the attacking force.

Were the journalists inside the building with Fretilin? 'I think so,' Gen. Dading said, ' But we didn't know at the time they were journalists. And the volunteers, because they don't have any discipline, they just attacked.'

Dading's version of events, which gives greater emphasis to the military role of the volunteers than many observers would have thought likely, comes down firmly on the side of death by misadventure.

That conclusion is supported by the senior Indonesian military officer who has revealed that ABRI knew there were journalists in Balibo.

'They were not killed in cold blood, you know. I know it was a pertempuran [combat, battle]. They were in between Fretilin and the advancing Indonesian troops. And who was to know in the heat of battle that they were Australians.'

On the information available it is difficult to conclusively say which account is most plausible.

But Guilherme Gonçalves, a former Indonesian appointed governor of the territory, yesterday repudiated the official claim that the 5 died in crossfire between opposing Timorese factions. In an interview with AAP, Gonçalves said the claim, made in a letter to Australian diplomats shortly after the killings had been invented by the Indonesians to appease Australia. 'It was just an excuse to Australia so that Australia would not become angry..' said Gonçalves, one of the authors of the letter. "I think it is not true. It was just invented. It's a false document.'

This is not a serious blow to the Indonesian case by the disaffected Gonçalves, who is the Raja of Atsabe, the region from which many of the pro-Indonesian 'volunteers' were recruited. No one in Indonesia seriously believes that story anymore. But it will add to the sense that the Indonesian case for intervention in East Timor is built on more myths than may be comfortable.

And although Canberra has never made a formal protest to Jakarta over the killing of the journalists, even paid-up members of Canberra's 'Indonesia lobby' speak in a manner which suggests that they are not fully persuaded by the Indonesian explanation.

One senior Australian official who was closely associated with the internal investigation into the deaths said 'If one or two were not killed in the original raid, maybe they were shot. But we just don't know about that.'

The Australian TV journalists who died in Balibo were obviously brave and dedicated. They believed Australians were entitled to know what was happening in East Timor, the more so, it seems, because the Whitlam government was doing so much to disguise, dismiss and downplay Indonesian aggression.

Whether they were wise is another matter. They had been given many warnings that the border area was dangerous and had signed documents waiving Fretilin of any responsibility for their safety.

Beyond that many things remain unclear.

The claim that Indonesia monitored Fretilin radio traffic is not new. It was revealed by McDonald in 1979. However he noted that the source was self contradictory on whether the journalists were identified as Australian or whether the information was passed to Dading. What is new is the unambiguous claim, made by a senior military source and repeated in a series of interviews, that Indonesian intelligence officers knew there were journalists in Balibo, knew that they were transmitting material to Australia and had come to the conclusion that they were actively helping Fretilin.

(Dading, who was responsible for coordinating 6 major attacks that day, says he can't recall every detail about the Balibo incident. He notes that Colonel Hernoto, who was familiar with everything to do with radio interception, died several years ago).

Did the TV crews send such messages? There is no suggestion in Greg Shackleton's diary that they did. On the other hand, Shackleton reported that, 'At Maliana we conveyed a message that [Fretilin] reinforcements be sent from Maliana to defend Balibo.'

McDonald noted that this shows 'a degree of identification with Fretilin and a minor breach of the convention that war correspondents do not assist combat forces.'

Nor is that the only intriguing question about electronic eavesdropping. We know that Australia's Defence Signals Directorate (DSD) was monitoring Indonesian army radio traffic. Did DSD intercept any of the Indonesian messages referring to the fact that there were journalists in Balibo? Did they intercept the original Fretilin messages on which the information was based? What, if anything, did they do about it? Could Canberra have done more with the DSD intelligence? Or was it caught in a dilemma

of knowing more than it could afford to reveal?

According to Woolcott, 'Nothing is really gained by revisiting 20 years later this tragic event during the civil war in East Timor. We should look to the future of our many-sided and most important relationship with Indonesia.'

Many would agree — we cannot afford to let one tragic incident poison our relations with Jakarta.

But nagging questions remain. Can we really refer to Balibo as an incident in a 'civil war' when Jakarta no longer bothers to hide the fact that the attack on 6 East Timorese border towns involved a 3500 man force of Indonesian regulars, supported by tanks, a World War II B-26 bomber, a C-47 gunship and a naval armada? Could Australia have done more to alert the journalists to the dangers that they faced? Woolcott for one believes it could. 'The tragedy,' he says, 'is compounded by my belief that it might have been avoided.'

Finally did we do all we could to avert the agony that lay ahead for the people of East Timor, between 100,000 and 200,000 of whom were to die after Indonesia forces rolled across the border in such force on October 16? That, as they say, is for history to judge.

INDONESIA WON'T REOPEN BALIBO INVESTIGATION

*SPJ PRESS NOTES – October 21, 1995.
Prepared by Steve Geimann, President-Elect*

Indonesia rejected requests to re-open an investigation into the 20-year-old deaths of five journalists from Australia, saying the reporters faced an occupational risk by reporting the fighting just as in Bosnia, officials said Saturday.

"Their death at Balibo, East Timor, was an occupational risk because at the time there was fighting among various factions in the area," foreign ministry spokesman Ghafar Fadyl said.

The two Australian, two British and a New Zealand citizen died in Balibo Oct. 16, 1975, when Indonesian troops raided Portuguese East Timor. Military sources say the five were killed in crossfire of the battle; a former Australian diplomat has claimed three of the five were killed after capture.

Fadyl said Indonesia regretted the killing of the journalists but Jakarta's position remained the same: "The death of the five journalists is of no greater significance than those of the media people who get killed while covering today's Bosnian conflict. Therefore, we see no reason to re-investigate the Australian journalists' case."

CHRIS HAVILAND MP TO MOVE PRIVATE MEMBERS MOTION ON BALIBO

Press Release from Chris Haviland Member of the House of Representatives, Campbelltown, NSW 2560 Australia. Oct. 23 1995

Momentum for a Federal Government inquiry into the deaths of 5 journalists at Balibo, East Timor, in 1975 has increased with Federal Member for Macarthur, Chris Haviland, promising to move a private members motion during the upcoming sitting of parliament. The motion will ask that any provisions existing in any Federal legislation which would otherwise prevent full access to Federal Government files or personnel, be set aside for the purposes of the inquiry.

"Twenty years after the violent deaths of the 5 journalists there has never been a decent inquiry, nor a decent explanation, nor a protest by Australia to Indonesia. There's been no official expression of regret or apology to the families of the victims; not even their remains have been returned," Mr. Haviland said.

"The whole episode smells of contradiction, half-truths, straight out lies, evasion of the issues, and cover-up; by both Indonesian, and I'm afraid to say, Australian authorities. If that's not the case an honest inquiry will reveal as much."

"Let's get some answers, and for once, let's put human rights and justice before Indonesia's hypocritical sensitivities," Mr. Haviland said.

One of Australia's most respected journalists, John Pilger, who has worked tirelessly on the issue of East Timor, has come out in support of Mr. Haviland's call for an inquiry.

"I totally support Mr. Haviland's efforts because there needs to be an inquiry; an inquiry that will open the Defence Signals Directorate Communications (DSD) file for October 1975. This will undoubtedly reveal that the Australian Government was aware of the truth surrounding Balibo and that successive Australian Governments have sought to cover it up," Mr. Pilger said.

Mr. Haviland added that if what John Pilger asserted was true Australia's behaviour since Balibo was one of accessory to the eventual invasion of East Timor, if not an act of downright collusion.

José Gusmão, South East Asia and Australia spokesperson for the National Council of Maubere Resistance, has also lent support to Mr. Haviland's call for an inquiry. Mr. Gusmão is the cousin of jailed Timorese resistance hero, Xanana Gusmão, who until his capture waged a guerilla war on Indonesian forces in East Timor.

"The Australian government should resolve to clarify the circumstances surrounding the deaths of the courageous journalists, especially in light of recent statements by ex-Governor of East Timor, Guilherme Gonçalves who believes that Indonesia has fabricated the story of the journalists being killed in cross fire by rival East Timorese militias," Mr. Gusmão said.

Shirley Shackleton, widow of slain journalist Greg Shackleton, has also been outspoken about the need for an inquiry.

"I hope to be in Parliament the day Mr. Haviland moves his private members motion, so as to lend my unequivocal support. It's time some very embarrassing questions were asked in order to get some very important answers. Let's open up those DSD files and get to the truth," Mrs. Shackleton said.

"If the Australian Government is not involved in a cover-up, if it was not aware of the pending attack on Balibo that day 20 years ago, if it does not know how the 5 journalists were killed, then they have nothing to fear from an open, honest inquiry. On the other hand they stand to gain the answers to this traumatising, politically and emotionally loaded enigma," Mr. Haviland said.

Media contact: Stephen Senise

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES "NOTICE OF MOTION"

Mr. Speaker

I give notice that on the next day of sitting, I shall move that this House:

- Notes that, 20 years after the deaths of 5 Australian-based journalists (Greg Shackleton, Tony Stewart, Gary Cunningham, Malcolm Rennie and Brian Peters) in Balibo, East Timor on 16 October 1975, there has never been a satisfactory investigation into the circumstances of the killings.
- Requests that the Federal Government establish an inquiry into the circumstances of the deaths of those journalists, including the question of how they were killed, who was responsible, what happened to the bodies, and the extent of the involvement of Australian and Indonesian authorities in suppressing details of the incident.
- Requests that the Terms of Reference of the Inquiry include a full investigation of the role played by Federal Government agencies, including the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Defence Signals Directorate and other security and intelligence services, in relation to this matter from October 1975 onwards.
- Requests that any provisions existing in any Federal legislation, which would otherwise prevent full disclosure to the In-

quiry by officers, employees, agents or sub-agents, of Federal Government agencies of any information under oath relevant to the terms of reference be set aside for the purposes of the Inquiry.

Mover: C D Haviland MP, Member for Macarthur
Seconder: P J Knott MP, Member for Gilmore
24 October 1995

INDONESIAN TROOPS KILLED AUSTRALIAN NEWSMEN-RADIO

CANBERRA, Oct. 26 (Reuter) — A former bodyguard of an Indonesian general says Indonesian soldiers killed five Australian-based journalists in East Timor in 1975 and dressed their bodies in Portuguese uniforms, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) radio reported on Thursday.

The man, who did not want to be identified, said in an interview on Thursday the deaths were not accidental and the reporters were killed because Indonesian soldiers believed they were spreading communism.

"The Indonesians were saying that the journalists had to be killed because they were in East Timor indoctrinating communism," the man said from Perth, Western Australia.

"I saw three bodies on top of Portuguese machine-guns, and ...I saw the general turn the bodies around and I noticed, because of curiosity, that they had Portuguese uniforms on and the uniforms had a lot of blood (on them) but none of the uniforms had been damaged in any way," he said.

The man said he believed the Portuguese uniforms were put on the bodies after the journalists had died.

"I don't think they were killed accidentally," he said.

ABC said the man was a former bodyguard to an Indonesian general who investigated the deaths of the reporters, who died in Balibo on October 16, 1975.

The newsmen killed were Britons Malcolm Rennie and Brian Peters, Australians Greg Shackleton and Tony Stewart and New Zealander Gary Cunningham.

On Wednesday night two former Timorese militiamen who assisted Indonesian troops during Jakarta's 1975 invasion of East Timor also accused the Indonesian army of killing the five journalists during the takeover.

Fernando Mariz and Antonio Sarmento told ABC television they did not see the killings but spoke soon after to soldiers who had either participated in or witnessed them.

"They (the journalists) surrender and then they were asked a few questions to them and they were killed, they were killed," Sarmento said.

Indonesia denies the five reporters were killed deliberately and says it sees no reason to reopen the case.

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans told ABC radio from New York on Thursday that if the former bodyguard's evidence was compelling he would push for an explanation from Indonesia.

But Evans said Australia could not legally launch an investigation into the deaths in Indonesia.

"We're prisoners of the information available to us, we have not got any capacity for independent investigation," Evans said.

CALL FOR NEW INQUIRY INTO JOURNALISTS' DEATHS IN EAST TIMOR

By Susan Price, *Green Left*, Oct. 29

MELBOURNE — On October 25, a new call was made for the Australian government to launch an open, independent inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the deaths of six Australian journalists in East Timor, in 1975. The demand came from Shirley Shackleton, the widow of one of the journalists, Greg Shackleton, and from Paul Stewart, brother of Tony Stewart, another of the journalists.

Several eyewitness reports indicate that five of the journalists were intentionally killed by Indonesian troops in Balibo and not killed accidentally in cross-fire, as was claimed at the time. Further eyewitness reports indicate that Roger East, the sixth journalist, was executed by Indonesian soldiers at the Dili wharf.

Two former Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) soldiers, now in Australia, said on Australian television on October 25 that Indonesian officers involved in the killing of the journalists at Balibo had told them that the killings were deliberate. (In 1975, the UDT was allied to the invading Indonesian army. It has since joined the independence movement.)

According to Peter Cronau, director of the Australian Centre for Independent Journalism, Canberra has kept information about the Balibo killings from the public and the families of the journalists. Foreign minister Gareth Evans has repeatedly denied these claims.

"By 7pm on the day the journalists died, the then-defence minister Bill Morrison had written report on his desk, describing the deaths," said Cronau. A former Australian military intelligence officer has revealed that his unit had monitored Indonesian military radio communications at the time.

Shackleton and Stewart are calling on Canberra to make available all involved per-

sonnel and documentation related to the events.

They are also demanding that the terms of reference for the inquiry include:

- any knowledge the Australian government had of the attack on the border area of Balibo, before, during and afterwards;
- what steps the government took to ensure the safety of the six journalists;
- what prevented or delayed the government from revealing to the public and the journalists' families, the fate of the journalists;
- what efforts the government made to investigate the events surrounding their deaths; and
- what communications the government has had with the Indonesian government over the deaths of the journalists.

"The highest people in the land look like they've perjured themselves. I won't have anything to do with anything else but a full, judicial inquiry, with punishment for contempt of court," Shackleton told *Green Left Weekly*.

"The terms of reference have to be set down by lawyers and it has to be seen as firm and believable. Otherwise we are wasting our time. We don't just want another bit of clever manipulation. A Royal Commission is the only way to go, we cannot settle for a lesser inquiry," concluded Shackleton.

TIMOR MURDERS PLANNED; SOLDIERS

The (Melbourne) Age, 26 Oct. 1995, By Karen Middleton

Indonesia planned the murder of five Australian (sic) newsmen in East Timor 20 years ago and dressed their bodies in Fretilin uniforms before burning them, two men who claimed to be former pro-Indonesian soldiers said last night.

In allegations that add to the growing doubt about Indonesia's version of the events in the town of Balibo on 16 October 1975, the two Timorese who had supported the Indonesian military claimed their commanders knew the Australian television representatives were there and had orders to kill them.

The claims came after the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, met Labour faction leaders on Tuesday and assured them he was concerned about present and past human rights abuses in Timor but did not appear to favour a new investigation into the newsmen's deaths.

Speaking on ABC television last night, the two former Indonesian sympathisers, Mr. Fernando Mariz and Mr. Antonio Sarmento, disputed Indonesia's long-held claim that the five died in crossfire between rival

Timorese groups before Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony. They said they did not speak out before because they feared for their safety.

Mr. Mariz said he had spoken to a senior Indonesian officer, the night before the men were killed; he said he knew they were there and was 'going to give a lesson and finish up with them.'

"He meant they had to kill them all these people," Mr. Mariz said.

Mr. Sarmento said he had helped unload film equipment from a helicopter that had returned after the incident to the headquarters of the lieutenant-colonel in charge of the area. He was told the film belonged to the journalists and he asked the commanders involved in the attack what had happened.

"They (the newsmen) surrendered and then they had asked a few questions to them and then they were killed," he said.

An aide to the lieutenant-colonel said the bodies of the men had been dressed in the uniforms of the Fretilin independence fighters and burnt.

Mr. Mariz said he went to Balibo the next day and asked what happened. "They said go inside ... they said put them inside, then the captain said, shoot them, kill all these (foreigners)," he said.

Indonesia's version has also been disputed by a former Indonesian governor of East Timor. Mr. Guilherme Gonçalves, a former Australian consul to Timor, Mr. James Dunn, and a former defence intelligence analyst, Mr. Michael Darby. Mr. Dunn and Mr. Darby have said the Australian Government knew at the time that Indonesian soldiers were involved.

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, claimed last week that there had never been any piece of intelligence that would prove that but that he was following up new claims. The widow of one of the men, Shirley Shackleton, is calling for a full investigation.

A spokesman for Senator Evans last night said the Government would look into the two Timorese men's claims.

The annual report of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, released yesterday, said Indonesia's record on human rights "remains below international standards."

RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS

PRO-CATHOLIC DEMONSTRATION IN DILI

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Dili, Sept. 8 (LUSA) — Hundreds of East Timorese students demonstrated today

in the streets of Dili, protesting a document in which Catholicism is said to be "nonsensical" [disparatado]. Demonstrations with loud protests took place in at least six different zones of Dili and city outskirts. The students protested a declaration, signed by 26 guards and prisoners of the Maliana prison, in which Catholicism is termed "nonsensical" and that challenges the belief that Christ was born to a virgin woman. An official from the Dili police considered the protests to be "normal," and that they were carried by "students who want to make some noise." According to the same officer there were no violent acts or arrests.

AMIEN RAIS: DON'T LET EAST TIMOR BECOME A PARASITE

Pikiran Rakyat, 16 September, 1995

The government should be much firmer in reaching a solution to the question of East Timor. They shouldn't let the things that are screwing up developments in our youngest province continue so that it becomes a parasite and an ever greater burden on the state and people.

This opinion was expressed by Amien Rais MA in a discussion on East Timor at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. Amien Rais is head of International Relations at the Political and Social Science Faculty of the University and also chairman of the central council of Muhammadiyah.

He said that until now, the government is very half-hearted in its handling of East Timor both with regard to the domestic dimensions as well as on the diplomatic front. "The impression is that we are pampering the province," he said.

He said that foreign agents must be cleansed so that they don't become our enemy (a wolf in sheep's clothing). The government should also reconsider its handling of the GPK (meaning 'security disruption gangs') in East Timor. "Till now we've been super cautious and far too generous to them, pampering them."

It is high time the government abandoned its 'defence approach' and replaced it with an 'offensive approach.' "By this, I'm not talking about using the military or other kinds of violence. The government needs to apply a clear policy, on the basis of the laws and policy to be pursued on the ground. These foreign agents must be crushed in keeping with national laws, and the same should apply to the GPK people."

Such an approach, he said, will certainly lead to reactions from abroad. "But if we don't act firmly, East Timor will for ever be a parasite. We need not be afraid of foreign

reactions but we should anticipate them and be ready for them."

He was also sure that the foreign press would see such firm measures as proof of human rights violations and so on. "But that needn't be a problem, as long as the measures we take are firm, proportionate and in conformity with Indonesian laws. He was quite sure that such actions would have the full support of the Indonesian people who are steeped in a tradition of struggle.

According to Jawa Pos (16/9), Amien Rais also said there are domestic elements in East Timor who are Portuguese puppets. Such people need to be watched. They are more difficult to detect because they are double-faced. On the one hand they appear to be Indonesians but on the other, they are foreign agents. "These foreign agents are doing everything possible to undermine the Republic," he said.

People in East Timor are behaving like spoiled children who are now kicking us in the head. "We should change our position and teach these children a lesson," he said. He was strongly in support for proposals made by Professor Muladi and Major-General Adang Ruchiatna. Instead of taxing our energies and taxing our money (English in the original), I would agree with Muladi that we should abandon them and let them become a small state of their own (sic)," said Amien Rais.

According to Republika, 14/9, Amien Rais strongly denied that a process of Islamisation was under way by the government and the armed forces. In fact, the two largest Muslim organisations in Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah have not been allowed by the government to set up branches in the province.

He took the opportunity to rebut a statement circulated by the CNRM on the Internet (which he quoted at some length), which made this charge.

According to *Pikiran Rakyat* 16/9, Riswanda Imawan, who is also a lecturer at the faculty, said that he fully agreed with Amien Rais though he felt that such measures should be combined with efforts to draw some of the leaders of civil society in Timor into the governmental framework. One example was Bishop Belo. (Apparently an idea has been floated somewhere that Belo should be appointed deputy governor. CB)

"At present, Bishop Belo appears as the legitimate representative of the Vatican. He also reports everything that happens in East Timor to the Vatican. The terrible thing is that the Vatican sees East Timor through western eyes which is so harmful on the international arena.

If Belo were drawn into the government he would then be seen as a fully integrated

Indonesian citizen instead of as now, appearing to be two-faced. Such a move, he admitted, would need the endorsement of the Indonesian Conference of Bishops.

Such a position should also be adopted towards the elite in East Timor. If we could only embrace this section of society, things would not be as complicated as they are now. As for the common people, it would be unwise, he said, to make use of scientific knowledge and high technology. The government should continue with its programme of development, while paying attention to people's rights, their attachment to the region and local culture.

THE THREAT OF WIDER RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

[This article has been written for the forthcoming issue of TAPOL Bulletin, October 1995. Further developments may call for additions or revisions but in view of the crucial importance of the issue, we have decided to publish it on reg.easttimor in its present form. Comments on the issues raised would be appreciated.]

There are signs that moves are afoot to inflame passions among Indonesia's Muslims in opposition to the people of East Timor, and turn the righteous struggle of the East Timorese into an out-and-out religious conflict.

For the first time ever, attempts are underway in Indonesia to identify the Indonesian migrant community in East Timor as a disadvantaged minority. This is a crude distortion of their position; in truth, they dominate business and the economy and have bought up a great deal of land in urban centres. They also hold most positions of influence in the administration and other sectors of the community, and are to be found as teachers in the secondary schools. Indonesian migrants now account for more than twenty per cent of the population. According to Mauro di Nicola, writing in *Uniya*, the Australian Jesuit magazine [Spring, 1995], there are an estimated 180,000 Indonesians in East Timor, out of a population of 830,000. Some months ago, the Indonesian weekly, *Gatra*, estimated that there were 50,000 Indonesians in Dili alone. The vast majority live in the capital and in the district and sub-district capitals. Several thousand families have been resettled as 'transmigrants' on some of the most fertile land in East Timor, most of whom are Javanese or Balinese.

At a time when East Timorese resistance to the presence of Indonesian migrants has reached a new level of intensity, the Jakarta daily, *Republika*, which is known to be the mouthpiece of ICMI, the association of

Muslim intellectuals of which Research Minister Habibie is the chair, ran a series of articles the theme of which is that the 20,000 or so Muslims in East Timor, almost all of whom are Indonesians from South Sulawesi and Java, are facing discrimination.

One article complains that a mosque in Los Palos has been ordered not to broadcast its calls to the faithful over loudspeakers, so as not to upset the local inhabitants. The paper also says that a Muslim community in the eastern sector of East Timor has been prevented from building a small prayer-hall or mushala, as a result of which the faithful have been forced to travel a long distance to the nearest Muslim prayer-hall.

Another of the articles, all of which were published on 8 September, describes at some length the pressure on a Muslim-run school for having recruited Catholic children. The children were ordered to leave the school but later, according to *Republika*, they drifted back because the fees were far lower than at other local schools.

The general tone of the articles is that local authorities, including the security forces, are seeking to contain the rapidly expanding Muslim communities in East Timor, placing them in the position of a minority facing discrimination.

Republika ups the ante

A week later, the paper ran an article claiming that readers were critical of the restrained tone of its presentation of the predicament of Muslims in East Timor. 'If all the information in our possession were to be made public,' the columnist, Zaim Uchrowi admitted, 'I fear that many Muslims would be very angry. If this anger is not contained, the disturbances in East Timor could erupt everywhere.'

The writer claims that many people wonder why so much money is being squandered on East Timor, considering that one section of the community — the Muslims — are at such a disadvantage. [*Republika*, 17 September]

ICMI is probably the only Indonesian Muslim organisation with a significant presence in East Timor. With huge resources at its disposal, ICMI is likely to be the only Indonesian party organising the largely-Muslim migrant community in East Timor. (ICMI would strongly object to be identified as a 'party' as there are supposed to be only three political parties in Indonesia.)

It should be noted however that ICMI represents a variety of views and interests. Set up less than five years ago as an organisation of Muslim intellectuals, its membership ranges from ambitious politicians, bureaucrats and academics to people outside the power structure. New as it is, it is al-

ready able to exert influence on all important issues of state, including East Timor.

There have been several as-yet unsubstantiated reports about an ICMI document setting out a programme for the Islamisation of East Timor. These *Republika* articles suggest that an equally sinister plan is afoot, to arouse the passions of Muslims in Indonesia in defence of their co-religionists in East Timor, a plan which could have unforeseen consequences.

Pro-Muslim protests in Bandung

The day after the September disturbances in Dili, *Republika* reported a demonstration by students of the Islamic College, IAIN, in Bandung, protesting at the plight of the Muslims in East Timor. The demonstration, organised by the Student Forum for Solidarity with the Muslim Minority in East Timor, called on the government to stop 'spoiling' East Timor. [*Republika*, 10 September]

The Indonesian Ulama Council, MUI, has called on the government to send a fact-finding mission to East Timor to investigate the background to the disturbances.

A number of groups have started organising in defence of the Muslims in East Timor. There have been prayers at the state university in Bandung where the called for firm measures against those involved in the riots in East Timor and condemned people who spread reports about a process of Islamisation among the Timorese.

In Jakarta, after Friday prayers at several mosques on 15 September, there were collections to raise money and clothing for the Muslims in East Timor. Responding to approaches from members of the Islamic Solidarity Committee, the secretary-general of the National Commission on Human Rights, Baharuddin Lopa promised to press for action to prevent any more 'acts of brutality' against Muslims in East Timor.

But other voices are calling for calm. Mulyana W. Kusuma of the Legal Aid Institute agreed that the targetted community should be given protection but added that the essence of the ethnic and religious conflict in East Timor is the fact that the issue of the territory's integration into Indonesia remains unresolved.

It is still too early to say whether those who seem bent on inflaming passions against the East Timorese will gain the upper hand or whether moves by groups like the Catholic Bishops' Conference, who talk of the need for dialogue to prevent an explosion of religious conflict, will prevail.

The broader context

The threat of religious conflict is not only confined to illegally occupied East Timor. Christian communities in several parts of Indonesia are under pressure, often the re-

sult of provocative behaviour by people from outside their region. A serious incident in Maumere, Flores was reported in TAPOL Bulletin no 130, August 1995 when Catholics demonstrated in force after feeling dissatisfied with the sentencing of a man who desecrated the host during a mass. The presence of outsiders, often Buginese from South Sulawesi or Javanese, is causing friction in many places in the eastern part of the archipelago.

To reduce the conflict in East Timor to one of SARA, (ethnic and religious conflict), as many people in Indonesia now seek to do, means ignoring the very essence of the question of East Timor, namely that it is not part of Indonesia but an occupied country whose people demand the right to determine their own future. In such circumstances, religious provocations take on a deeply political significance, as does the way in which people respond to these provocations.

DILI'S BISHOP TO MEET THE POPE

*Publico, 19 September 1995. Abridged.
Translated from Portuguese*

Lisbon – Timorese Diocese source reveals that Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, will be meeting Pope John Paul II in Rome next month, and left East Timor yesterday for Italy, via Jakarta.

The source in Dili, contacted by phone from Macao, said that Mnsgr. Belo is due to be received by the Pope after 12 October, when he finishes attending a course organised for Bishops who have been ordained for less than 10 years (Mnsgr. Belo was ordained as a Bishop in 1988). The course, to be attended by about 100 Bishops from all over the world, starts next Friday in Rome.

The Timorese Bishop is due back in East Timor after 20 October. The same source added that Mnsgr. Belo would not be stopping over in Macao because of his pressing workload back in Dili. "The visit to Macao, on the invitation of Bishop Domingos Lam, had to be postponed once again due to lack of time, but could well take place early in 1996," said the same source.

Before leaving East Timor, Bishop Belo appealed to young Timorese to abstain from any violent activities, and to the authorities to sit down at the same table as young Timorese for talks. In a pastoral letter written in Tetum, dated 13 September (...) Mnsgr. Belo criticised young Timorese for taking part in the recent incidents in Maliana, Ermera, Dili, Manatuto, Baucau and Uatu-Lari. According to the territory's chief of police yesterday, about 20 young

Timorese are to appear in court within the next two weeks.

In his message, distributed throughout East Timor, the Bishop said "I heard that many young people, some of them students, others not, were using violence, burning markets, kiosks, vehicles, breaking windows of houses, throwing stones at people..." "We, in East Timor, talk about human rights but we do not respect the rights of others, or their belongings. We are giving the worst possible example..." In his pastoral letter, the Bishop urged all Christians to "be calm, patient and tolerant. Let the respective institutions deal with justice and trials. We cannot be the judges of others."

The Bishop appealed to young Timorese "to act intelligently" and not to allow themselves to be persuaded or urged on by others, otherwise they would risk suffering the consequences. "They detain you, beat you, torture you, take you to secret places and kill you. Your youth is destroyed, and you have no future," warned the Bishop, referring to the consequences that young people are liable to suffer when they "shout angrily, like a senseless, thoughtless mass which is too agitated to even stop and reflect."

After asking parents and parish priests to advise the youngsters not to take part in any violent activities, Mnsgr. Belo appealed to the authorities to enter into dialogue with Timorese youth.

"I ask the authorities to sit down at the same table as the youngsters in order to talk, openly, about the situation and the aspirations of these young people," the pastoral letter went on.

"If the authorities allow this situation to continue, making promises or threatening with reprisals, without offering any encouragement or guidance, you will all be contributing to an enormous divide between authorities and youth," warned the Bishop.

"We all have to build bridges, meet each other, accept each other, mutually trust in each other, have a single heart, and a single spirit," the Bishop went on, finishing his letter with a prayer to the Virgin Mother for help to all Christians in East Timor.

BISHOP BELO'S INTERVIEW WITH GATRA

Gatra, 21 September 1995, Abridged

Bishop Belo has proposed that East Timor should become a special region. Every time trouble erupts in East Timor, there is one person who is always in the picture, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo.

Born in Baucau on 3 February 1940, he was ordained as a priest in 1980.....

Q: What's your opinion about the unrest in East Timor recently?

A: You should direct that question to the Governor, the chairman of the local assembly, the military commander and other top officials. They are the ones who know, they will have the answers.

Q: But you have been following developments all the time. Do you think mistakes have been made?

A: What I can see, to this day, is that people at the centre and the people here still don't understand the real situation in East Timor. They simply do not understand the true aspirations of the people here. The riots was not just to do with SARA (the term used for 'religious, ethnic and racial tensions').

Q: What do you mean by that?

A: Although the people of East Timor are still backward, ignorant and uneducated, they have their own traditions, their own values, their own lifestyle. It may be traditional but it must be respected. People who come here from outside should adjust to things here, not the other way round, that we here have to adjust to them.

Q: So, do you mean that the newcomers must adapt to the native inhabitants?

A: What we first need to ask is: What do they come here for? Then just see all those who come, the ships that arrive, the planes that arrive. How many East Timorese travel by boat? How many East Timorese travel anywhere by plane? Who is it who travel by plane? This is what make people here think.

Q: Isn't that the result of East Timor's status as an open region?

A: Yes, that's a consequence of opening East Timor up. But don't just blame Carrascalão (the former governor) who opened up East Timor. It was opened up to make it possible for the people here to have greater freedom of movement, more space to think, greater freedom of speech. It wasn't for the benefit of others. As we see, there have been reactions. Is that bringing benefits?

Q: During the events last Friday, you were busy touring round to calm down the mass of people. But even so, the acts of arson continued. Why was that?

A: This was because the agreements we had reached were not kept. What we agreed was that they would all go home. They did as they were asked and went home. But then what happened? The security forces went out that night and arrested these young people.

Q: According to reports, the armed forces behaved very leniently. For instance, there was no shooting.

A: There's no need for any shooting. What's needed is dialogue. The authorities of course know all about dialogue, especially the people from the regional government and the Korem (military) commander. They should be listening to the complaints of the people here, what their aspirations are, not, as happens now, that the people here come under more and more pressure every time something like this happens.

Q: But isn't it so that there hasn't been any pressure? The police chief for instance said that none of the people who were arrested were tortured.

A: I don't believe it. They told me that they were tortured.

Q: You said just now that the newcomers enjoy all the benefits. In your opinion, do you think that the riots were the result of social disparities?

A: That's just one part of it. There are many aspects, cultural, history, religion, and also politics. People are quickly accused of being 'GPK' or in the clandestine. But has anyone invited us to sit down and talk things through together and to discuss the political conditions. If we were to sit down and talk, we could work out the best solution. But this is always avoided.

The government should be willing to listen to demands. If they're afraid to do this, things will never change. Another important thing is that we are here in the interests of the community. There must be a response to the demands of the community. Don't just make promises. I myself am still in favour of something — which I have already proposed — that East Timor should become a special region. But this has been turned down.

Q: Isn't there a dialogue underway between the regional government, the armed forces and the church?

A: There used to be dialogue when Carrascalão was governor. The dialogue used to go on late into the night, up till 3 or 4 in the morning. But later, people were called in and questioned by the armed forces: Why did you take your complaints to the governor? What's all this dialogue about?

Q: What about inter-religious dialogue?

A: Yes, that can be done and it's already been done. But we've talked a great deal in lots and lots of meetings. Lots of decisions have been taken, written up and lots of documents have been produced. But what happens in practice is another matter.

Q: What about the ideology behind the riots. Are they rejecting our Pancasila, our unifying symbol, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and so on?

A: What I find here is that East Timorese don't want lots of people come from outside. They don't want these outsiders to be in control, especially in the economy.

Q: Disparities are not something special to East Timor. They exist in other regions. Is there a cultural problem that makes things easily explode?

A: The East Timorese are very emotional. They can get angry very quickly. Their education and background are from the Portuguese and the Catholic church. They are very straight. If the colour is A, then it's A, not B. They don't speak in a roundabout way like a snake. They are very direct.

Q: There have been cases of blasphemy in other places, like Permadi and Arswendo, but they didn't end up with fighting, burning things down, like here.

A: That's what people here are like. They feel very afraid because there are groups who enjoy all the advantages. They themselves can't make their voices heard, so that's why you get such reactions.

Q: Is it true that Catholicism here is very orthodox?

A: I don't agree with that term, orthodox. Catholics are all alike. If Catholics in Jakarta are not orthodox, then they're not Catholics. What they call Javanese Catholicism is almost the same as Protestantism. Religion must be orthodox.

Q: The number of Catholics has increased tremendously since integration, far more than during Portuguese times. So how come the issue of Islamisation has emerged?

A: For me the important thing is that every Catholic should hold firmly to their faith. I always say that if I am surrounded by a hundred Muslims and I am the only Catholic, I am not afraid to love my own religion as long as I have faith.

Q: Why did they start rioting? Why not resolve it by peaceful means?

A: We've tried what you are talking about for the past 20 years.

MUSLIMS BACK HARD LINE ON EAST TIMOR

'The Australian,' September 23, 1995. Patrick Walters, Jakarta — slightly abridged.

Amien Rais is the chairman of Muhammadiyah, a progressive mass Islamic movement with a membership of more than 15 million. This outspoken Yogyakarta-based academic is also a leading member of the Indonesian Association of Islamic Intellectuals (ICMI) and a frequent commentator on national political affairs.

This week, Mr. Rais has been making waves with his views on East Timor. According to Mr. Rais, it is time that the province's Muslim minority to stand up and be counted and for Indonesia to go on the offensive on the issue of East Timor.

'We should not let the Islamic minority be suppressed in East Timor. The Islamic community has been too patient,' he wrote in a column in the Islamic journal Ummat, focussing on the problem of East Timor.

His remarks coincide with an upsurge of interest in East Timor by Islamic groups, including the nation's leading Muslim newspaper, Republika and Ummat a new fortnightly journal, which like Republika is closely associated with ICMI.

Earlier this month, East Timor experienced its worst period of unrest since 1991 with sporadic disturbances breaking out across the province. In Dili, demonstrators attacked and burned the Comoro market, which was manned mostly by immigrant Muslim traders from South Sulawesi and Java. There were also riots in other towns including Viqueque and Maliana. This followed alleged insults uttered against the Catholic faith by a Muslim jail warden at Maliana prison.

As a result of the violence, some hundreds of immigrants have reportedly fled from East Timor some of them seeking refuge in Surabaya, East Java.

According to Mr. Rais, an 'international mafia' is at work making mischief in East Timor and conspiring to weaken Indonesia, preventing it from becoming independent in the true sense of the word.

'If there were no foreign agents in East Timor working for the 'international mafia,' the generosity of the (Indonesian) Government would not be repaid in such a thankless way,' he wrote in Republika in a reference to the economic development in East Timor since 1975.

'Even animals would not react like that.'

The causes of this month's troubles in East Timor are hard to ascertain. Informed sources said that there was strong evidence that much of the recent rioting had been deliberately orchestrated by 'agents provocateurs,' some of whom are employed by military intelligence. As the political climate has steadily deteriorated the possibilities for manipulation of deep-seated ethnic and religious tensions in East Timor have multiplied.

In recent months, East Timor has witnessed a steady tightening up of security now that Indonesia's special forces, Kopasus, hold the whip hand in determining the military's conduct in East Timor. The new military commander, Colonel Mahidin Sim-

bolon is a former chief of intelligence for Kopassus and 'intel' boss in Dili.

One source said 'The truth is that there is widespread fear and a worsening of the situation since November 1994. In ABRI there is a consensus that the softly-softly approach pursued until earlier this year has not bought results. The hardliners are now in control.'

There have been numerous unexplained disappearances and killings since the beginning of 1995.

Contrary to announced intentions, Jakarta has not significantly reduced its military presence in East Timor with the total number of security personnel, including police and irregulars still numbering close to 17,000.

In recent days, additional troops and police mobile brigades from West Timor, East Java and Bali have been sent to East Timor to bolster security provided by East Timorese territorial units.

In a significant acknowledgment of the grave state of affairs in the province, Indonesia's National Human Rights Commission will open a permanent office in East Timor next month. The commission also wants to set up a non-government discussion forum for East Timorese community leaders to help ease tensions. The scrutiny being bought to bear on the province by some of the country's most powerful Islamic interests will make it even harder for President Suharto to contemplate any new political deal for East Timor.

CARDINAL URGES GOVERNMENT TO WIN TIMORESE TRUST

Jakarta Post, September 27, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): The head of the Roman Catholic Church in Indonesia called yesterday for greater effort on behalf of the government to win the trust and confidence of the East Timorese people.

Cardinal Julius Darmaatmadja, the chairman of the Indonesian Bishop's Conference (KWI), asserted the need to eliminate the prevailing suspicions East Timorese still harbor.

"The question is how to ensure the East Timorese are not easily suspicious of us and how to erase that suspicion," Cardinal Darmaatmadja told reporters after he and other leaders of the conference met President Soeharto at Merdeka Palace.

The President is concerned about the situation in East Timor because the problem would harm everyone, including the Roman Catholic Church, the Cardinal said.

Indonesia's youngest province was shaken by a wave of ethnic and religious

violence this month. The predominantly Catholic East Timorese were pitted against migrant traders and non-Catholics.

Although there were no reports of loss of life, several people were injured in the melee which including the torching of a city market.

Cardinal Darmaatmadja said the President recognized the problem in East Timor was not just caused by ethnic bitterness.

"The problem is also the fact that there was a civil service recruitment (in East Timor) in which many applicants failed to gain entry. This also created social unrest," he said.

Cardinal Darmaatmadja and his delegation briefed the President about the upcoming cardinal's conference on Oct. 28 to Nov. 2. They requested the President receive the participants.

Speaking of Dili Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Cardinal Darmaatmadja said KWI often held regular and amicable meetings with him.

Bishop Belo, unlike the other bishops in Indonesia, does not answer to the authority of KWI but directly to the Vatican because the Holy See does not recognize Indonesia's rule over East Timor.

Frans Seda, a prominent Catholic who was present at the meeting yesterday, said that President Soeharto holds Belo in high regard. "Pak Harto has a very positive outlook of Belo," said Seda who is a former minister of finance.

Meanwhile in East Timor, Fretilin separatist rebels on Monday took potshots at a passing motorcycle convoy on a tour of the province, witnesses said yesterday.

The shots were heard after the motorcade, which included East Timor Governor José Abilio Soares, passed the edge of the forest in the Illomar and Uato Carbau districts in Viqueque regency.

There were no reported casualties from the gunfire.

BLASPHEMIES AGAINST CATHOLICISM IN EAST TIMOR

From Sally-Anne Watson, AFFET, Sept. 28

AFFET has received copy of the statement issued by a group of prison officials and inmates (both Indonesian and East Timorese) of Maliana Prison in East Timor, denouncing the blasphemies against the Catholic religion repeatedly uttered by prison guard Sanusi Abubakar.

This was the matter that triggered off intense rioting in Maliana in early September, which were followed by riots in other places in East Timor., considered to be the most serious in a long time.

The statement gives a clear indication of the extreme seriousness of the blasphemy, making the feeling of outrage of the local Catholics easy to understand.

An exact translation of the statement follows. The obscenities in the original have been retained.

STATEMENT

We the undersigned before our Lord Jesus Christ and the holiest mother Mary bear witness to the affront perpetrated by SANUSI ABUBAKAR to our Roman Catholic religion on 2/9/95 at approximately 9.00 am and again at 15.30.

These are the words he uttered before us:

"They say that the Catholic religion is the strongest religion in East Timor but really Catholicism is nothing but a load of big shit: it is nothing but garbage.

"Every time you pray, you say the rosary, but the rosary is nonsense, the rosary is shit."

Last year (1994) he said some insulting things about the Virgin Mary while we, the inmates, were watching a program on TVRI on the birth and childhood of Christ. At the time, while he was watching baby Jesus being born of Mary and put into the manger he (Sanusi) said "what a handsome child. Who fucked Mary that she could bear such a good-looking kid? I wonder if it wasn't the horse that fucked her."

We the undersigned have personally witnessed Sanusi's attitude and insulting words.

Signed by:

1. Zakarias Sake (Spiritual leader in Maliana prison)
2. Paulus Pereira (a guard on duty at the time)
3. Lambertus Berek Seran (a guard on duty at the time)
4. João Baptiste de Castro (prison officer)
5. Albert Halle (prison inmate)

(the rest of the names are on a second page which was not available)

CATHOLIC LEADERS SAY RIGHTS COMMISSION TEAM DISTORTS RIOT ISSUE

UCAN, 27 September 1995. Dili. Abridged

Several East Timorese Catholic leaders have expressed disappointment with how the Indonesian government has dealt with the 8-10 Sept. riot saying the investigating team distorted the issue. Dili Diocese Peace and Justice Commission staff members said the Komnas Ham (National Commission for Human Rights) team investigation the riots failed to dig out the main cause.

Instead of probing the alleged insult to Catholicism by Sanusi Abubakar, a Muslim prison official in Maliana, the team focused

on the riots, a reaction to the insult, Florentino Sarmiento of the diocesan commission said 25 Sept. 'It seems the government is shifting the issue from the main cause to people's reaction,' said Sarmiento, also a human rights activist. 'Sanusi, whose insulting words sparked the rioting, has been forgotten and still worse, the Catholic Church is being suspected of being anti-Muslim.'

Sarmiento's view was shared by Father Aureo Gusmão, another Peace and Justice Commission staff member. According to Father Gusmão, the Indonesian government's failure to find the cause of the riots will only perpetuate unrest in East Timor. 'Instead of finding the causes, the government is preoccupied with people's reactions. It seems a certain group does not want peace here. East Timor has been made a project because unrest benefits certain groups,' he said.

Cornelis Simarmata, Peace and Justice Commission vice-chairman, disagreed with the establishing of an inter-religious communication forum by the Komnas Ham investigating team. Simarmata, a Catholic from North Sumatra, said the forum is a belated idea, noting that another inter-religious forum has existed in East Timor since 1985. 'Komnas Ham should first ask religious leaders here about what they have done with the forum,' he said. 'It is much better to reactivate the old forum than create confusion with a new one.' Muslim, Protestant and Hindu religious leaders and three lay Catholic leaders signed an agreement to establish the forum on 23 Sept. but two Catholic signers, including Sarmiento, expressed doubts about the forum's viability.

INDONESIAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS SEEK HELP FOR EAST TIMORESE

'The Australian,' September 28 1995. By Patrick Walters, Jakarta — abridged.

Indonesia's Catholic bishops have called on the Government to do more to win the trust of the East Timorese following a wave of social unrest in the province. In a statement issued yesterday by the Indonesian Catholic Bishops' Conference (KWI) they said many East Timorese felt marginalized in their own homeland.

A delegation of bishops met President Suharto on Tuesday during which the issue of East Timor was discussed. President Suharto reportedly said that problems in East Timor should not be exaggerated but acknowledged that ethnic tensions were not the sole cause of trouble in the province.

The statement said 'Religious sensitivity was only the trigger for a deeper feeling of

frustration, disappointment and hopelessness.'

Earlier this month, there was widespread rioting, leading to an exodus of immigrants who have come to dominate the province's commercial life. The KWI statement noted that the non East-Timorese possessed not only skills and capital but had succeeded in occupying key posts in the provincial government as well as in the security forces.

'There are many deep wounds and traumatic experiences that have made the local population suspicious of all migrants, especially when they see there are more and more migrants arriving and turning into competitors in the labour market,' the statement said.

Cardinal Julius Darmaatmadja, chairman of the KWI, said a key issue was to alleviate lingering suspicions of Indonesia held by East Timorese. He said the KWI held regular meetings with Bishop Belo, who does not submit to the authority of the KWI but is appointed directly by the Vatican.

This month's troubles have been attributed to a number of factors, including an alleged insult to the Catholic Church but some sources in East Timor have claimed that much of the rioting was provoked. About 100,000 out of a population of about 800,000 are estimated to have migrated to the province.

The bishops said that the Government should not only punish those responsible for perpetrating the violence but should pay attention to the socio-cultural problem of East Timor when formulating future policies. They said that East Timor should have a status 'in line with the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, to guarantee that the normalization process there takes place without cultural shocks, without alienation.'

RENETIL: THE FLAME OF STRUGGLE WILL NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED

RESPONSE TO DR AMIEN RAIS

The following is a statement issued on 3 October 1995 by Renetil, the East Timorese students' organisation, in reply to Amien Rais, chair of one of Indonesia's leading Muslim organisations, Muhammadiyah:

If the political situation in Indonesia were based on the 1945 Constitution which upholds the principle of freedom of expression, the comments made by Dr. Amien Rais would have been rebutted or at the very least, would have become a topic of open discussion by friends in Indonesia who understand the true essence of the East Timor question. But this has not happened because, to this day, differences of opinion

are still taboo in the New Order. The result is that the views expressed by Amien Rais have been able to flourish – without alternative views being heard – and to exert an influence on the general public who still have a very 'naive' way of looking at East Timor.

Dr. Rais's biased views are the product of his intellectual "blindness" and "bigotry" on the question of East Timor. This is the price which has to be paid for being trapped in the undemocratic system and structure of the New Order. In an ideal world, intelligence should be dedicated to seeking the truth but it is being devoted to legitimising falsehood. Gus Dur (Abdulrachman Wahid) has said that "Intelligence which serves those in power is not intelligence in the true sense of the word." Why should we insult our intelligence for reasons of personal politics?

The essence of the Maubere struggle

The essence of the struggle of the Maubere people is the fight for their sacred and basic right which was ravaged when Indonesian launched its invasion and annexation of East Timor on 7 December 1975. By this action, Indonesia blatantly violated international norms and laws, and even more profoundly violated basic values upheld by all religions. Thus, the struggle of the Maubere people is perfectly legitimate under law and is morally incontrovertible.

It should therefore surprise no one that the flame of the Maubere people's struggle will never be extinguished and will inspire every succeeding generation of Mauberes. This was the spirit that inspired the people of Indonesia to expel the Dutch and which forced the US out of Vietnam. History will be repeated in East Timor.

Bearing all this in mind, a basic solution to the conflict in East Timor can only be found if Indonesia accepts that it is its responsibility to respect the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. This would also restore the reputation of Indonesia, whose actions have violated international law and trampled the 1945 Constitution underfoot.

Any solutions to the question of East Timor which refuses to recognise these basic principles, such as those being proposed by Dr. Amien Rais, will only further humiliate Indonesia on the international arena as well as in the eyes of its own people.

From a development strategy to a religious strategy

It appears to be the case that Indonesia is now re-thinking its strategy of development, a strategy that is based on promoting economic growth, as practised in East Timor. This strategy, which Jakarta hoped would legitimise integration and would be an effective

tive 'weapon of diplomacy' to demolish Portugal's position, has ended in tragedy. Indonesia's development strategy has turned out to be a blessing in disguise for the Maubere resistance, helping it to consolidate its forces and exposing Indonesia's lies by means of the Dili massacre on 12 November 1991. The Dili Massacre which Professor Herb Feith has portrayed as "the central event in the history of East Timor" acted as a stimulus for intellectual circles in Indonesia to develop a critical attitude towards the government. As Dr. George Aditjondro has written: "Since the massacre of 12 November 1991 in Dili, some Indonesian students have begun to question the legitimacy of East Timor integration of 1976."

Learning from these mistakes, Jakarta has been considering a more idealistic development strategy. An Indonesian diplomat recently said that, "in order to resolve the question of East Timor at the UN, there is a need for comprehensive, spiritual and material development that should also establish a sense of security and calm which would enable the people of East Timor to become committed to development." Foreign Minister Ali Alatas made the same point recently in an interview. But it's too late. Whatever the form of development practised in East Timor, it will only be a burden for the Indonesian economy and will at the same time reinforce the spirit of nationalism of the Maubere youth.

Since the early nineties, the Indonesian military has shown signs of having become frustrated with the classic strategies and have been trying to implement a new and more "sensitive," practical strategy, the strategy of religion. The armed forces, who understand the psychology of the mass of people in East Timor very well, have engaged in acts of intolerance towards their religion as a way of provoking reactions from the East Timorese youth. And this strategy has succeeded. The aims of ABRI's strategy are twofold:

1. In the long term, to transform the conflict in East Timor from a political conflict to a religious conflict. This is also in line with their intention to "internalise" the East Timor conflict.
2. In the short term, to deflect the attention of the Indonesian public and the East Timorese youth who have become increasingly critical of the government on the question of East Timor.

ABRI's success in pursuing this strategy will clearly influence perceptions of part of the Muslim community towards East Timor's sacred struggle. At the same time, ABRI's efforts will split the people of East Timor; in fact, quite a number of East Timorese have already become Muslims

through a process of Islamisation (ICMI-isation — a reference to ICMI, the association of Muslim intellectuals headed by Dr. Habibie), as Bishop Belo has already pointed out.

The position of Portugal

The United Nations still does not recognise the integration of East Timor by the Indonesian state. On 1 December 1975, the UN General Assembly adopted several demands by majority vote, one of which was: "Rejects the claims that East Timor has been integrated into Indonesia..." On 22 December 1975, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 384 which "calls on the government of Portugal as administering power, to cooperate fully with the UN so as to enable the people of East Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination."

What Portugal has been doing till now is to implement the obligation placed on it by the UN Security Council while at the same time acting constitutionally, because Article 293 of the Portuguese Constitution supports the process of the decolonisation of East Timor. It is there quite groundless for Dr. Amien Rais to claim that Portugal wants to restore its rule in East Timor and to say that Portugal is suffering from an "imperialist syndrome." It is Indonesia that is afflicted with a "syndrome of a greater Indonesia" by seizing Irian Jaya and East Timor and, now, by laying claim to several islands in the South China Sea.

Helder M. Pires, In charge of the Political Analysis Department, Renetil

Copies to:

1. Dr. Amein Rais
2. All human rights organisations throughout the world.
3. All student councils in Indonesia.
4. Chairman of the Senate of the Social-Political Faculty at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.
5. The domestic and international media.
6. Archives

100 ULAMAS WANT DIALOGUE WITH BELO

Surya, (date not given, probably 3 October 1995)

One hundred ulamas from Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi have asked parliament, the DPR, to arrange a meeting for them with Bishop Belo for a dialogue because according to the ulamas, who were led by KH Nur Muhammad DQ, some statements made recently by Belo in the national and international media represent a grave threat to the unity of the Indonesian nation.

This request was made by leading ulamas from throughout the region known as Jabotabek, in the main lobby of the DPR's

Commission I. The ulamas also presented twelve demands and they asked members of Commission I who were represented by Hajjah Aisyah Amini and Hasan Sadeli to pass them on to the government.

Firstly, they urged the government to set up a fact-finding team with the task of examining the background and chronology of the riots in East Timor and explain the precise nature of what happened. According to KH Manarul Hidayat, who read out the demands, many facts are still far from clear, including the number of casualties, the sequence of events and the causes.

Secondly, the government should make public the findings of this fact-finding team. "There's no need to hide anything because we are all mature in our religious faiths with the exception of Bishop Belo and a small section of East Timorese society," said Manarul Hidayat, who runs a pesantren in Cengkareng, Jakarta.

Their third demand was that the government should issue a special summons to Bishop Belo and ask him to explain statements he has made relating to SARA (ethnic, religious and race conflict) in East Timor, bearing in mind that the Bishop is an influential religious leader of the Catholic community and because he is thought to be very well informed about everything regarding the riots in East Timor.

Another point in their list of demands expresses regrets about Bishop Belo's duplicity. In statements made at home he expressed regrets for the riots which he described as being un-Christian but on Radio Australia he said that the riots were the result of the Indonesian government failing to pay attention to the Catholic community of East Timor.

Such statements to a foreign radio programme are clearly unhelpful in our efforts to create harmony and national unity, not to mention the statement made by Belo, later rectified by Frans Seda, that East Timor must become a special Catholic region, said Manarul Hidayat.

In two other points, the ulamas ask the government to retain ABRI's presence in East Timor and not to reduce its numbers. According to points 9 and 10, it is not unlikely that with the emergence of SARA conflicts in East Timor, anti-integration forces will win support from the local community.

In addition to the demands presented in writing, KH Ahmad Damanhuri said that the government should stand firm with regard to all decisions adopted in relation to East Timor. Whatever the risks, our nation must face the consequences, even if it means standing up to the rest of the world. This is because the Indonesian nation have already

made more than enough sacrifices in order to uphold human rights in East Timor, he said.

The ulamas as well as the members of Commission I who received them in the DPR jointly agreed to call upon all Muslims not to be provoked by issues that could jeopardise harmony between religious groups. We must show that the Muslim community is the source of compassion for all, said KH Nur Muhammad Iskandar SQ.

BELO DENIES WANTING 'CATHOLIC REGION'

Reuter, 4 October 1995. Abridged

Jakarta – East Timor's Catholic Bishop, Carlos Belo denied on Wednesday he suggested the trouble territory be turned into a Catholic region, East Timor's vicar-general said.

José Antonio da Costa told Reuter by phone from Dili that Belo, attending an annual meeting of bishops in the Vatican, denied published remarks which appeared in the *Gatra* magazine in September suggesting the territory be turned into a Catholic region. "After consulting with the bishop, we say here that he never made such remarks," he said.

The bishop also said he was willing to have dialogues with Muslim leaders and Protestant leaders in East Timor," he said.

Belo's statement appeared in the wake of riots in the former Portuguese colony last month when youths took to the streets over derogatory remarks against Catholicism by an official from the prison department in Dili.

News reports said last week Indonesia's military had questioned Belo over his published remarks. "We have questioned Bishop Belo to find out what he meant by what he said," armed forces chief General Feisal Tanjung was quoted as saying. He did not give other details.

Belo's remarks sparked anger among Muslim leaders in Jakarta who visited parliament to express their objection over the bishop's statement and asked him for a dialogue.

Translation of letter written in Indonesian by Bishop Belo, now in Rome, to Pastor José da Costa, Vicar-General, Dili Diocese:

3 October 1995

Dear friend,

I have received your fax about the statement of 100 Ulamas. I would like to let you know what my response is:

1. I would like to rectify ('meluruskan,' literally 'straighten out') the words "Catholic Region." I do not want to create a region that is exclusively Catholic but a region in

which the Catholic Religion is predominant, a region where there are also Protestant and Muslim Timorese. But special attention should be given to the religious, historical and cultural identity of the people of East Timor.

2. I am willing to enter into dialogue with the Ulamas in Dili. I am also willing to enter into dialogue with Protestant priests in Dili.

3. I cannot yet respond positively to the offer of dialogue with 100 Ulamas in Parliament and the (parliamentary) Commission I in Jakarta because:

- a) I must first consult with my superiors.
- b) I must also consult with the Dili Diocese Council of Priests.

4. Would you kindly pass on my views to the whole congregation, to the regional government in East Timor, the Pro Nuncio and the KWI (Indonesian Bishops' Conference) and to the local and national press.

My greetings and blessings,
Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, SDB
Apostolic Administrator of Dili

Comment from Carmel Budiardjo, TAPOL - Just by way of comment and without the facts of the case at my finger-tips, the kind of thing Belo is asking for here would appear to be what was granted to Aceh in the early 1950s, following the Darul Islam revolt under Daud Beureuh, with respect to recognising the special role of Islam in the area. In that sense, there is a precedent.

Again, without entering into a discussion about the satisfactory nature or otherwise of such a proposal which is so far removed from the demand for self-determination, the Aceh experience ended up having nothing special to it. So even the limited autonomy Belo is demanding is unlikely to make any difference.

EAST TIMORESE NEED TIME TO ADAPT

Op-ed in THE JAKARTA POST Friday, October 6, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): The last two weeks have seen a growing debate over a statement purportedly given by Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo of Dili to the magazine *Gatra*. That magazine reported that he suggested making East Timor a Catholic special region.

Bishop Belo, who happens to be in Rome on a visit to the Holy See, has since indicated that this was not what he was trying to convey in the interview.

I do not want to enter into what it was exactly that Bishop Belo said in this commentary, nor how the questionable sentence got into the *Gatra* text. Regardless of what Bishop Belo may actually have said, per-

haps this question deserves discussion: What about the idea of a Catholic special region itself?

The answer is obvious. Closing down a region like East Timor to all non-Catholics — either by denying them right of worship, or by making membership in the Catholic Church the condition for a residence permit — would not only be incompatible with our Pancasila philosophy, it would run counter to internationally agreed standards of human rights.

It would also be without precedent in this century (the last, and in fact the only time something like this happened was in 16th century Spain and Portugal when, after the Reconquista, all Jews and Moslems were expelled a shameful thing to do even by late Middle Age standards, and one of the greatest human and cultural tragedies in Europe's history).

There is, in this century, not a single instance, even in countries with almost 100 per cent Catholic population, of a Catholic Bishop having suggested such a thing. It would be clearly against Catholic teaching on religious freedom and on the relationship between Church and state, as formulated at the Second Vatican Council.

Even if East Timor was an independent state, such as Fiji, or Trinidad and Tobago, any demand to close it to non-Catholics should, as a matter of course, be resolutely rejected.

I may add that playing with such ideas gives Indonesian Catholics a chilling feeling up the spine. As our Indonesian Moslem brothers have not failed to point out during the past weeks: What if they suggested the same thing in regions where Moslems have a more than 90 per cent majority (as in West, Middle and East Java or in most provinces of Sumatra)?

What Bishop Belo has suggested on several occasions is something quite different: If one wants to have peace in East Timor, if one wants violent resistance to integration with Indonesia to die down, then don't shock the East Timorese by flooding them with people from outside, with different religions, customs and attitudes. Wait at least, until integration has also reached the hearts of the East Timorese.

Bishop Belo's suggestion makes good sense, especially if we put it into the context of the recent rioting in East Timor, caused among other things by the remarks of a non-East Timorese official which caused Catholic to feel insulted. For the record: The steeply rising numbers of such incidents, some of sacrilegious character in eastern Indonesia during the last three years has become a matter of serious concern.

These riots are extremely regrettable. As a consequence, hundreds of Moslem, some

of them having lived for 10 years or more in East Timor, have fled that province with their families. But, as the government has clearly seen, these riots were primarily not religiously motivated. They were an explosion of anti-newcomer resentment.

In other parts of Indonesia, too, such situations are sensitive. In the province of Aceh, for example, 50 years after independence, only two parishes exist for the many Catholics, people from the Batak regions, Chinese, Javanese employees and the people of Flores looking for jobs. One is in Banda Aceh and another at Lawe Desky.

In East Timor, the non-Catholic population has multiplied within a few years from about one thousand to something like 60,000. They are seeping in day after day. They may be teachers, civil servants, or military men. Many of the bigger markets have been taken over by newcomers. They also have built, as is their right, their often acoustically high profile places of worship.

For the East Timorese this huge influx of outsiders into a region not used to cultural diversity and still in the grips of fear can only be a shocking intrusion into their way of life. They felt that their cultural identity is threatened. They also are afraid that they will lose out to the better skilled newcomers, afraid of losing their land, of becoming a minority in their own country. And when emotions boil over, these places of worship — being the most obvious symbols of newcomers — naturally become the object of their wrath.

What the East Timorese need is time. It will take time for them to learn to maintain, and at the same time develop, their cultural identity within the framework of multi-cultural and multi-religious Indonesia. The last 20 years, marred by civil and guerilla warfare, the heavy presence of security forces and a general atmosphere of fear have done nothing to help them on the way.

Thus Bishop Belo was not preaching a kind of Catholic fundamentalism which not even the most conservative prelate would consider. On the country, we should listen to him carefully — precisely if we want the political integration of East Timor to become a social and cultural one too.

In conclusion, allow me to venture to make a suggestion to Bishop Belo: Please, if you give Gatra (or Radio Australia for that matter) an interview again, do insist that any article based on the contents of that interview not be published without your explicit written placet, and, please, have somebody who knows the Indonesian (or the English) language really well — both linguistically and politically — go over it with a fine-toothed comb, so that the statements attributed to you actually do express what you really want to say.

Dr. Franz Magnis-Suseno SJ teaches social philosophy at the Driyarkara School of Philosophy in Jakarta.

ANTI-BELO DEMONSTRATION IN YOGYA

Republika, 7 October 1995. Yogyakarta

Amien Rais, who chairs Muhammadiyah, the man who started the assault on East Timor several weeks ago, with a malicious article complaining about persecution of the Muslim minority in East Timor, is also dean of the Faculty of Politics at Gadjah Mada University.

It is becoming increasingly clear that one motive for actions like this is to influence the decision in Norway about this year's Nobel Peace Prize, due to be announced on 13 October.

It would be wrong however, in our opinion, to see the backlash over East Timor as being motivating solely by the Nobel Peace Prize issue. The conflict is far more complex than that. Carmel, TAPOL

YOGYA STUDENTS DEMONSTRATION CONDEMNS BELO

At a time when the name of Bishop Belo is being mentioned as a likely choice for this year's Nobel Peace Prize, he has come under attack by students. This occurred at a demonstration of about 1,000 students on the Gadjah Mada University campus in Bulaksumur, at the end of Friday prayers yesterday. The demonstration was supported not only by Muslim students but also by student activists from other religions who had been involved in planning the action from the start, which was organised by AMUK-TimTim (Community Action for Humanitarianism in East Timor).

'This action has nothing to do with SARA,' said Taufik Rinaldi, who chairs the Students Union of Gadjah Mada, speaking from the rostrum. Before he spoke, a number of people had come to the rostrum to speak. There were plenty of posters condemning Belo. The attitude of NGOs also came under attack.

The action started at 12.30 and quickly grew in size as Muslims from several nearby mosques swelled the crowd after Friday prayers. They shouted 'Allahu Akbar' every time anyone came to the rostrum to speak. The posters bore slogans like: 'Belo Out,' 'NGOs, where is your voice?' 'The press is not being objective.'

'Please remember,' said Taufik 'that what we are protesting about is not Islam or Catholicism but an individual.' That person is none other than Bishop Belo who, they

believe, is being inconsistent, even towards the teachings of his own religion. Taufik said he was absolutely convinced that, as with other religions, the Catholic religion will not condone repression against people of other faiths.

The atmosphere became quite heated when a police vehicle moved towards the crowds of students. Students halted the advance of the police car in which Sleman police chief Lt.Col. Antono and members of his staff were travelling. Things calmed down after several student representatives talked to the police chief. The demonstration continued until 13.30 and ended with a prayer.

During the demonstration, a student representative read out a statement by AMUK TimTim. It said that the riots in East Timor, when most of the victims happened to be Muslims, were a violation of human rights. If someone does something insulting towards a religion, this should be resolved by legal means not by inciting large-scale riots.

The statement attacked remarks made by Belo to Radio Australia. His statement to the effect that East Timor should become a Catholic region is an attempt to legitimise the expulsion of all people of other religions from East Timor. In view of the fact that he is the Bishop, the students felt that the attitude adopted by Belo is very dangerous indeed and firm action should be taken against him.

Several demands were made at the demonstration: the government should take firm action against every violation of human rights, including those in East Timor. The government should also adopt a firm attitude towards Belo who is being two-faced about integration. The Governor of East Timor should give protection to all inhabitants in East Timor guaranteeing their right to live there and practice their religion, regardless of their ethnic background, religion or racial origin. Protection should also be given to the refugees who wish to return to East Timor.

The students also demanded an end to foreign interference in the question of East Timor, including that coming from the Pope. 'One way would be for the East Timor diocese to be incorporated into the Indonesian Bishops' Conference,' the statement said.

YOUNG MOSLEMS AGAINST XIMENES BELO

Diario de Noticias, 8 October 1995. Translated from Portuguese

About 1,000 young Moslems have been demonstrating in the Indonesian city of Jogjakarta, in central Java, calling for the removal of Monsignor Ximenes Belo from East Timor.

During the protest, the students accused the Timorese Bishop of trying to turn East Timor into a Catholic enclave, inciting religious fanaticism, and "using the Vatican for his own personal objectives."

The Bishop, currently in Rome, is to be received by Pope John Paul II in mid-October.

In September, at least four people were killed during violent disturbances in different Timorese cities, including the capital, following insults made against the Catholic Church by an Moslem immigrant.

In Dili, several celebrities from the Timorese community are said to have been contacted recently by so-called "emissaries from Jakarta," and encouraged to publicly call for the substitution of Governor Abilio Osorio Soares. On Suharto's instructions, Abilio Osorio Soares was appointed governor of East Timor in 1992, substituting Mario Carrascalão.

JAKARTA PUTS PRESSURE ON THE POPE

Diario de Noticias, 15 October 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Jakarta is going to put pressure on the Vatican to transfer the Diocese of Dili to Indonesian control. Ximenes Belo is in Rome. He has already spoken with Pope John Paul II, but the Holy See's intentions have still not been made public.

Indonesia's Minister of Religion will be going to the Vatican on 26 October to find out whether Jakarta is to have control over the Bishopric of East Timor.

Tarmizi Taher wants to discuss with the Pope whether the Diocese of Dili, which is currently under the Vatican's direct jurisdiction, might be integrated within the Council of the Church of Indonesia.

"The main purpose of the mission is to raise questions of a religious nature, and to define the status of the Catholic Church in East Timor," said the Minister, Imam Kuseno Mihardjo.

The Indonesian authorities do not look kindly on Bishop Ximenes Belo, head of the Diocese since 1981, who is highly critical of Indonesian military presence in the region.

In September, the Bishop of Dili infuriated the Indonesian authorities when he proposed that Jakarta confer on East Timor the special administrative status of a Catholic region.

At present, East Timor is, from a religious standpoint, under the direct jurisdiction of the Vatican, Ximenes Belo being the territory's Apostolic Administrator on the Pope's behalf. Integration of the Diocese of Dili with the Indonesian Episcopal Confer-

ence would be, in effect, another severe blow to the Timorese Resistance.

Vatican considers a new Diocese

Religious sources have stated that the Vatican is considering the creation of another Diocese in East Timor, in addition to Dili, so that its own Episcopal Conference may be constituted.

The Indonesian Minister's visit to Rome will take place just days after Ximenes Belo himself was received by the Pope.

In his statements made this week in Rome, Ximenes Belo avoided mention of the matter, except for saying that Pope John Paul had expressed his solidarity with the Timorese people.

Once again, the Bishop adopted a fairly cautious position, and appealed for talks between the various Timorese parties. Ximenes Belo, it should be remembered, was one of the main stimulators of the reconciliation meetings which have been held in recent months.

The Bishop declined to comment on the confrontations which rocked Timor this week, and simply stated that "Undoubtedly, very serious problems do still exist. That is why last September I said publicly that the time had come for us to talk — government, population and young people. It is only through dialogue that we can prevent these confrontations."

MILITARY PLEDGES OF CONSTANT RAIDS

JAKARTA, Oct. 21 (UPI) — Indonesia is seeking the Vatican's involvement in solving what the government is calling religious unrest in the troubled Catholic-majority East Timor, reports said Saturday.

Several days of violence rocked the former Portuguese colony in September in what were called inter-religious, racial and ethnic clashes.

Tarmizi Taher, the minister of religious affairs was quoted by Antara news agency saying he would leave next week for the Vatican to meet with the Pope John Paul II as well as other officials to discuss the strife.

He stressed that his Vatican visit would not be primarily connected to the current tension in East Timor — still winded from a series of violent riots — but mainly to reciprocate the pope's visit to Indonesia in 1989.

Taher said he hoped the good relations between Indonesia and Vatican would contribute in efforts to solve the East Timor problem.

"During the meetings with Vatican officials, I will convey Indonesia's hopes in connection with the East Timor question,"

Taher said. "I think Vatican is also concerned about the East Timor problem because it has a (presence) there."

East Timor rioting in September spread throughout the region, leaving scores of people injured and widespread damage in the aftermath.

The riots were sparked by an alleged insult to Catholicism by a Muslim official. The violence turned into inter-religious, racial and ethnic clashes that forced hundreds of immigrant Muslims to flee.

Taher said papal influence in the East Timor problem would not mean Vatican interference in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

In a related East Timor issue, a foreign ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl has ruled out Indonesia's reopening an investigation into the deaths of five Australian journalists in 1975 in East Timor.

"Their deaths were an occupational risk because at the time there was fighting among various factions in the region," Antara quoted Fadyl as saying.

The five Australian journalists died in East Timor during a civil war that erupted soon after Portugal ended its colonial rule in 1975. International human rights groups and Australians alleged the five died at the hands of Indonesian troops.

Indonesia, invaded East Timor in 1975, sending thousands of troops to quell a civil war that broke out after Portugal packed up its flag and left the region. Jakarta annexed the territory a year later, but the United Nations still regards Lisbon as the administering power.

NU & EAST TIMOR

Forum Keadilan, 23 October 1995. Translated from Indonesian

Gus Dur has been criticized by Habibie for failing to protest against riots against Muslims in East Timor. In an interview, Gus Dur says (speaking now as Democracy Forum leader) the East Timor problem should be resolved by closing the gap between Indonesian government and international opinion. Speaking as NU leader he says NU does protest, but 'not by inflaming one group against another.'

The last remark is a stab at Amien Rais of Muhammadiyah, at Republika, at Habibie, and perhaps at the entire 'modernist' Islamic establishment, who after years of neglecting it now portray the ET issue as a Catholic-vs.-Islamic issue that sprang up out of nowhere. -- Gerry van Klinken

ET INTRA-RELIGIOUS FORUM

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Macau, Oct. 24 (LUSA) — Bishop D. Ximenes Belo refused to sign the document by which the East Timor Intra-Religious Communication and Consultation Forum is created today in Dili, a source from the Timorese Diocese told LUSA today. “By specification from our Bishop, the document will be signed by the chancellor of the Ecclesiastic Chamber, Father Domingos Sequeira,” said the same source, who admitted that Bishop Belo’s decision “may not please the Indonesian authorities” who are promoting the forum.

The document is to include also the signatures of leaders from the Islamic, Buddhist, Protestant, and Hindu congregations. The forum is intended by the Indonesian authorities to promote the dialogue between the leaders of these five religions, so as to avoid future religious conflicts in the territory.

The document is to be signed in the presence of the Indonesian Minister of Religion, Tarmizi Taher, and of the Jakarta ‘Nuncio Apostolico,’ Monsignor Pietro Sambini, who arrived in Dili this morning in a special flight from Jakarta; and also of the Secretary of the Indonesian Episcopal Conference, Monsignor Situmorang. The Bishop of Medan, Monsignor Sinaga, may also take part in the ceremony. Representatives of various local authorities will also participate, including members of the Legislative Assembly and directors-general of the Ministry of Religion. The ceremony is scheduled for 12:00 noon, local time.

Tarmizi Taher will leave Dili after the ceremony, and leaves Thursday to a six-day visit to Rome and the Vatican.

CNRM STATEMENT ON RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS

From José Ramos-Horta, Oct. 24, 1995

1. In the last few weeks, the Indonesian government, through the military intelligence, has launched an orchestrated campaign against the East Timorese bishop of Dili, Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Church and the people of East Timor as a whole.

Now, the Indonesian Religion Minister Tarmizi Taher is visiting the Vatican to seek Catholic Church pressure on the East Timorese. For years Indonesia has used the threat of making the situation of Indonesia’s Catholic minority difficult, as a means of pressuring the Vatican not to unduly oppose the illegal annexation of East Timor.

2. It is possible to trace back the origins of the current campaign against the East Timorese Catholic Church and its Bishop. In January 1995 there were riots in many parts of East Timor which took a new dimension. For the first time in the almost 20 years of occupation, Indonesian civilians (read immigrants) and their properties were targeted by the people. Street shops and vendors were attacked. Some Indonesian civilians were killed.

3. It must be noted that the January 1995 incidents were sparked by the killing of an East Timorese by Indonesian merchants. There is not one single instance of an incident provoked by East Timorese. Most of the incidents took place in the following sequence: Indonesian military personnel desecrate a religious object of cult such as stamping on the holy wafer, insulting a nun, breaking a Virgin Mary statue; the East Timorese react and attack the offenders; in the ensuing violence, the army intervenes and attacks the East Timorese. In every single instance we have been able to identify Indonesian intelligence agents on the ground instigating the violence.

4. A question might be asked: what is the interest of the army in instigating the violence. There are several answers to this simple question. The hard-liners in the military are not interested in a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Even the modest and limited idea of granting some sort of autonomy to the territory with a drastic reduction in the troop presence, as argued by the local governor and supported by MFA Ali Alatas, is opposed by the military. Their view is that East Timor is a conquered territory and hence the military earned the right to treat East Timor as a private domain. So as long as the territory remains in limited turmoil, the hard-liners have a justification to pursue their one-tack policy of brutal repression. A lessening of their influence in East Timor is always a dent in their prestige (after all the army is supposed to be invincible and untouchable) and in their economic monopoly of East Timor’s natural wealth (coffee, sandalwood, marble, fishing) and lucrative trade.

5. There is another answer: having lost the battle of the international opinion and now gradually losing credibility on the home front, the hard-liners are resorting to an old tactic they are good at: instigate ethnic and religious tension and violence to divert peoples attention from the real issues.

6. Throughout Indonesian history both in the period leading to and after the imposition by a bloody military coup of the New Order regime of gen. Suharto, there were always anti-Chinese violence instigated by the military. In the 1965-66 coup several hundred thousand innocent Chinese were

slaughtered. In the 80s there were a series of church and Chinese shop burning incidents in Java and Sumatra. In 1994 there were serious anti-Chinese incidents in Medan, Sumatra.

7. The conflict in East Timor has absolutely no ethnic or religious basis. Prior to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, the nearly 700,000 East Timorese, ruled by Portugal for almost 500 years, were divided in a majority animist, minority Catholics (30%) Buddhist (the 15,000 Chinese settlers) and a very small Moslem community of no more than 1,000 East Timorese of Arab descent.

East Timor was extraordinarily harmonious during the Portuguese rule. Even though the Portuguese fascist state favoured the Catholic faith as the State religion, there was never any religious incident among the four religious groups. One might accuse the Portuguese of neglect, but they never engaged in such callous and counter-productive tactic in instigating inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence.

8. The East Timorese resistance was always guided by a code of conduct of not harming Indonesian civilians and the Indonesian government could not show one single instance where the resistance deliberately targeted Indonesian civilian settlers even though the latter are willing instruments and participants in the occupation and rapacious exploitation of East Timor.

9. Why this sudden attack on the East Timorese Church and people claiming that they are intolerant and anti-Moslem?

10. The Church of East Timor is a model of moderation and tolerance. It has incurred the anger of the army not because it does not accept other religions. Quite the contrary, Bishop Belo has a strong relationship with Rev. Arlindo Marcal, head of the minority Protestant Church who is also under attack by the army. There is not much ongoing relationship between the Catholic Church and the Moslems in East Timor only because the majority of Indonesians in East Timor are not devout Moslems.

There are thousands of prostitutes brought in by the Army to service the soldiers and there are thousands of small traders from the nearby islands who in fact are overwhelmingly Christians. Here we have an army that operates like most armies of occupation in the middle ages where women are herded to service the soldiers and this is the army that today uses religion to attack the Church of East Timor. Only a few thousand are Moslems and the army discourages the local Moslem leaders from consorting with the bishop.

Bishop Belo has never uttered a word of intolerance against other religions. Quite the contrary. He is a very humble man, modest

like most of his Salesian order. When he was appointed in 1983, it was hoped in Jakarta and in Rome that he would be much more malleable than his predecessor, the late Bishop Martinho da Costa Lopes. His consecration in Dili was boycotted by most East Timorese priests because he was perceived to be a puppet of the Vatican and Jakarta.

Just imagine the pain and loneliness he must have endured all these years when faced with so many conflicting interests and pressure. After all, he turned out to be such a humble, modest, self-effacing and courageous man of the people and public enemy number one of the army. That's why the Indonesian army does not tolerate him and that's why they are now engaged in this vicious campaign. The East Timorese priests are extremely tolerant, generous and courageous. Most might be inspired by the Latin America liberation theology and some are theologically conservative but they all share strong notions of justice and human dignity.

11. The army has the blood of thousands of Moslems in its hands. It is quite extraordinary that it should pretend now to stand for Islam when in fact it has massacred thousands of Moslems in Aceh-Sumatra. Countless Moslem women in Sumatra were raped and murdered by the army in 1983-84 with the full knowledge of the army high command and not one single soldier or officer was brought to justice. The infamous massacre of several hundred civilian Moslems in Jakarta's port of Tanjung Priok in 1984 is another major crime of the Indonesian army. The government has tried to suppress any information about this massacre, which as a result remains unexposed to this day.

12. Unlike even in China where there is a large foreign presence (journalists, diplomats, businessmen) and an explosion in the private sector, East Timor must be the most isolated place on earth. The only foreign presence there consist of three ICRC delegates. The Church and to some extent the resistance are the only links to the outside world. The Church is the only institution capable of sheltering the people physically and morally, the only one around which even the resistance turn to for protection.

13. Few conflicts in the world are so clear-cut and simple as the East Timorese. Here we have a people with a clear historical identity, invaded and occupied by another country without a prior and clearly established claim to it. There are no overlapping, conflicting claims on East Timor by the neighbouring countries. Only Indonesia stands in the middle between the people of East Timor and self-determination. It is tragic that the Indonesian occupation forces

are now irresponsibly attempting to obfuscate the issue by inciting religious conflicts.

GOD AND COUNTRY: ATTACKS ON MUSLIMS IN TIMOR PROMPT BACKLASH

Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 October 1995. By Margot Cohen in Jakarta

For nearly two decades, most Indonesians quietly accepted their government's explanation that the vast majority of Timorese favoured integration with the rest of the country.

According to the official view, the protests and clashes that flared up in East Timor, which Indonesia annexed in 1976, were often instigated by a small group of pro-independence troublemakers with foreign support. Even the events of November 1991 in the provincial capital of Dili, when troops opened fire on protesters, killing at least 100 people, were said to have been inspired by local and foreign agents and provocateurs.

But quite a few Indonesians aren't buying the old explanations any more. Reason: a surge of violence against Muslim migrants in the mostly Catholic province since early September. With Indonesia in the throes of an Islamic revival, the news from Timor of Catholic rioters burning mosques and beating up Muslims has prompted calls for a fundamental policy shift — possibly to the hard right.

In parliament and in the press, Islamic leaders argue that it's time to "get tough" on the recalcitrant Timorese. Likewise, some 200 Muslim teachers from Java and Bali issued a statement on October 13 calling for the government to take "resolute action" against those involved in the Timor violence, while Muslim students in Jogjakarta took to the streets on October 6 and 13 to register their protest.

Rioting broke out again in Dili in mid-October, though this time it didn't seem to have a religious colour. Two people were killed as security forces dispersed throngs of youth who erected barricades and held two military-intelligence agents hostage. By October 16, however, some 150 youths had been arrested and their pro-independence protests silenced.

But national attention remained riveted on the anti-Muslim unrest of September. Despite the Indonesian government's longstanding taboo on press reports about religious conflict, these events have received prominent play in the local media — particularly in Muslim-oriented publications such as the *Republika* daily and the magazine *Ummat*.

This media attention contrasts sharply with the subdued reaction to alleged human-rights abuses against Muslims in the northern province of Aceh in 1990-91. Then, Islamic organizations appeared reluctant to confront the government and the military on the issue.

This time, Muslim leaders aren't mincing words. In an influential column in the October issue of *Ummat*, Amien Rais, chairman of Muhammadiyah, one of Indonesia's largest Muslim organizations, wrote: "It's time for a sharp change in direction. Up until now, we have been so defensive, so cautious, so good-hearted, and very much spoiling our youngest province. Like a small child who has been spoiled too long with the utmost patience and tolerance, that child begins to disobey us." Those with "evil intentions toward the republic," Rais concluded, "must be wiped out."

A main target of Muslim anger is Timor's Catholic bishop, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo. He came under intense criticism after being quoted in the weekly *Gatra* as calling for a "special Catholic region." Muslims insist that this contradicts the state ideology of Pancasila, which grants equal status to five recognized religions.

In a bid to ease tension, Religious Affairs Minister Tarmizi Taher planned to visit Dili on October 24 to inaugurate an interfaith forum. After that he was expected to go to Rome and discuss the Timor issue with the Pope. But some observers doubt this will provide a cure for the province's ills. "The problem of East Timor is not a religious problem," says Salvador Ximenes Soares, a Timorese member of Parliament and general manager of the daily *Suara Timor Timur*. "It's a political problem, involving lack of employment, sharp social jealousies and the undermining of self-respect."

Soares and others say the September events were an explosion of accumulated anger at outsiders, rather than purely an attack on another faith. Still, religious friction played a central role in bringing this anger to a head.

Riots first broke out in Maliana district on September 4, after the circulation of a pamphlet detailing anti-Catholic remarks allegedly made by a Muslim prison official. Angry Catholics retaliated by burning Muslim homes, vehicles and shops. The violence spread to Viqueque district, where tensions were already high over the results of a civil-service exam and a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant. This time, a mosque and a prayer hall as well as two Protestant churches were torched. Violence against Muslims was subsequently reported in Liquiça.

The conflagration then spread to Dili. Between September 8 and 14 Timorese secon-

dary-school students descended on a complex of Islamic buildings, setting fire to a mosque and other structures. Dili's Comoro market, where Muslims dominate trade, was also reduced to ashes. Students demanded identity cards from motorists and pedestrians and assaulted those who proved to be Muslim, with women wearing headscarves clear targets.

Though it condemned the violence, the Indonesian Roman Catholic Conference said: "We need to question why the situation is developing this way, so that people become easily emotional...religious sensitivities are only a trigger for deeper feelings of frustration, disappointment and hopelessness. Many people feel afraid and threatened."

According to the conference's statement published in the Catholic magazine *Hidup* on October 15, the solution lies in making sure that "the people of East Timor feel their social and cultural identity is not threatened." Upholding the rule of law is equally important, the Catholic leaders said.

For his part, Belo has sought to clarify his published call for a "special Catholic district." In a letter to the Dili diocese faxed from Rome, where he was visiting the Vatican, Belo said he did not mean to call for an exclusively Catholic region. Rather, he said, he wanted "a region where Catholicism is predominant, a region where there are also Protestants and Muslims. However, special attention must be paid to the religious, historical, and cultural identity of the Timorese people."

The irony is that religious tolerance has a long history in East Timor. Islam coexisted peacefully with Catholicism during the colonial area. And even following the 1976 annexation, Catholics helped lay the foundation for a mosque in Dili, while Muslims lent a hand in building the capital's Motael Church. With an influx of voluntary migrants over the last six years, however, this spirit of mutual cooperation has soured into mutual suspicion.

Each side has its own list of grievances. Catholics complain of statues of the Virgin Mary being vandalized, the desecration of communion wafers and cases where children of Catholic parents are whisked off to Muslim schools. But their biggest complaint centres on the building of new mosques and prayer halls without proper government permits. The Muslim population of the province in 1995 was some 26,000, still a tiny minority among the nearly 800,000 Timorese.

For their part, Muslims complain that they are prevented from broadcasting the call to prayer through loudspeakers, restricted in their public celebrations of religious holidays and continually harassed by disgruntled Timorese.

The new interfaith forum is designed to tackle these issues, nip rumours in the bud and recreate an atmosphere of mutual trust. The Commission on Human Rights also hopes to improve the situation by setting up a Dili office as soon as possible. A formal request to that effect was submitted to Governor Abilio Soares on September 7.

The commission already has one highly sensitive case on its hands. On October 4, a group of Timorese students filed a complaint over the killing of Adao Fernandes Cabral, the sub-district head of Luro, in Lautem district. According to the complaint, Adao opposed the building of a local mosque and vigorously defended his stance before military authorities. On September 11, he was found stabbed dead in his bedroom. Whatever the results of the investigation, authorities hope the case won't provoke yet another round of violence.

INDONESIAN MINISTER TO FLY TO VATICAN ON TIMOR

JAKARTA, Oct. 26 (Reuter) — Indonesian Religious Affairs Minister Tarmizi Taher was to fly to the Vatican on Thursday for a four-day visit to discuss problems in East Timor, including religious tolerance.

"I will discuss the problems in East Timor that happened in early September and add to the information they have," Taher told reporters.

"East Timor's problems are complicated by scenarios that involve religion...certainly the groups who don't like integration use this," Taher said.

"I will explain also about the importance of religious tolerance in Indonesia and in East Timor," he said.

Riots and disturbances in East Timor during September and October have killed at least two people, injured dozens and resulted in more than 100 arrests.

The disturbances have been partly blamed on ethnic and religious tension between the predominantly Catholic East Timorese and recent arrivals from mostly Moslem Indonesia.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and unilaterally annexed it the following year in an action not yet recognised by the United Nations, which still recognises former colonial ruler Portugal as the administering authority.

Jakarta still faces resistance to its rule from a small guerrilla army and clandestine independence movement.

Taher said Indonesia would not interfere with the direct relationship between the head of the Catholic church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, and the Vatican.

Belo, who travels on an Indonesian passport, is not a member of the Indonesian Council of Churches and reports directly to Pope John Paul II in the Vatican.

He interrupted a visit to the Vatican to return to East Timor for an Indonesian-sponsored inter-religious forum on Tuesday. Some reports said Belo would return to Rome this week.

Indonesia has good relations with the Vatican and Taher said he expected the Vatican would understand the issues.

"Indonesia and the Vatican have mutual respect and because the jurisdiction of East Timor's (bishop is) under the Vatican we will explain what has happened in East Timor so they can listen and help us," he said.

"But we will not interfere (with) the authority of each country," he added.

POPE MEETS INDONESIAN MINISTER

VATICAN CITY, Oct. 28 (UPI) — Pope John Paul II Saturday held talks with Indonesia's Religious Affairs Minister Tarmizi Taher that centered on problems of the strife-torn East Timor region, Vatican sources said.

The Vatican, in line with its normal policy, did not release details of the talks but sources said the audience was part of an ongoing dialogue between the Holy See and Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim nation.

The presence of Cardinal Francis Arinze, head of the Vatican's Council for Interreligious Dialogue, at the audience also suggested that religious rather than political matters were discussed at the meeting.

Indonesia has long had a tense relationship with the Vatican and has made Vatican recognition of Indonesia's 1976 annexation of East Timor a condition of improved links. The population of East Timor is predominantly Catholic.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony on Dec. 5, 1975, and annexed it one year later, but the United Nations does not recognize the Indonesian claim and considers Portugal to be East Timor's administrative power.

The region has been rocked by violence that often involves clashes between Muslims and Catholics, as well as between separatists and government forces.

The latest round of violence over the past two months has left at least two people dead and dozens others wounded. Security officials said last week that more than 160 people were taken into police custody.

SUHARTO URGES PEOPLE TO AVOID CONFLICT

[slightly abridged]

Jakarta, Nov. 2 (Reuter) – Indonesia's President Suharto urged religious followers on Thursday to live in harmony and avoid possible conflicts.

"All the followers of all the diverse religions can live together peacefully," Suharto said in a speech during a meeting with Catholic church leaders.

"We hope we can maintain peace and harmony in the years to come (as) only with the harmony and peace, we can achieve and create our big ideas," he said.

Religious tension is a sensitive subject in Indonesia, whose more than 190 million people are required to be a member of five mainstream religions – Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestant Christian or Catholic.

Tensions between religious groups are blamed for regular outbreaks of violence in Indonesia's vast archipelago.

"We are aware that in society surely there are conflicts of interest between one and another... but we can't let these conflicts grow and develop out of control," Suharto said.

"We will not allow discrimination in any form," he added. Suharto said in the event of conflict any settlement must take into account the interests of all parties.

"We want a fair settlement of a conflict which can be accepted by all parties, without feeling loss or gain," he said.

RIOTS IN EAST TIMOR

PROTESTS ROCK TWO CITIES

Jakarta Post, September 6, 1995

DILI, East Timor: The cities of Liquisa and Maliana were rocked by protests on Monday after the results of a recruitment drive at the respective regency offices was announced.

In Liquisa, hundreds of youths attacked the regency office after not finding their names on a list of 2,000 people recruited to work as regency employees.

Four people were injured and about 10 people were detained by the authorities following the fracas.

The riot in Maliana was also staged by a group of youths upset that they were not recruited by the regency administration which just accepted 1,500 new employees.

NOTES:

Lt. Col. MARCIANO NORMAN, former chief of the Jakarta City Cavalry Battalion 7, a 1978 graduate of the National Military Academy, will be installed as the new chief of the Dili Military District in East Timor. He is well-known for handling demonstrations in the streets of Jakarta.

EAST TIMOR PROTESTS SEE THREE DETAINED

Reuter, 5 September 1995. Abridged

Anger and frustration with government officials in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor led to protests in two separate towns, leading to three arrests, witnesses said on Tuesday.

Witnesses said the small demonstrations on Monday in Maliana and Liquiça, 65 km (40 miles) south west and 30 km (18 miles) west of the capital Dili respectively, started after youths became angry after failing civil service exams.

The witnesses said that in Maliana the protesters also carried anti-integration and anti-migrant banners.

Following Indonesia's 1975 invasion of East Timor and annexation the following year, Jakarta has encouraged people from crowded parts of the archipelago to migrate to less populated areas such as East Timor.

With high unemployment among native East Timorese, resentment of outsiders who control commerce, small businesses and the civil service has caused several disturbances in the last year, some causing deaths. East Timor police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto told Reuters by telephone three people were still in detention on Tuesday following what he called the Maliana "criminal action." Witnesses reported up to 10 people being arrested on Monday.

Sugianto said the three were being questioned over the throwing of stones at the house of a prison department official, from the Flores island, who had, what he said, had a misunderstanding with the local people.

"He said some words which hurt the feelings of Catholics and his house was stoned," Sugianto said.

Sugianto said there was no political motive in the Maliana incident and also denied there was a protest in Liquisa.

Witnesses in Liquisa said angry youths attacked the office of the district government, injuring one civil servant who needed to be hospitalised, after failing the civil service exams.

TWO CIVILIANS KILLED IN EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, 7 September 1995.

Dili – Local military chief Col. M. Simbolon said yesterday that he has ordered an

investigation into news that troops killed two civilians in Viqueque, 200 kms east of here, on Aug. 24.

Initial reports said that the two victims, identified as Inacio da Silva and Manuel da Silva, were shot and killed when they were hunting deer with other villagers, Simbolon said.

According to Simbolon, the group of people were seen in an area that the security authorities know is a stronghold of Fretilin rebels.

"My officers addressed them but there was no reply. They (the officers) then opened fired and two died on the spot." Simbolon said. "I promise to conduct a thorough investigation into the incident."

As eyewitness, Mario Soares, 36, said the incident happened at about 9am on Aug. 24 when the group of nine people was hunting in the forest.

Bishop Belo said he had also received a report on the incident from relatives of the victims. "We deeply regret it," he said.

RIOTS BREAKS OUT IN VIQUEQUE

Jakarta Post, Sept. 8 1995

Dili, East Timor, Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares has ordered an investigation into fresh rioting in Viqueque this week in which dozens of shops and several places of worship were burned down.

Spokesman for the provincial government Expedito Dias Ximenes told journalist yesterday that the authorities are yet to determine what sparked the riot.

"The Governor has made it clear that anyone involved in the chaos should be severely punished," Expedito said as quoted by Antara. Viqueque regent I Ketut Lunca said the local government is yet to estimate losses caused by the rioting.

Expedito said that the situation in Viqueque was under control yesterday and business has returned to normal.

East Timor police chief Col. Andreas Sugianto said he had dispatch one squad of policemen to Viqueque in anticipation of another wave of riots.(pan)

UNREST IN DILI: MANY ARRESTS

Jawa Pos, 9 September 1995. Abridged

Comment: These events are almost certainly linked to the anger reported a day earlier over an anti-Catholic document which led to protests on the day before. The JP report however makes no mention of this though the police chief made a hint about 'provocations.'

MORE VIOLENCE IN DILI

Dili has again been shaken by demonstrations. Yesterday, almost simultaneously in several parts of the city, there was stone-throwing, punches and arson. The unrest began in the morning; by late afternoon the security forces had gained control. Eight people have been reported injured, and four cars, four motor-cycles and a number of houses have been damaged.

The action began around 8am at the secondary school (SMA) Dharma Bakti in Comoro and Becora STM where fighting broke out between students. A number of non-Timorese students were physically assaulted by Timorese students; some teachers were also targeted.

After conditions in these schools were brought under control, trouble broke out at the Kristel SMA, Balide where a student and two teachers were injured. The school was blockaded by Brimob (special police) forces till midday.

Violence broke out also along Bairo Pite-Menleuana Road, Comoro Road, Balide Road and the main thoroughfare, Audian-Becora. Large numbers of youths roamed the streets, punching, stone-throwing and burning vehicles.

Economic activity in the city was brought to a standstill. Shops, restaurants and stalls were closed and public transport only started running again in the afternoon — but not more than a few taxis and buses.

Few people wanted to go out onto the streets, especially people from outside East Timor. The only people on the streets were groups of youths. Some people caught up in the crowds of people were held and asked to say where they were from and what their religion was.

"Those of us in cars were each asked questions like this. They were very fierce," said a non-Timorese woman who refused to give her name.

The hospital in Bidau reported that about 16 persons were taken in for treatment but only three were detained. JP journalist saw three people who had been seriously injured about the face and head. They had been struck in the face or in other parts of the body with sticks.

One was named Lukman who comes from Magelang, Central Java who is now under treatment in hospital. Two others, named Arsud Noke, from Kupang, and Marcus [not stated where from] were chased after being attacked by youths. Arsud fled into a church for shelter but Marcus was struck a number of times.

46 people arrested by police

Police chief Andreas Sugianto said 46 people, thought to have lead the attacks, had been rounded up and were now in custody. The police are hunting for others thought to be responsible.

"I appeal to the public not to be influenced by false rumours or by provocations started by irresponsible people," he said [perhaps a reference to the anti-Catholic document].

He agreed that the physical violence in Dili was linked to a series of actions that have taken place in Maliana, Bobonaro, Uatolari and Viqueque earlier this week. He also said an individual, SA, thought to have instigated the action in Maliana is under police interrogation.

MORE ON CURRENT UNREST IN DILI

Republika, 9 September. Slightly abridged.

[Comment: Unlike Jawa Pos of the same day, Republika focuses on the religious aspect of Friday's unrest in Dili and does refer to an incident at Maliana prison when insulting remarks were made about Catholicism.]

Dili – East Timor is again in ferment. A number of large-scale disturbances have occurred since last Monday, starting in the district of Bobonaro and Viqueque and now spreading to Dili.

Hundreds of youngsters, mostly secondary school pupils, went onto the streets in Dili. In six different sections of the city, they stopped many cars and harassed drivers who they thought to be Muslims. Anti-riot police backed by a unit of army troops dispersed the demonstrations with tear-gas and batons. A number of demonstrators were dragged to the police station.

Several sources told Republika that the situation in Dili was still tense late in the evening and people were afraid to go out into the streets. Several prayer centres and Muslim education buildings were attacked by the crowds. Stones were thrown at Al-Ichwan Mosque. The premises of YAKIN, an Islamic welfare institute was attacked; a building was burnt down even though the premises had been under army protection since July when disturbances also occurred.

On that occasion, a group of youngsters in a house near YAKIN were holding a Mass and asked YAKIN for help with elec-

tricity. While the Mass was in progress, the lights suddenly went off because PLN (state electricity company) lines broke down. The youngsters were furious and started attacking the YAKIN premises with stones.

In an attempt to calm things down in Dili, (Udayana) military commander Major-General Adang Ruchiatna visited the kampungs where disturbances had occurred and later told journalists that the unrest had spread from Maliana and Viqueque to Dili.

He said that many of those involved were misinformed. "They were incited by irresponsible elements. It's not unlikely they are being used by the GPK," he said, warning that those responsible will be treated in accordance with the law.

As yet, there is no official version of how these disturbances started. According to earlier reports in Suara Karya and Jawa Pos, they exploded after a warder at Maliana prison named Sanusi Abubakar, was deemed to have made insulting remarks about Catholicism in front of 26 prisoners. According to Suara Karya, these 26 prisoners left the prison and went to Sanusi's house. He was not there so they burnt down his house. Hundreds of other people later came out onto the streets, damaging buildings and kiosks in the vicinity of the prison.

On Wednesday, there were disturbances in Viqueque, about 107 kms from Dili during which 25 market stalls and prayer centres were destroyed. They included not only two musalla (small Muslim prayer centres) but also two Protestant churches after a couple who were Catholic decided to get married in a Protestant church.

The general chair of MUI, the Indonesian Ulama Council, Hasan Basri, said that disturbances with a religious dimension had been occurring on a number of occasions. The victims, he said, were always Muslims who are in a minority. "We should leave these things to the security forces to solve. These crowds will not listen to the words of religious leaders." He called on the security forces to carry out an investigation and resolve the problem in accordance with legal procedures. He also said there was a need for dialogue between religious leaders. If not, this chaos could spread elsewhere and be exploited by certain elements in order to damage national unity.

Feisal praises Portugal

Meanwhile in Bandung (8/9), armed forces commander General Feisal Tanjung noted some progress in the way Portugal was seeing the question of East Timor. He referred to a report in Kompas (8/9) about a statement by the Portuguese Defence Ministry classifying the East Timorese security disturbers (GPK) as 'terrorist separatists.'

"This is a step forward and we hope they will continue in this direction."

The Portuguese statement he was referring to was contained in a book entitled "Peace and Cooperation" published for limited circulation by the Portuguese Defence Ministry, grouping the East Timorese GPK along with the Basques, Northern Ireland and the Western Sahara.

The book was at the centre of huge row in Portugal [in mid-August] and the spokesperson of the Ministry, Ameida Fernandes said that use of the term 'terrorist separatists' would complicate things in Portugal. The book was also strongly attacked by Ramos Horta who threatened to break off relations with the Portuguese Government.

[What Republika did not report was that, following strong protests from the CNRM, Fretilin and UDT in Lisbon, the book was withdrawn from circulation and the Defence Minister unreservedly apologised for this grotesque distortion. TAPOL

LUSA: DISTURBANCES IN DILI, 3 KILLED, SEVERAL ARRESTS

Translated from the Portuguese, summarized

Macao, Sept. 9 (LUSA) — Three East Timorese were killed this morning (local time) in Dili in incidents related to the disturbances that have been taking place there for over 24 hours, according to sources in Dili.

The three Timorese were killed with knives by Indonesian traders at the Comoro market, according to two Dili residents. The same residents report that the Comoro market was set afire this morning by demonstrators, who also burned at least 3 cars and 7 motorcycles.

At least 14 people were wounded, 7 of which in serious condition, at the confrontations between the population and authorities. One of the Dili residents stated that at least 18 students had been arrested, but that it was difficult to obtain further information given that the military had imposed restrictions on the circulation of people and vehicles. "The situation is of great confusion, with the streets taken over by the military, and with confrontations in several locations, especially in the areas of Comoro, Becora and Matadouro," added the same source.

Another Dili resident reported that the shops were closed throughout the city and there were disturbances everywhere. "Following the demonstrations on Friday more military have arrived and vigilance is now very tight," reported the resident.

A student of the East Timor University told LUSA that there were more demonstrations today, which were harshly repressed by the security forces, 12 university stu-

dents having been arrested, and with all Dili schools having been shut down.

All efforts by LUSA to contact the military and civil authorities in Dili to obtain their version of the incidents have been unsuccessful.

Demonstrations in Dili started on Friday following the release in Dili of a declaration signed by 26 guards and prisoners of the Maliana jail, in which Catholicism is characterized as "nonsensical."

MORE ON DILI AND VIQUEQUE DISTURBANCES

Translated from the Portuguese, summarized

Macao, September 9 (LUSA) — Bishop D. Ximenes Belo travelled to Viqueque today, where, as in Dili, serious disturbances have been taking place in the last few days, according to a church source in Dili contacted by phone from Macao.

"In Uatu Lari, Viqueque area, the population burned down Protestant churches and a Muslim house of prayer, as well as many stores, and the priest of the local parish asked for the direct intervention of the Bishop in order to control the situation," said the church source.

The Bishop is expected to return to Dili on Sunday. The same source classified the current situation in Dili as "very serious, with city completely paralyzed" due to the disturbances in the last two days. "The streets are occupied by the military, the stores are closed, there are no school classes, and everyone is locked inside their homes," said the same source, who added that it is very difficult to estimate or confirm the number of dead and wounded because of imposed restrictions on circulation in Dili.

The same source confirmed to LUSA that the market had been burned down by the population, between 4:00 and 6:30 AM local time. "In the areas of Comoro and Becora, the students are there along the road and continue to set tires on fire," said the same source. "The Church has appealed to that both parties control themselves in order to avoid a blood bath."

POLICE ASSERT CONTROL IN EAST TIMOR AFTER RIOTS

Reuter, 9 September 1995. By Lewa Pardomuan

Police in troubled East Timor's capital Dili said they had taken control of the city on Saturday after the worst rioting in the territory this year.

Gangs of youths rampaged across the city on Friday, attacking police and Indonesian Moslem immigrants, residents said. Early on Saturday the youths burned a market where Buginese immigrants dominated trade, they added.

"Security has been under control since 2 p.m. (0700 GMT) and we have arrested a number of people on charges of destruction," East Timor's police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto told Reuters by telephone from Dili.

He declined to say how many people were arrested, but confirmed Komoro market had been set alight on Saturday. The Moslem Buginese immigrants from the southern part of Sulawesi island, 800 km (500 miles) northwest of Dili, dominate the city's markets.

Local residents said the situation was calmer in the afternoon but said they were still afraid to go out. "We are cautious. We don't dare to leave our houses," one said. They said they feared further rioting could break out at night.

An official at the general hospital in Dili, 2,075 km (1,300 miles) east of Jakarta, said one man was being treated there for injuries and residents said eight people were injured in the clash.

The visiting Commander of the Udayana Military Command, Major-General Adang Ruchiatna, whose jurisdiction includes Bali, the nearby Nusatenggara islands and East Timor, told reporters on Friday night six security officers were injured after the incident and 41 youths were being questioned. He said the Indonesian official had been arrested, adding: "The suspect is accused of insulting other people's religion."

Residents said on Friday police arrested dozens of youths and closed down the city centre after youths smashed cars, shops and roadside stalls in an apparent protest against Indonesian immigrants.

Friday's riot was the worst incident since political and ethnic riots last year in Dili and the seaside town of Bacau.

People in Bacau, 180 km (110 miles) east of Dili, took their anger out by rioting and burning down the town's two Buginese-dominated markets after a Buginese man fatally stabbed a native East Timorese on New Years Day.

At least five people were killed in the incident, which added racial conflict to East Timor's catalogue of woes. Religious and ethnic issues are sensitive in predominantly Catholic East Timor, which mainly Moslem Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year. The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's rule there.

MILITARY APPEALS FOR CALM IN EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, September 10, 1995

DILI, East Timor (JP): The military authority appealed for calm yesterday after the city was rocked by a series of violent demonstrations.

Udayana Military Commander Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiarna Puradiredja flew from his headquarters in Denpasar on Friday night to oversee the operation to restore calm and order.

Adang who was scheduled to be replaced on Monday, promised the East Timorese that the people responsible for the rioting would be brought to justice.

This includes a correctional facility official whose remarks to inmates at Maliana prison, 73 kilometres southwest of Dili, reportedly offended the local people and sparked the unrest on Friday.

"This is a state based on law. Those who are guilty will be prosecuted," Adang told reporters on Friday night. Sanusi, a warden at the Maliana correctional facility, is already in police custody.

Twenty-four inmates said they heard him making offensive remarks about Roman Catholicism last Monday. When news of this reached the public, apparently through leaflets produced by inmates, a group of people went to look for Sanusi at his residence in Dili on Friday.

When they could not find Sanusi at home, the rioting began. It quickly spread to other parts of Dili and a number of neighboring towns.

"We won't let him go," Adang said during a press briefing also attended by Col. Mahidin Simbolon, the chief of the East Timor Military District, and Sugianto Andreas, the East Timor police chief.

Adang appealed to the public for restraint. "Don't let yourselves be easily provoked," he said.

Adang said that 41 of the people who took part in the riots have been detained for questioning.

He said that six officers were injured during the riots and several police vehicles were overturned and set on fire. One person was reported to have died in the rioting and several others were injured. Police arrested a total of 46 people for rioting.

Dili Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo also visited the scene of the riots on Friday and made a public appeal for calm.

"We know the task of the Bishop is very difficult," Maj. Gen. Adang said, urging the people to heed Belo's call. "If people don't listen to the Bishop, who else will they listen to?"

MORE ON CONFRONTATIONS THROUGHOUT ET

Translated from the Portuguese, summarized. written by Antonio Sampaio

Sydney, Sept. 10 (LUSA) — The military police has arrested dozens of youths during the last 24 hours, in house searches in the areas of Komoro, in the Dili center, according to sources of the resistance.

One of the youths who participated in the Friday demonstration told LUSA over the phone that the situation remains tense, with "hundreds of military on the streets," and that the demonstrations might start again once the number of military on the streets is reduced. "As soon as the cleanups are completed we will start burning tires again, and burning the houses of the Indonesians who are living here," said the youth who attends the school of Momoro where there have been confrontations in the last few days. "The military are now cleaning up the city and proceeding with the house searches. They have already arrested many people, mostly youths who had been at the Friday demonstration," said the student.

A source of the Dili hospital told LUSA that at least 12 Timorese are hospitalized there, 4 of which in serious condition, wounded in confrontations with the Indonesian authorities. (...)

Tension is particularly high in the Komoro region, from the Dili airport to Vila Verde, because this is the area where most ET youths and few Indonesian migrants live.

Problems were reported also in the region of Becora, near Dili, where at least a family of five people was arrested, and military posts are positioned in every road to Dili.

Sources in Dili indicated that although the Timorese attacks have mostly targetted Indonesian transmigrants, there have not so far been retaliations from the transmigrants. "In Komoro there aren't many problems with transmigrants," said a student in Komoro, "because we are mostly East Timorese residents here and we are all fighting against the same thing."

Governor Abilio Osorio Soares mandated an enquiry of the confrontations of the last few days in Viqueque. The situation in Viqueque has been deteriorating since last year when Jakarta nominated an Indonesian military for the position of administrator. Abilio Osorio Soares had already criticized the nomination, and the region had been a focus of permanent tension which then spread throughout the entire eastern portion of ET to Baucau. Recently, the Indonesian battalion in Viqueque was attacked by a

group from the armed resistance headed by a Timorese woman.

Last week's confrontations are in response to the Indonesian transmigration program, but there are also reports of that Indonesia is planning to destroy the Catholic religion in ET.

Sources in Suai, a village at the border between East and West Timor, indicate that the authorities had already announced that 300 new Indonesian families will be placed in the area. This region has some of the most fertile soils in ET, and already over 900 Indonesian families have been placed there.

"We already have no more land to farm over here, and now they're bringing in even more Indonesians," said a Timorese resident, adding that "if this is confirmed it is obvious that we will protest it."

Zacarias da Costa, of the UDT in Portugal, who is currently visiting Australia, told LUSA today that the resistance had already obtained a secret Indonesian document that details the Islamization plan for the territory, which would soon be made public outside ET. "According to the information we've got, this is the largest Islamization plan ever made by Indonesia. It was approved by Jakarta and reveals that once again Indonesia is attacking the strongest pillar of the Timorese resistance, the Catholic Church," said Zacarias da Costa.

During the last 12 months, the attacks against the Catholic religion in ET have multiplied throughout the territory. In June, 1994, the population in Remexio demonstrated after two Indonesian soldiers had stepped on holy bread at a local church. A month later, two Timorese nuns were insulted by Indonesian soldiers in Dili, and the military police had detained several people attending mass in the Motael church.

This week, a group of soldiers entered the Maliana church during mass celebration and insulted the priest and members of the congregation. The soldiers then exited the church and profaned the statue of the Virgin Mary outside.

According to the latest information, insults against the Catholic Church have generated a wave of protests that spread to the Maliana jail where prisoners protested violently. A large number of Timorese residing in the area gathered at the center of Maliana and demonstrated against the Indonesian presence in ET. This demonstration lasted for two days, and was joined by local Timorese leaders who work for Indonesian governmental agencies. Among the demonstrators were Jorge Tavares, a representative of the local Indonesian Golkar party; David Barreto, member of the Legislative Assembly; and Tomas Ribeiro, the secretary of the Mariana local administrator.

The Maliana region has been one of the areas receiving the most Indonesian transmigrants, which has forced a large part of the Timorese population to migrate to the mountains.

The Maliana demonstration ended when a military contingent arrived joining the local police. A Red Cross representative has already been sent to the region.

On September 4 when an Indonesian soldier was killed in confrontations between a group of Timorese youths and security forces.

RELATIVE CALM RETURNS TO TROUBLED EAST TIMOR

Reuter 10 September 1995 By Lewa Pardomuan Abridged

Relative calm returned to troubled East Timor's capital of Dili on Sunday after gangs of youths rampaged across the city for two days in the worst rioting in the territory this year, residents and police said.

"It's calmer now and people are going to church," one resident told Reuters by telephone from Dili, 1,075 km (1,300 miles) east of Jakarta. "I can say the situation has returned to normal and public vehicles have started operating," she said.

Residents said gangs of youths roamed the city on Friday morning in an apparent protest against Indonesian immigrants after reports that an Indonesian official had insulted the Catholic faith of the East Timorese majority.

Early on Saturday the youths burned the Komoro market where Buginese immigrants dominated trade. Residents said protesters on Friday burned six cars and motorcycles, including some belonging to police.

The Moslem Buginese immigrants from the southern part of Sulawesi Island, 800 km (500 miles) northwest of Dili, dominate the city's markets.

East Timor police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto said on Sunday: "It's calm now and people's daily activities have resumed. They are going to church."

He said 16 East Timorese were being questioned by police on charges of destruction. Eight security officers were injured by stones thrown by rioters and two Buginese traders were wounded after being attacked by daggers. He gave no other details.

The military said on Friday the Indonesian official had been arrested on charges of insulting other people's religion. The riots were the worst since political and ethnic rioting last year in Dili and the seaside town of Bacau.

People in Bacau, 180 km (110 miles) east of Dili, took their anger out by rioting and burning down the town's two Buginese-

dominated markets after a Buginese man fatally stabbed a native East Timorese on New Year's Day.

At least five people were killed in the incident, which added racial conflict to East Timor's catalogue of woes. In Surabaya, East Java, Politics and Security Affairs

One resident said on Sunday that East Timorese youths said they were ready to attack military and security officers. "They obviously show their hatred against them," she said. Indonesian military say they have five army battalions in East Timor, but foreign attaches say up to 11 battalions are still there. An Indonesian battalion consists of 800 people.

DILI UNDER CONTROL AFTER TWO DAYS OF VIOLENT RIOTING

The Jakarta Post, September 11, 1995

DILI, East Timor (JP): The provincial capital was stable but still tense yesterday, following two days of violent street demonstrations after an official reportedly insulted the Catholic region.

Shops, restaurants and marketplaces remained closed. The streets were largely deserted and security personnel were on full alert in strategic locations.

The state-run radio station, RRI, broadcast periodic appeals from Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares' to citizens, calling on them to end the upheaval in the provincial capital.

On Friday and Saturday, gangs of high school students and other youths went on a rampage in the town, setting motorcycles on fire, smashing cars and harassing immigrants from other provinces. On Saturday an angry crowd burned down the Komoro market, where immigrants dominate business.

The protestors were infuriated by a remark reportedly made by justice ministry official Sanusi Abubakar, who is said to have described Catholicism as a "nonsense religion" when addressing inmates at the Maliana prison on Sept. 4.

In Jakarta yesterday, Armed Forces Spokesman Brig. Gen. Suwarno Adiwidjojo called on the public to remain calm and to refrain from making comments which would worsen the situation.

He warned the unrest involved the delicate issue of race and religion and could spread to other provinces if improperly handled.

Suwarno said the authorities in Dili have already released more than 60 demonstrators. He added that 200 police reinforcements have been brought into the town from East Java and Bali to help restore order.

In a mass to commemorate Indonesia's 50th anniversary of independence in the Balide Church in Viqueque on Friday night,

Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo said the latest wave of violence was regrettable.

"Christianity rejects all forms of violent and destructive actions," he told the large congregation in this predominantly Roman Catholic province of 800,000 people.

Belo was personally affected by the violent demonstrations when his way to Viqueque was blocked with burning tires in the Becora area, just east of here.

The bishop's public announcement of regret was warmly welcomed by chief of the Udayana military command, Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiatna, whose area of responsibility covers Bali, Nusa Tenggara, and East Timor.

Adang said that, as of Saturday night, the authorities in Dili had "questioned and detained" a number of people in connection with the protests but that there had been no deaths.

According to Adang, the violence incited by about 3,000 clandestine activists in favor of East Timorese independence in various places, including Bali; Salatiga in Central Java; Malang, in East Java, and Jakarta.

"They have made the best use of sophisticated telecommunications technology," he said, as quoted by Antara.

TIMORESE FEARED TORTURED AFTER RIOTS: RESIDENTS

Reuter, 11 September 1995. By Jeremy Wagstaff

Residents in East Timor's capital, Dili, voiced fears on Monday police had tortured some of up to 100 people they said were detained in the territory's worst rioting this year, but officials denied this.

Police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto said 30 youths had been detained since early Friday. All but 14 had been freed and none had been tortured, he said.

"There is none. We don't use that (method)," he told Reuters by telephone from Dili.

East Timor, ruled by Indonesia since its 1975 invasion, has been swept by fresh rioting in the past week, apparently triggered by religious and ethnic tensions between the majority Roman Catholic Timorese and their mainly Moslem overlords.

Residents said the territory remained tense after youths burned down markets in Maliana, near the border with West Timor, and the coastal town of Manatuto on Sunday. Up to 100 people had been detained in Dili alone and may have been subjected to torture, they said.

"We are getting very credible reports of torture in police custody, but we cannot get

details," said one resident. Sugianto said eight people had been injured, two of them police officers.

He denied local reports of four deaths, including two people attacked by a mob in Dili's Komoro market.

Dili itself was quieter although the university and all schools had been closed for the week, residents said. Sugianto said barricades erected by locals had been dismantled.

"It's already back to normal. We don't have any problems, the traffic is already back to normal," he said.

Residents said areas of Dili earlier had been blocked by locals, while others had piled burning tyres in the street or strewn pro-Catholic banners across the road. Similar incidents had taken place in other towns in recent days, they said.

"There's been a lot of burning. Some of the suburbs of Dili are really quite horrible – cars, kiosks and markets burned and destroyed," one resident said by telephone on Monday.

The rioting, apparently triggered by an Indonesian prison official who insulted the Catholic faith last Wednesday, quickly spread across the territory, fanning existing political and economic tensions between Timorese and Indonesian. The prison officer has been arrested.

The official Antara news agency quoted Politics and Security Affairs Minister Susilo Sudarman as saying in East Java on Saturday the government would punish the Dili rioters.

"We will take (stern) action. We will investigate the case," he said.

Western governments have long been critical of Indonesia's human rights record in the territory. The United Nations still recognises Portugal as East Timor's colonial ruler.

What was largely a political conflict has fanned into broader unrest this year, with Timorese anger focused on Moslem Buginese immigrants from Sulawesi Island, 800 km (500 miles) northwest of Dili, who dominate the territory's trade.

AI: MORE THAN 50 DETAINED AFTER EAST TIMOR RIOTS

AI UA216/95; AI Index: ASA 21/44/95. 11 September 1995

Fear of torture, EAST TIMOR

Between 50 and 100 people are reported to have been arrested in the East Timorese capital of Dili following three days of intense rioting. Details of the precise number and identities of those still detained are unclear, but Amnesty International is concerned that they may be at risk of torture.

The rioting began on 8 September and was apparently triggered by reports that an Indonesian prison official had, on 6 September, insulted the Catholic church. Rioting quickly spread across the town leading to attacks on police and Indonesian migrants. Cars, shops, and a market were set alight.

The arrests began on 8 September and there are unconfirmed reports that between 50 and 100 people have so far been detained, although many of these may have been released shortly after their arrest. By the night of 8 September, the Armed Forces announced that 41 youths were being questioned, but on 11 September, East Timor Police Chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto was quoted by Reuters as saying that 30 youths had been detained since early 8 September. Sugianto also stated that all but 14 had been freed.

The arrests appear to be being carried out by both police and military officers. To Amnesty International's knowledge the authorities have so far not provided names of those detained or precise details of the charges.

Amnesty International recognises the right of the Indonesian authorities to bring to justice those responsible for acts of violence. However, based on previous patterns of human rights violations in East Timor, Amnesty International is concerned that those detained may be tortured during interrogation. In addition, there are fears that the detainees will not be provided with proper access to independent lawyers or to their families.

Unconfirmed reports allege that some have already been tortured, including with electric shocks, and the use of razor blades and salt on the skin. The authorities have denied that any of those arrested are at risk of torture. While Amnesty International understands that the International Committee of the Red Cross has been given access to the prisoners, there is concern that such access has not always provided sufficient protection against torture.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The latest events in Dili add to the high level of riots and civil unrest against Indonesia's occupation of East Timor which have occurred since November 1994. The authorities have responded to the demonstrations and riots with arbitrary detention (including detention of peaceful protesters), beatings, torture and suspected extrajudicial executions. Over 100 East Timorese were arrested following the November 1994 demonstrations and 27 people are believed to have been tried this year for their alleged role in these demonstrations. More recently in August 1995, at least 10 people were believed to have been arrested following dis-

turbances in the East Timorese towns of Baucau and Ermera. Concern for those arrested is heightened by the consistent pattern of beatings and torture in detention. Detainees continue to be refused access to independent lawyers, while others have been pressured into withdrawing power of attorney for independent lawyers.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/telexes/ faxes/express/airmail letters in English or your own language:

- urging the Indonesian authorities to provide details of the whereabouts of all those detained in Dili since 8 September, as well as any charges that are to be brought against them;
- calling for all possible measures to be taken to ensure the safety of the detainees;
- calling on the authorities to allow continued access for those in detention to the International Committee of the Red Cross, lawyers of their own choice and their families.

APPEALS TO:

CHIEF OF POLICE FOR EAST TIMOR:

Lt. Col. Andreas Sugianto [Salutation: Dear Lieutenant-Colonel] Kapolda Timor Timur Dili, East Timor (Indonesia) Telegrams: Kapolda Timor Timur, Dili, East Timor

MILITARY COMMANDER REGION

IX/UDAYANA: (covers Bali, Lombok, Nusa Tenggara and East Timor)

Brig. Gen. H A Rivai [Salutations: Dear Brigadier-General] Pangdam IX/Udayana Markas Besar KODAM IX Udayana Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia Telegrams: Pangdam IX/Udayana, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE

FOLLOWING:

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Ali Alatas SH Menteri Luar Negeri Jl Medan Taman Pejambon No 6 Jakarta, Indonesia Faxes: + 62 21 36 0517

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EAST TIMOR BISHOP SAYS RIOTS UNDERLINE UNHAPPINESS

Reuter, 11 September 1995.

Jakarta – East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo said on Monday that rioting in the territory was due to the Indonesian government's failure to address reli-

gious and ethnic tension in the former Portuguese colony.

In Jakarta, Madeleine Albright, the U.S. envoy to the United Nations, speaking to reporters, said she had told President Suharto during talks on Monday that the situation in East Timor continued to be of concern to the United States. "We are very much in favour of the kind of dialogue that has taken place under the United Nations' auspices between Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers," she said.

Belo, speaking to Reuters from Dili, said: "All they (the government) have done is give 1,001 excuses. They have been building mosques without consulting anyone, while rich migrants are buying up all the land."

"East Timorese are also being taken to Islamic schools in Java," added the bishop, a unifying force among East Timor's majority Roman Catholics.

Earlier, residents in East Timor's capital, Dili, voiced fears that police might have tortured some of the up to 100 people they said were detained in the worst rioting this year. A senior official denied torture allegations. East Timor police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto had said 30 youths had been detained since early Friday. All but 14 had been freed and none had been tortured, he added. "There is none (torture). We don't use that," he told Reuters by telephone from Dili.

East Timor has been swept by fresh rioting in the past week, triggered by religious and ethnic tensions between the majority Roman Catholic Timorese and their mainly Moslem overlords. Residents said the territory remained tense after youths burned down markets in Maliana, near the border with West Timor, and in the coastal town of Manatuto on Sunday.

Up to 100 people had been detained in Dili alone and may have been subjected to torture, they added. "We are getting very credible reports of torture in police custody, but we cannot get details," said one resident.

Sugianto said eight people had been injured, two of them police officers. He denied local reports of four deaths, including two people attacked by a mob in Dili's Komoro market.

Belo said Dili, where the university and all schools had been closed for the week, was calm, adding that up to 36 youths had been arrested by Sunday. He said 12 of them were injured when police broke up demonstrations.

Residents said areas of Dili had earlier been blocked, while streets had been piled with burning tyres and set alight or strewn with pro-Catholic banners. Similar incidents had taken place in other towns in recent days, they added.

"There's been a lot of burning. Some of the suburbs of Dili are really quite horrible, cars, kiosks and markets have been burned and destroyed," one resident said by telephone on Monday.

Indonesia's army commander, General Raden Hartono, was quoted by the official Antara news agency as saying the army would not tolerate attempts to break the "unity and oneness" built throughout the archipelago. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas quoted Suharto as saying the riots were not a political issue, but purely ethnic.

BISHOP BELO RADIO AUSTRALIA INTERVIEW

'Laporan Internasional,' 11 Sept. 1995.
Abridged translation from Indonesian.

Radio Australia (RA):Question missed

Bishop Belo (BB): If the youths demonstrate it is because there is no ...(not clear)... amongst the army, the people and the youths here.

RA: In the matter of curtailing other religions, the Pope himself faced protests recently in Sri Lanka because his Holiness said that Buddhism is not a true religion.

BB: Yes they had the right to protest. However, what is happening here is different. The circumstances and the conditions of the people here are different. You can not compare the two situations.

RA: Can it be said that presently the situation in East Timor, Dili in particular, is very tense?

BB: Yes it is. Arrests have been carried out. The streets are patrolled. There are feelings of anxiety and fear. Yesterday I went by Manatuto, there were more than one hundred youths demonstrating. In Maliana they burned houses, the market and shops belonged to the Muslim people there. It is a reality.

RA: Is this not a political issue anymore but a religious one? Usually religious issues are more emotional than politics.

BB: Religion..., politics..., it is all mixed up.

RA: How are you Bishop Belo going to recommend to the people of East Timor to be truly patient before this problem gets out of control?

BB: The people tell me "we are no longer patient. We have been very patient for too long. From 1976 until now, we have been told to be patient, to wait a little longer. This slogan has no roots, no beginning and no end. For how long does one have to be patient and to wait? The Timorese people are treated like chickens and ducks, shoo them here, shoo them there." Policies must be changed.

RA: Bishop Belo, what can be done by the central government in Jakarta right now, to put an end to this problem so that it does not happen again?

BB: Firstly, as I have always suggested, there must be a sincere dialogue with the people here, in particular with the youth, to avoid this kind of abuse and confrontation. If the dialogue only consists of empty promises, demonstrations like this will continue. It will never end.

RA: Can it be said that if the Udayana Commander, Adnan Ruchiatna, immediately flies to Dili, he could be successful in calming down the people?

BB: Hum... I do not trust him.

RA: Those who have been arrested are Catholics?

BB: Who else? They are the youths who have been demonstrating.

RA: Is this because they are members of Fretilin? Or are they not Fretilin but simply people who lost their patience?

BB: Does it mean that for being a Fretilin, a person is destined to be arrested and tortured? You must be careful. They are still human beings. I think those who should be arrested are the military officials and the high ranking public servants, who from the beginning, allowed the situation to reach the point it is at now. Those are the people who must be arrested.

RA: So what measures will Bishop Belo take to stop the current situation? If it is allowed to spread, it will surely become bad news.

BB: There must be a radical change of policies and attitudes from the army, the government, from everybody. We all must correct ourselves. Mistakes are not only committed by the protesters and the youths. We must acknowledge that we all have made mistakes and we are the guilty ones.

RA: Bishop Belo, what is your opinion about the religious disturbances, especially the Catholic religion which has been happening lately not only in East Timor but also in Eastern and central Indonesia? Is this an indication about something?

BB: Surely it is. We always speak about harmony. Harmony is very good but we don't practise it. Therefore, religious problems like this will continue.

RA: We held an interview in 1993 when Bishop Belo visited Melbourne. At that time, you explicitly called on the Timorese people for reconciliation. Now, what do you recommend?

BB: Reconciliation is a message from the Church which has a moral value. It is eternal. Reconciliation also contains the value of

justice. If there is no justice there can be no reconciliation. How can the East Timorese People reconcile with the other side which does not want reconciliation?

TIME FOR THOUGHT

Editorial Jakarta Post, September 11, 1995

It is certainly good to hear from the military and civilian authorities that order was as of Sunday restored in Dili, the capital of East Timor, where bands of youth went on a rampage last week. The violence reportedly lasted for two consecutive days – Friday and Saturday – during which motorcycles were burned, cars were smashed and newcomers from other provinces of Indonesia were harassed. On Saturday an angry crowd set fire to the Komoro market, where business is dominated by immigrants.

What sparked the violence was reportedly a remark by a justice ministry official, who, in a speech to Maliana, prison inmates earlier in the week, referred to the Roman Catholic faith as a “non-sense religion.” Little wonder that, in Jakarta, Armed Forces spokesman Brig. Gen. Suwarno Adiwidjojo urged the public to remain calm and refrain from making comments that might worsen the situation. In the current Indonesian political vernacular, his remarks were labeled as “SARA” (suku, agama, ras agama). That is, they involved the sensitive issues of ethnicity, custom, race and religion, the four issues that could most easily incite trouble in the community.

One might be surprised that an official with such an important function could have made such an inflammatory remark before a formal audience. In the present context, however, that is beside the point. A more important question to ponder is why trouble continues to occur in East Timor with such disturbing regularity, considering the fact that the government keeps assuring us that all is well in East Timor.

A statement made by the chief of the Udayana military command in Denpasar puts the blame on about 3,000 clandestine activists living in places such as Bali, Salatiga (Central Java), Malang (East Java) and Jakarta, who are in favor of an independent East Timor. Those activists, according to the commanding, are making the best use of sophisticated telecommunications technology. While Gen. Adang may have had ground for making his statement, more troubles in this youngest of provinces will surely become an increasingly serious thorn in the side of Indonesia.

Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo’s wise and soothing words are to be greatly appreciated. Christianity, as the bishop said, rejects any form of violent and destruc-

tive behavior. But rather than merely sigh in relief at the return of calm in Dili, all this makes it clear that it is more than time for us to do some more serious soul-searching regarding East Timor.

One of the ironies of the East Timor situation lies in the development that has been brought to the province. With more and more schools opening in the province, the number of graduates has significantly increased. Yet suitable employment opportunities are limited and many jobs are taken by newcomers. This and other grievances deserve our serious attention.

We all agree that the highest degree of sensitivity is demanded in handling East Timor. Various statements have been made to this effect. The thing to do now is to seriously put that insight into practice.

ALBRIGHT CONCERNED BY EAST TIMOR RIOTS

Reuter 11 September 1995 Jakarta

U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright said on Monday Washington was concerned about continuing unrest in East Timor and called on Indonesia to investigate the cause of new riots.

She told a news conference rioting, which swept several East Timorese towns since Friday, appeared to have been religious and racial in tone but that she hoped Indonesia would continue to support U.N. efforts to bring peace to the troubled territory.

“I think they obviously are of concern in terms of a continuation of the problems and the differences that exist because of religious and ethnic problems,” Albright said;

“I think ... (they) are only indicative of the fact that it is important to get some kind of solution there that would alleviate these kinds of things happening and that investigations need to take place as to the genesis of the event and try to do everything to prevent further disturbances,” she added.

Washington has long been critical of Indonesia’s role in East Timor. Albright said that in talks with Indonesia’s President Suharto and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas she had welcomed efforts under U.N. auspices to include East Timorese in talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

She said she had also commended aspects of Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony, but had called for improvements in economic conditions and in human rights.

“I did in fact commend President Suharto on some of the actions he has taken to improve the economic situation but also did say we consider it very important for progress to be made on the subject, that it is an important issue to make sure the human

rights and the economic situation in East Timor is improved,” she said.

Albright was speaking during a one-day stopover in Jakarta.

SOEHARTO PLAYS DOWN DILI RIOTS

Jakarta Post September 12, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): President Soeharto has dismissed the weekend riots in East Timor as bearing no relation whatsoever to the question of the territory’s integration into Indonesia.

At a meeting with American Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine K. Albright yesterday in which the recent incident in East Timor was raised, Soeharto reportedly said that the riots were “not political.”

Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas, who was present at the meeting at the Merdeka Palace, told reporters later that the riots were “SARA” in nature.

The term is the Indonesian acronym for issues considered by the government to be potentially divisive: ethnicity, religion, race and social group.

Dili, the capital of East Timor and the site of the worst riots, was calmer yesterday although it remained tense, according to residents.

The riots were launched by a group of young East Timorese, and their targets were immigrants from outside East Timor. Smaller riots also took place in other towns in the province.

There were no casualties in the riots, according to the government, but several people, including police and military personnel, were taken to hospital with injuries. Dili’s Komoro market was gutted, cars were smashed and overturned, and migrants said they ventured out of their homes.

Most of the people detained for questioning in connection with the riots have been released.

“We regret that a ruckus occurred there, but as already explained by the proper authorities, this issue is SARA and is not political,” Alatas told reporters.

Given Indonesia’s size and diversity, such incidents could occur anywhere, he said.

During the meeting with Albright, the President spoke of the government’s policies in the former Portuguese colony, including the current withdrawal of two Army battalions from the territory.

Earlier reports said the riots were triggered by offensive remarks about Roman Catholicism on the part of an official of the local office of the Ministry of Justice at Maliana prison near Dili.

The remarks, said to have been made last Monday, were reportedly heard by prison wardens and inmates, with the news spreading beyond the prison's wall and angering the East Timorese. The official, identified as Sanusi Abubakar, is currently in police detention.

Albright told the press after a number of meetings with Indonesian officials that the East Timor question is important to Americans.

"The situation in East Timor is something of interest to the US government as well as to the American people, and I have generally spoken about the importance we attach to some resolutions of the issue," she said.

She added that Washington supports the current talks between Indonesia and Portugal, the former colonial ruler of East Timor, to settle the question of East Timor's sovereignty.

The talks are continuing under the auspices of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Albright said she had "commended President Soeharto on some of the actions that he has taken to improve the economic situation (in East Timor), but also did say that we considered it very important for progress to be made on the subject."

Albright stressed the need for further improvements, in both economic and human rights conditions, in East Timor.

Alatas expressed a hope that the Dili incidents last week would not cause further trouble on the international scene. "Hopefully the people involved in exploiting the issue have been identified and will be investigated through legal procedures," he said.

Appeals for calm and restraint have come from the military as well as Dili Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor.

Yesterday, Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares called an assembly of all employees of the provincial administration and reminded them of their responsibility to maintain order.

He also told his staff that he would punish anyone who took part in the riots.

In Jakarta, the secretary-general of the ministry of religious affairs, Ahmad Gozali, said the Ministry has asked the directorate general of Catholic community guidance to follow up on the reports of the riots.

The chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council, Hasan Basri has also called for the formation of a fact-finding team to look into the riots.

CNRM STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR YOUTH UPRISING

12 September 1995

Over the last few days East Timor has once again been rocked by violent disturbances. The current wave of riots and public protest by East Timorese youths against the consequences of the illegal Indonesian occupation of the territory is the most intense and widespread so far. Youths protest against Islamisation, immigration and economic exploitation by Indonesian occupiers. The latest violence was sparked by insulting comments from an Indonesian prison official against the Catholic faith, espoused by the great majority of East Timorese.

The military authorities have acted violently against the demonstrators. Over 400 arrests (Radio Netherlands, 12 September) and at least 4 deaths (Reuters, 11 September) have occurred. Indonesian military authorities deny these reports, as well as the accusations that brutal torture is being applied to the detainees, claiming that the situation is back to normal.

Reports from Dili indicate that arbitrary arrests continue, and new forms of torture are being utilised in questioning, such as inflicting cuts with razor blades and pouring salt into the wounds.

Local military leaders, as well as the Indonesian Politics and Security Affairs Minister stated that harsh measures will be taken against the protesters. Such manifestations of popular discontent against the unacceptable conditions are usually met by strong military repression and violence, without any genuine attempt to address the root causes of the problem, that is, the heavy handed illegal Indonesian occupation and its harsh colonialist nature.

In addition to the brutality of the Indonesian occupation army since the 1975 invasion, and the repression and ongoing violation of human rights, a recent source of grievance for the East Timorese has been the strong colonisation of the territory by Indonesian transmigrants, mostly Moslem small traders and farmers. With the support of the authorities, these newcomers increasingly displace the local population from economic activity and from their land, while actively trying to impose their faith. As a result, East Timorese are becoming economically marginalised in their own land. Now, even their basic religious beliefs are coming under attack, as illustrated by the prison official's remarks.

Military attacks on the Catholic Church, seen as the strongest bastion of protection of the East Timorese people against Indonesian oppression, have increased in past months. Indonesian military support for

current Islamisation efforts have outraged the East Timorese, creating a new battle front. A deep religious conflict is being fostered as a new dimension of conflict in the territory. The latest violence illustrates its strength.

In a Radio Australia interview on 11 September, East Timorese spiritual leader and Nobel Peace Prize candidate, Bishop Ximenes Belo, has strongly condemned the oppression, injustice, corruption, and disrespect for human dignity which characterises the present situation under Indonesian rule. Bishop Belo also deplores the dishonesty and hypocrisy of Indonesian authorities, whose repeated past promises to improve the situation have all proven to be empty. As a result, the Bishop concludes, the Indonesian government has lost its credibility with many East Timorese people.

Asked for views out of the present situation, the Bishop calls for radical changes of policy in East Timor. The authorities need to acknowledge their own failures, rather than merely putting the protestors at fault, he adds.

In a message of support to the East Timorese youth revolt, jailed Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão wrote on 11 September that there can be no peaceful coexistence with the occupiers of East Timor while they carry out a physical, ethnic and cultural genocide of the people. Xanana Gusmão said that these last 20 years of colonialist repression have led the territory to be flooded with people belonging to the lowest social stratum of Indonesia. Such people comprise the most uncultured and poor of Indonesia, a country seemingly unable to survive on the basis of its own development, so that it needs to usurp the land and resources of its neighbours. Xanana Gusmão added that "the colonialists shamelessly insult our Faith and our Beliefs, pretending thus to destroy the spiritual foundations of the East Timorese people."

Speaking in Sydney, Australia, CNRM Special Representative, José Ramos Horta called upon Australian Prime Minister Keating to use his coming visit to Jakarta, to forcefully raise the East Timor issue with Indonesian President Suharto. "The unacceptable current situation can simply not be allowed to continue. This situation is very detrimental not only to the East Timorese, but also to Australian and Indonesian interests. All sides, including Indonesia, would derive much benefit from a radical change of policy, seeking a genuine and internationally acceptable solution of the East Timor issue without further delay. Such a solution requires entering into talks with the East Timorese Resistance."

Horta added that as a responsible neighbour, Australia should use its influence in

in Jakarta to help induce such a change of policy. Only then will it be possible to remove the most serious stumbling block to the desired close neighbourly relations between Australia and Indonesia. "Unless East Timorese rights and aspirations are respected, the hoped for peace in the region will be hard to attain, much to the detriment of all regional peoples."

XANANA GUSMÃO'S STATEMENT OF SUPPORT TO EAST TIMORESE YOUTH UPRISING

Via CNRM, Sept. 13.

Being faithful to the principles of our struggle, and considering that there can be no peaceful coexistence with the occupiers of our homeland who are carrying out a physical, ethnic and cultural genocide of our people;

Being also faithful to the most supreme aspirations of the a thousand times heroic Maubere Peoples, and taking into account that these last 20 years of colonialist repression have led to or homeland to be flooded with people belonging the lowest social stratum of Indonesia. These people comprise the most uncultured and poor of Indonesia, a country seemingly unable to survive on the basis of its own development, so that it needs to usurp our land and our resources;

Faithful to the blood spilled by more than 200,000 sons and daughters of East Timor, and to the past sacrifices of our People, and considering that the colonialists shamelessly insult our Faith and our Beliefs, pretending thus to destroy the spiritual foundations of the East Timorese people;

As a war leader, unable to stop the force of our People's determination,

I, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, leader of CNRM and Commander of Falintil, hereby publicly express my support to the acts of genuine revolt by the populations of Baucau, Ermera and Viqueque.

I also express my full support for the acts of rejection by the Dili population, where 52 compatriots have been detained by the colonialist forces.

I salute the three young people stabbed to death by Indonesian transmigrants.

With a clenched fist raised high, I will shout together with the whole warring youth:

Out of East Timor with the Indonesian colonialists! Homeland or death! To resist is to win! The struggle continues, without truce on all fronts!

On behalf of CNRM
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão
Commander of Falintil
Cipinang Prison 10 September 1995

TEN PEOPLE ARRESTED FOR TORCHING MARKET IN DILI

Jakarta Post, September 13, 1995

DILI, East Timor (JP): Police announced yesterday that they have arrested 10 people believed to be the main culprits behind the arson that razed the Komoro market last Saturday.

East Timor Police Chief Col. Andreas Sugianto told reporters that the 10 were the "brains" behind the fire that destroyed 200 kiosks and their entire contents.

The market, on a two-hectare site, was set on fire in the early hours on Saturday. Not a single structure was left standing, only debris from the buildings and their contents remained, witnesses said.

Sugianto said police are now questioning the suspects and searching for others who may have taken part in the arson. "We are resolved to catch every person who took part in the brutal riot that caused misery to the people."

He declined to give details of the suspects already detained, other than saying that they were known as "trouble makers" although they had never previously been convicted.

The Komoro market fire was the result of one of a series of riots that rocked the capital of East Timor during the weekend. There were no casualties but scores, including security officers, were injured, with some needing hospital treatment.

The government confirmed the riots had ethnic and religious connotations with most victims being non-East Timorese who have settled in the territory.

The riots began after word got out that a local justice ministry official working in a correctional facility had made remarks that denigrated Roman Catholicism, the main religion of East Timor.

The Komoro market was dominated mainly by migrants from South Sulawesi, as are most markets in East Timor.

The markets in Oponaro in the Maliana regency, same in Manufahi regency, and in Viqueque were also razed to the ground by arsonists on Saturday. In Bobonaro, two junior high school buildings were set on fire, according to Antara.

Migrants complained of harassment when they ventured out of their homes during the weekend. Cars were overturned and set on fire and buildings and houses were also pelted during the riots.

Sugianto did not have estimates of the total material losses resulting from the fires and riots.

He said the losses include nine motorcycles and four cars – two belonging to the

administration and two to the police, were either set on fire or badly damaged.

The list of those seriously injured include eight members of the East Timor police, three troopers from the Dili military district and five civilians – all Komoro market traders. Everyone was still under intensive care at the Dili general hospital yesterday.

Sugianto appealed to all East Timorese to cooperate with the police to restore calm and order.

"The public must stay alert against possible attempts to provoke," he said, adding that the provocateurs usually distribute leaflets exploiting ethnic and religious issues

AI: ARREST/TORTURE UPDATE

AI Index: ASA 21/45/95, 14 Sept. 1995

Further information on UA 216/95 (ASA 21/44/95, 11 September 1995) — Fear of Torture. Up to 22 still detained after riots, including:

- Julio Ricardo Smith
- Fernando Tilma
- Antonio
- Zito Valente

Up to 22 individuals are believed to still be detained in Dili as a result of rioting which began on 8 September. Amnesty International's fears that those in detention are at serious risk of beatings and torture have been heightened by reports that some have already been severely beaten.

Reports of the number of detainees continue to be conflicting. On 12 September, East Timor Police Chief Andreas Sugianto stated that the police had arrested 10 "ring-leaders" responsible for the burning of a market in Dili and that out of 16 arrested earlier for their role in the demonstrations, nine had already been released. Sugianto was quoted as saying that the police were preparing to make further arrests. On the same day however, Sugianto was quoted in an Indonesian newspaper *Republika* as stating that 53 had been arrested.

Non-government sources say that up to 22 people may still be detained and that the total number arrested since 8 September may have been as high as 80. The majority of this group are high school students. Dili's Catholic Bishop, Bishop Belo was reported as saying that by 11 September, 36 had been arrested, and 12 of these had been injured as police broke up a demonstration. AI has received the names of three individuals, Julio Ricardo Smith, Fernando Tilma, and Antonio, arrested on 8 September and believed to be currently detained at the military intelligence unit (Satuan Tugas Intelijen — SGI) of the Sub-Regional Military Command for East Timor (KOREM 164/Wira Dharma).

Zito Valente is also believed to be currently detained.

To AI's knowledge the authorities have still not provided names of those detained or precise details of the charges they will face. The organization is concerned that those in detention do not yet have access to independent lawyers, consistent with the frequent denial of access to independent legal advice for political detainees in East Timor.

At least two individuals are known to have been severely beaten by police or military in detention. One eyewitness has reported meeting an 18-year-old youth detained in Dili police custody from 8 to 12 September. The youth showed signs of severe beatings, including bruising and bleeding. Nonetheless, the authorities have denied that any of those arrested are at risk of torture. While Amnesty International understands that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has been given access to the prisoners, there is concern that such access in the past has not always provided sufficient protection against torture. It is also not clear whether the ICRC has been able to visit all those in detention.

AI has also received the names of three individuals alleged to have been shot in Dili since 8 September. Two of the three are alleged to have died as a result. AI cannot confirm these reports.

FURTHER BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The rioting began on 6 September in Maliana, some 120km west of Dili, following local anger about government inaction over a statement made by a prison official in Maliana deemed to be insulting to the Catholic faith. On 7 September news about the issue had spread to the town of Viqueque, where trading stores belonging to Indonesian migrants were burnt down. On 8 September, demonstrations broke out in six different locations of Dili. On 9 September, the Comoro Market was burnt down, while police and military continued to attempt to disperse demonstrators in several areas around Dili. Witnesses report the use of tear gas by the authorities on both 8 and 9 September. By 10 September, the demonstrators appeared to have dispersed; however tension remained as the security forces continued with their arrests. Also on 10 September, unrest occurred again in Maliana and in Manatuto. Three individuals were also believed to have been arrested in Manatuto on 10 September, but were released shortly afterwards.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has denied that the cause of the riots is East Timor's political status, but rather SARA, an Indonesian acronym for suku (ethnic), agama (religion), ras (race), golongan (social

group), an expression referring to issues which could lead to conflict. Bishop Belo has stated that the cause of the riots is the failure of the Indonesian Government to address "religious and ethnic tension" in East Timor. Independent sources allege that the military have provoked the unrest by disseminating information about the statement of the prison official in Maliana.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/express/airmail letters in English or your own language:

- urging the Indonesian authorities to provide details of the whereabouts of all those detained in Dili since 8 September, as well as any specific charges that are to be brought against them;
- calling for all possible measures to be taken to ensure the safety of the detainees;
- calling on the authorities to allow continued access for those in detention to the International Committee of the Red Cross, lawyers of their own choice and their families

MILITARY SUPPORTS DIALOG TO EASE TIMOR TENSION

Jakarta Post, September 16, 1995

DILI, East Timor (JP): The military would fully support Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo's proposal for a frank dialog to help solve the numerous problems in the territory.

East Timor officials have, in fact, engaged in talks but they have yet to be institutionalized, Maj. Gen. Abdul Rivai, chief of the Udayana Military Command, who oversees security in Bali, Nusa Tenggara and East Timor, said here Thursday.

"An open and communicative dialog between East Timorese and the government could be effective to solve problems here," said Rivai, who assumed his post on Monday replacing Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiatna.

Bishop Belo proposed an open dialog earlier on Thursday when he met with activists of the powerful pro-government Pemuda Pancasila youth organization.

Belo is generally seen as a unifying force in East Timor, a predominantly Roman Catholic, ex-Portuguese colony of about 800,000 people which integrated with Indonesia in 1976.

He made the suggestion in the wake of religious and ethnic violence in the streets of Dili. About a dozen people were arrested, several houses destroyed, vehicles torched and a market burned down last week.

The series of violent incidents were sparked by a local justice ministry official

who allegedly made insulting remarks about Catholicism. But Belo stressed that the incidents were only the tip of the iceberg.

Belo said he wanted frank and "communicative" dialogs that involved representatives from the government and various other groups.

According to Belo, dialogs have taken place but they have been "instructive" rather than two-way communications, with the government taking the initiative.

"Such an instructive approach has proven to create more problems rather than resolve the existing ones," he said.

Rivai said that cases of rioting and social in East Timor are usually triggered by conflicts related to the sensitive of race and religion.

"Rioting and social unrest usually occur because people do not know how to manage their differences," he said.

In a recent interview with the Jakarta Post, Bishop Belo said that the recent flurry of religious and ethnic violence and the local people's frustrations stem from numerous social injustices.

"Students who went on the rampage on the streets of Dili had, in their minds, tales told by their parents, relatives and friends about how frustrating conditions in East Timor have become," he said.

He said that many indigenous people are frustrated to find more skilled migrants dominating political and economic activities in the territory.

CNRM UPDATE ON EAST TIMOR RIOTS

CNRM East Timor, Sept. 18

The following information regarding the riots that rocked East Timor between 7 and 12 September 1995, has been received from a credible source in Indonesia. It shows that the violence had its origin in frustration with lack of response by government authorities to written popular protests against insults to the Catholic religion by Indonesian government officials, and in the excessive use of force by members of the security apparatus to repress protests.

The 14 September reports states: The Dili riots were caused directly by mass anger over the action of a jail official at the jail in Maliana, where on 2 September at a 'spiritual guidance' session a man named SA made defamatory statements about Catholicism, witnessed by both jail officials and prisoners. The witnesses wrote a statement, sent to the Governor of East Timor, which was subsequently leaked. As there was no reaction from the Governor, a demonstration broke out in Maliana on 6 September, fol-

lowed by a riot between demonstrators and security officials.

On 7 September Makassarese kiosks were burnt in Viqueque. The people had previously heard about the 'Maliana issue' and this made them angry with the new arrivals. By chance also that day a local Cooperatives chairman was beaten up by a policeman. People vented their anger by burning kiosks.

On 8 September at 8:30 am demonstrations occurred simultaneously in various villages within Dili to protest against SA's actions. The demonstrations turned into riots between the masses and security officials because the latter over-reacted making people angry. In some places security officials were able to disperse the demonstrations by noon time. In the villages Kuluhan, Becora, Lahane and Audian the situation remained tense and could not be controlled until nightfall.

On Saturday 9 September the markets at Comoro in Dili were burnt. The atmosphere on that day remained tense, there was no activity and the city was deserted. In some places such as Kuluhan, Lahane, Audian and Matadoru, security officials and demonstrators had a stand-off. Each side built barricades without attempting to attack the other side, except by exchanging insults. The number of demonstrators detained was about 80 people, most of them junior and senior high school students. From other reports it is clear that torture was extensively used for questioning.

RIGHTS COMMISSION TO PROBE EAST TIMOR RIOTS

AP, 18 September 1995. Abridged

The National Commission on Human Rights said Monday it will investigate allegations of abuses by Indonesian troops in East Timor as well as recent riots there that left one person dead.

Meanwhile the army said rebels in East Timor shot and killed a civilian Saturday in the Bobonaro district. Ten rebels from Fretilin (sic) fled into the jungle after shooting the man, said Col. M. Simbolon, military commander. He said troops were hunting for guerrillas.

In Jakarta, the National Commission secretary-general, Baharuddin Lopa said some ten officials would travel soon to East Timor to investigate the riots earlier this month. He said the Commission had received requests from the Muslim Council of Ulemas and Muslim community leaders to conduct an investigation because of the attacks on mosques.

Police chief Col. Andreas Sugianto said 20 of 52 East Timorese protesters arrested

for involvement in the recent riots would soon be tried. Others, mostly high school students, have been released.

BELO CRITICISES ABRI ON THE DILI RIOTS

Received from a contact in Jakarta:

The latest edition of *Gatra* magazine contains a feature story on the recent riots in Dili and elsewhere which the Indonesian government is typically referring to as the result of "SARA"-related (Suku, Agama, Ras, Antar-golongan) tensions, involving the indigenous East Timorese and migrants from various Indonesian provinces. The reporting is, as ever, lopsided, but the feature does present some statistics tabling percentages of native East Timorese and migrants and total numbers of Muslims/mosques etc. which is quite interesting. The source of the data on religion/ places of worship is stated as being the provincial office of the Department of Religious Affairs, but I'm not sure about the general population statistics.

	1985	1990
Natives	602,117 (95%)	700,875 (93%)
Immigrants	28,459 (5%)	46,682 (7%)
Total	630,676	747,557

Islam: Total adherents in East Timor and Muslim Places of worship

year	adherents	mosques	prayer houses
1976	500*	1	0
1980	3,677		
1990	10,818	7	37
1995	28,212	11	41

* estimate/rough guess

The feature includes an interview with Bishop Belo. The most salient feature of the piece is his recommendation (again) that East Timor be granted special status as a predominantly Catholic "province." However, he makes it plain in the interview that the causes of the recent violence and disturbances are far more fundamentally political in nature than the SARA label is capable of explaining. In quite frank terms, the Bishop criticises ABRI and the government for repeatedly refusing to engage in peaceful dialogue with the East Timorese whilst at the same time demanding, with each eruption of violence, that he, as Bishop, play the role of pacifier/peace promoter with the local populace. "Why am I asked to come and to order the people to calm down, to return to their homes and stay out of trouble when that same evening these people are called up and beaten by the police. Sometimes this capacity of mine to restore order and calm is plainly exploited (by the government ... to promote its own less than peaceful objectives! -ed.).

One other response of his was this one:

Question: Why were these problems (religious, inter-ethnic tensions) responded to (by the East Timorese) with violence. Why couldn't peaceful means have been used, for example?

Answer: What you are proposing has been tried for the past 20 years. We East Timorese like to deal with things immediately. If people (the implication is the government, ABRI) come to me asking for help, I'm expected to respond that very same day. However, our association with Indonesia has taught us the good old (Indonesian) principle of "nanti dulu" (hold on, wait a minute!). "Nanti" could refer to today, tomorrow, next year or never!

Comment from CNRM Director General:

The above message was received by CNRM from Jakarta. It provides comments on an article in the latest issue of the Indonesian magazine *Gatra*. The article, and the comments are of interest. So are the excerpts of an interview with Bishop Belo which are included. It shows how one of the fundamental problems hindering East Timorese integration is the cultural inability or refusal of the East Timorese to accept the corrupt and oppressive Indonesian system of government, which people in Indonesia seem to have resigned themselves to accepting as something they can not but submit to. From this perspective, clearly the ongoing resistance of the East Timorese is a fundamental threat to the Suharto regime, as it provides an example of resistance and opposition to the Regime for Indonesians.

This is clearly noticeable in the growing interest and support of Indonesian pro-democracy activists for the East Timor cause, and the influence of East Timorese in Java in encouraging Indonesians to challenge the Regime.

It is remarkable that Suharto has seemingly not yet realised that in addition to the enormous international costs of the East Timor issue, this new dimension is likely to provide one of the costliest and most dangerous threats for the Regime. A rational assessment would probably conclude that it is very much in the interest of the Suharto regime to withdraw from East Timor as a matter of urgency. Opponents to the regime, on the other hand, clearly see the usefulness of the East Timor issue for their efforts to bring down the regime.

ETCHRIET- URGENT ACTION 27 DETAINED

East Timor Centre for Human Rights Information, Education and Training

URGENT ACTION REQUEST No. 1-9/95
Date: 23 Sep. 95

ETCHRIET has received the following list of 27 names East Timorese detained by the Indonesian security forces following 8-16 September riots in East Timor.

We ask your assistance to seek support and intervention from relevant agencies, to ensure these people are treated in accordance to accepted standards. According to separate reports received, and consistent with habitual practice, the detainees are said to be subjected to torture. It is also common practice of Indonesian authorities to arbitrarily arrest people, torture, and force them to sign confessions acknowledging acts they have never committed.

Name	from	place of detention
José Carvalho	Dili-Audian	Polwil in Dili
Paulo Gorge Ly	Dili-Vilaverde	"
George	Bidau	"
Agapito Marcal	Bidau	"
Antonio Soares	Ballide	"
Paulo Ximenes Pereira	Comoro	"
Jacinto A. Cabral	UNTIM	"
Fernando de Jesus	"	"
Adelina Alau	"	"
Domingos Amaral	"	"
Angelino Marcos	"	"
Amandio Fernandes	"	"
Quintino Gusmão	"	"
Victor dos Santos	"	"
Victor Doloroso	"	"
Lucas Bere	"	"
Noel da Costa	"	"
Augusta Rosario	"	"
Yosep Asa(*)	"	"
Dírcia Barreto	Camea	"
Marito Mota	Kuluhun	"
Fernando Tilman	"	"
Julio Smith	Lahane	"
Dedi	Bidau	"
Anino (27yrs)	Manatuto	Kodim Manatuto
Jaimito	"	"
Sousa(23yrs)	"	"
Anoco (32yrs)	"	"

NOTES: (*) Yosep Asa is not East Timorese, but Indonesian. Anino, Jaimito and Anoco were captured in Manatuto on 16/9/95 upon their return from a meeting. They were carrying an East Timorese national flag, documents and audio tapes,

which were confiscated. UNTIM: East Timor University.

The first 24 are being held at Police HQ (polwil) Dili; the last three at Military district HQ in Manatuto

INDONESIA INCREASES MILITARY PRESENCE

CNRM Media Release, 24 September 95

East Timorese arrested

East Timorese sources inform of important arrivals of Indonesian troops in the territory's capital Dili, following uprisings on September 9-16 in protest against increasing religious harassment, and growing pressures by Indonesian colonisers on the local population.

On 11 September an Indonesian navy ship unloaded two battalions of commandos in Dili. They were immediately deployed in the streets of the city, and are now based at Taibessi, the former Portuguese military headquarters. The same ship brought four military trucks loaded with huge equipment cases bound to Aileu.

Only two weeks ago, with much publicity, Indonesia announced the removal of two battalions from the territory. CNRM has for a long time denounced that Indonesian claims of troop withdrawals are not credible. Troop removals are merely personnel rotations.

On 18 September, a huge three day military exercise was staged in Aileu, led by President Suharto's son in law, Col. Prabowo. Several hundred East Timorese conscripts were made to take part in this exercise.

It is suspected the East Timorese are being trained to take part in a new military offensive planned to start in October.

Given the Indonesian military's failure so far to control the East Timorese Resistance, since early this year a new Indonesian army strategy has been evident, namely to localise the conflict by recruiting East Timorese through coercion or financial inducement. CNRM has already reported several times on the recruitment of thugs to serve in the 'ninja' groups that terrorise the civilian population. This reckless policy of pitting East Timorese against East Timorese is highly damaging for future peace and harmony in the already profoundly traumatised territory.

Meanwhile a list of 27 names of people detained following the September 8-16 uprising in East Timor has been released by the East Timor Centre for Human Rights Information, Education, and Training. In an 'Urgent Action' appeal to international human rights protection bodies, the Centre asks for support and intervention from relevant

agencies, to ensure these people are treated in accordance to accepted standards. The communication adds "According to separate reports received, and consistent with habitual practice, the detainees are said to be subjected to torture. It is also common practice by Indonesian authorities to arbitrarily arrest people, torture them, and then force the victims to sign confessions acknowledging acts they have never committed."

TIMOR MILITARY BUILD UP DENIED

The Irish Times, 25th September 1995.

JAKARTA; An Australian pro-independence group for East Timor claimed in a statement yesterday that the Indonesian military had stepped up its presence in the territory in the wake of violent religious conflict this month. The National Council of Maubere Resistance, CNRM, said in a statement that on September 11th a navy ship "unloaded two battalions of commandos in Dili, and that they were deployed in the streets of the city." The army spokesman, Brig. Gen. Hadikarso, however, claimed no increase in military presence. He said that there could not have been military exercises on September 18th

KWI BLAMES FRUSTRATION FOR RIOTS

AFP, 26 September 1995. Abridged

Jakarta – A conference of Roman Catholic Bishops Tuesday blamed a new wave of unrest in East Timor on deep frustration among indigenous workers at an influx of migrants. "Religious sensitivity was only the trigger for a deeper feeling of frustration, disappointment and hopelessness... Many East Timorese feel as if they are being marginalised in their own home," a statement from the Bishops Conference, KWI said.

The statement was commenting on a series of riots in several East Timorese towns last month that led to the burning of markets, places of worship, vehicles and private property. The statement noted that migrants with greater skills and capital have come to dominate the retail sector, the government and the military in East Timor.

"There are many deep wounds and traumatic experiences that have made the local population quickly suspicious of all migrants, especially when they see more and more migrants arriving and turning into their competitors" in the labour market, it said.

In this situation, a tiny event can easily be seen out of proportion, become generalised and trigger unrest," the statement said.

It called on the government to accord the territory "a status in line with the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, to guarantee that the normalisation process there take place

without cultural shocks, without alienation.” The KWI also suggested that the rule of law be upheld, included by the security and the military.

The East Timor diocese is not a member of KWI as it answers directly to the Vatican.

SUHARTO SAYS TIMOR RIOTS SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED

JAKARTA, Sept. 26 (Reuter) — Indonesian President Suharto said the scale of recent riots in East Timor should not be exaggerated because it would only fuel tensions in the disputed territory, the official Antara news agency reported on Tuesday.

It quoted Suharto as telling chairman of the Indonesian Catholic Church Organisation (KWI), Julius Darmoatmodjo, that Indonesians should not exaggerate the riots which rocked the former Portuguese colony earlier this month.

Antara gave no other details.

During the riots, youths rampaged across the capital Dili attacking police and Moslem immigrants after reports that an Indonesian official had insulted the Roman Catholic faith of the East Timorese majority.

Police in East Timor said they would try 20 people this month for their role in the riots, the worst in the territory this year.

Mainly Moslem Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations, which regards Portugal as the administering power.

TEAR GAS AND TORTURE HIT DILI STUDENT PROTESTORS

Sydney Morning Herald, Sept. 30 1995 Sue Neales — slightly abridged.

More than 70 youths were arrested, many were tortured and four are missing and believed dead in the latest riots in East Timor, according to students who witnessed the three days of protests and tension across the province two weeks ago.

The Vice-Rector of the University of East Timor, Mr. Armindo Maia, claimed that dozens of his students had been detained by the military after widespread rioting broke out on the streets of Dili on Sept. 9th. Mr. Maia said that he could not confirm if any students died during the violence and ensuing imprisonment. But he said there did appear to be some unexplained ‘disappearances.’

One 17 year old youth told the Herald he had been imprisoned and tortured by the

Indonesian police for a week after the riots. He said his arms had been tied behind back and electric shock wires attached to his shoulders and back in an attempt to make him tell authorities the names of the ring-leaders of the riots.

Tension is also running high in the East Timorese town of Los Palos after the chief of nearby Luro village, Mr. Adao Cabral, was found dead in his house during the disturbances. Indonesian authorities said that his death was suicide but the local Timorese community is convinced that Mr. Cabral was murdered by the military because of his campaign against the enforced conversions of Catholic children attending the village Muslim school.

The Indonesian Government has denied that any deaths followed the latest violence, which it attributed to religious differences between local Timorese Catholics and Muslim Indonesian migrants.

The first riots were reported on Sept. 8th in the western regional centre of Maliana, after a Muslim jail warden at the local prison allegedly insulted the Catholic faith and snapped a small cross in two.

The East Timorese capital erupted shortly after, with gangs of youths burning tyres and throwing rocks at army personnel in the streets and the military replying with tear gas and with some gunfire. The largest Dili market at Comoro was torched while in the regional centres of Same, Bacau and Mantuto, mosques were burnt, immigrants terrorized and more Timorese youths arrested.

AVERSION TO GOVERNMENT POLICIES SPARKED EAST TIMOR RIOTS

Jakarta Post, October 3, 1995

Jakarta (JP): The National Commission on Human Rights has attributed last month's religious and ethnic rioting in East Timor to the many unresolved political and social problems in the territory.

Strained relations between indigenous residents and migrants, poor communication between the government and the people, continuing social conflict and malfunctioning political institutions all contributed to the frustration that burst into the open between Sept. 2 and Sept. 14, the commission concluded.

The spate of rioting in the capital Dili was triggered by a Moslem prison official's statement with offended local Catholics.

Commission deputy chairman Marzuki Darusman said that the rioters were venting their frustration at the numerous problems

plaguing the predominantly Roman Catholic province.

‘The incidents were an outburst of accumulating problems,’ Marzuki said when announcing the commission's findings.

The commission concluded that in the course of the rioting, there had been numerous rights violations in the areas of religion, personal safety, property as well as the right to be free of fear.

Between Sept. 2 and 14, Dili saw youths on the rampage. Migrants were harassed and their houses attacked, mosques and Protestant churches vandalized, vehicles set on fire and market place burned down.

The authorities have since arrested more than a dozen rioters and detained the Maliana prison official who allegedly insulted the church when he was addressing the inmates.

Marzuki said that the relationship between indigenous East Timorese and migrants, who dominate the local economy, are particularly sensitive.

The commission suggested that political institutions in the province improve their functions to better accommodate local needs. In addition, he said, local government officials, community leaders and the public need to improve communication.

It also recommended, that local religious leaders hold more dialogs to address differences that may exist between the people of different religions.

The commission's report has elements in common with the findings of the Armed Forces.

Chief of the Armed Forces Gen. Feisal Tanjung said during a recent hearing with Commission I of the House of Representatives that the riots had their origins in three unrelated incidents: the announcement of results of the civil service entrance test, which angered those who were not admitted, remarks by an official that denigrated Roman Catholicism, which is the main religion in East Timor, and the marriage of two people from different churches, which fueled anger among the local people.

Earlier, the government said the riots had racial and religious characteristics because the targets were the migrants, who are mostly Moslem.

Meanwhile, about 100 ulemas from Jakarta and its surrounding townships went to the House of Representatives yesterday to express their concern with the tension in East Timor.

The delegation was received by Aisyah Amini of the Moslem-based United Development Party, who is also chairwoman of Commission I for security and political affairs, and two colleagues, Abu Hasan Sazili and Ali Rasjidi.

Led by Nur Muhammad SQ, the ulemas and principals of Moslem boarding schools in Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi lodged a petition with the House, calling on the government to take prompt actions to solve the problem.

The ulemas called on the government to establish a fact-finding mission to obtain clear data on what triggered the incident and the actual number of casualties.

They suggested a number of actions be taken, including a meeting to gather together Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of the predominantly Roman Catholic region, ulemas, the National Commission on Human Rights, the Armed Forces and the government.

'PITCHED BATTLES'

Reuter, 2 October 1995, Abridged.

Jakarta – Bands of East Timorese youths have been fighting pitched battles at least twice in the past week, and a leader of Indonesia's civilian intelligence network in the territory was injured, residents said on Monday.

The local police chief, Colonel Andreas Sugianto, confirmed the incidents but denied any involvement by intelligence officers or recruits in the clashes.

Residents said by telephone from the capital Dili that local youths had clashed with unidentified outsiders in the suburbs of Vemori and Vilaverde last Wednesday and Friday respectively.

Locals believed the assailants were recruits of Indonesia's extensive intelligence network, residents said, sparking a revenge attack on the car of Aleso Cobra, believed to be the informal chief of the network.

Aleso was badly injured in the attack and his car damaged, they said.

"It is a continuation of the troubles before. We are still looking for those people involved in the incidents but we haven't arrested anybody so far," Sugianto told Reuters by telephone.

Police have said 20 people would go on trial soon for their role in the September riots, the worst this year.

Residents said the city remained tense, with few people daring to go outside for fear of attacks by youth gangs apparently seeking Indonesian immigrants who have attracted resentment over their control of commerce in the territory.

At least one other person, José Konis, was badly injured after being attacked by unidentified youths during the recent clashes, residents said. Sugianto denied reports his assailants were members of the intelligence network.

EAST TIMOR RIOTS 'BID TO SHAKE OFF YOKE'

PERTH, Australia, Oct. 6 (AFP) — Outspoken Indonesian dissident George Aditjondro claimed here Friday recent riots in East Timor were part of an uprising by the East Timorese to free themselves of a new colonial yoke imposed by Indonesia.

The Perth-based academic urged Indonesians to stop blaming East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Monsignor Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, for a series of ethnic and religious riots last month in which one person was reportedly killed and 15 seriously injured in the former Portuguese colony.

Aditjondro, now a lecturer in Asian studies at Murdoch University here, was responding to a statement this week (Monday) by the Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights accusing a group of East Timorese of violating human rights during the disturbances.

He said: "The riots were simply an uprising by East Timorese to liberate themselves from the new colonial yoke after they have been able to get rid of the Portuguese."

East Timor, a predominantly Catholic area, was annexed by Jakarta in 1976, a year after Indonesian troops intervened in a civil war abandoned by the Portuguese. The United Nations still recognises Portugal as the territory's administering power. Indonesia is largely a Muslim country.

Aditjondro estimates Indonesian settlers represent about one third of East Timor's 900,000 population. He said "The latest flare-up is not essentially an issue between the Catholic Church and Muslims." "It is an issue between East Timorese and Indonesian people(s). Indonesian settlers become the victims because they themselves have taken part in victimising East Timorese people."

In the September disturbances, at least two mosques and two Protestant churches were burned down by angry East Timorese youths. Scores of shops, homes and vehicles were also destroyed by rampaging East Timorese students in several towns, including the capital, Dili.

Aditjondro asserts Indonesian settlers in East Timor are not innocent victims. "They are complicit in the occupation of the territory by their presence, by taking over land, jobs and the economy," he says.

"Indonesians should understand the feelings of the East Timorese. Often violence cannot be separated from an independence struggle. For example, Indonesians attacked Dutch, British and Japanese during our own independence struggle after WW II. It was a struggle against occupation forces. It was not an attack on the religion of the occupation forces. Similarly, the East Timorese

independence struggle is not an attack on the religion of the Indonesian settlers."

Aditjondro condemned what he said was the way the Indonesian government, media and Islamic leaders were trying to distort the East Timor situation. "I appeal to Islamic leaders to end their hypocrisy," he said.

"They are supporting the Palestinian and Bosnian liberation struggles, and also have strong sympathy for minority Moslem groups in the southern Philippines and Thailand engaged in similar struggles. So it is hypocritical if you support one group of colonised people who are of the same religion, but deny another group self-determination if they are of a different religion."

RECENT ARRESTS

TAPOL Report, 9 October 1995, based on fax from Dili, 5 October.

We have been requested to give wide publicity to the following information about arrests in East Timor since the events of 9 September which we received from sources in East Timor:

Arrests on 9 September, 1995 in sub-district Uatolari, district Viqueque:

1. Mateus Lopes Pinto, former student at East Timor University, 27 years old, from Macadiqui Village, Osso-Lari.
2. Celestino Veigas, 34 years, peasant from Macadiqui.
3. Abel Waidera, 21 years, finished his schooling at SMEA-Dili, from Macadiqui.

Arrests on 9 September, 1995 in Dili:

1. Mateus de Souza Guterres, 19 years, third grade student at SMA 03, Dili, from Santa Cruz village.
2. José A Soares, 30 years, from Santa Cruz village.

They were arrested on suspicion of being involved as rioters in the demonstrations to protest against offensive remarks made against the Catholic religion by Muslims. They were arrested by police anti-riot squads and SGI agents.

Arrests on 16 September 1995 in Obrato and Behedan kampungs, district Manatuto:

1. Angelo Almeida Godinho, from Santa Cruz village, Dili a student at the Economics Faculty of Diponegoro University, Semarang, Central Java.
2. Jaime Faustino da Silva, from Dili.
3. Celestino de Fatima Sousa, from Dili.

Two others who were arrested in Obrato managed to escape and flee:

1. Fernando do Carmo, Dili
2. Alexandrio de Jesus, Dili.

Some remarks about all these detainees:

* Angelo Almeida Godinho has been arrested four times by the armed forces (ABRI) and the intelligence (SGI) as a member of the clandestine front; he is a member

of the students resistance organisation, RENETIL. In August 1994, he took one year's leave from university to spend it with his family in East Timor. While on leave, the 9 January 1995 demonstration occurred at East Timor University. He was suspected of being the 'brains' behind the incident and ABRI started hunting him down. He was one of 71 students who took part in a demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November 1991, one week after the Santra Cruz massacre.

* Jaime da Silva, Celestinho Souza, Fernando do Carmo and Alexandrio de Jesus have each been under arrest three or four times before. On each occasion, they were freed after being forced to sign undertakings written by the military command, Korem.

The two in hiding, Fernando do Carmo and Alexandrio de Jesus are in Dili. They reported to the International Red Cross (ICRC) but were told that the ICRC could not give them any safeguards. Their families do not know their present whereabouts.

* The three arrested people mentioned above and the two who have gone into hiding were not involved in the SARA (ethnic, religious and race conflict) incidents. Their cases are all political.

The three people, Angelo Godinho, Jaime da Silva and Celestinho Sousa, were arrested as they were out in the street and taken away for interrogation. When they were interrogated and stripped naked, ABRI discovered bullets, documents about East Timor, Falintil photos and an East Timor flag. During their interrogation they were beaten with firearms until unconscious. After coming round, they were driven under heavy army escort to Kodim 1631, district Manatuto. At Kodim, the torture continued until their bodies were covered in blood and they fell unconscious again. Nevertheless the torture and interrogation continued relentlessly, in an attempt to extract from them information about the resistance network and events in East Timor during 1995.

* ICRC officials in Dili were not allowed by ABRI to visit the men to check on their condition. Relatives are afraid to visit them, fearing that they may be interrogated or arrested. The families are very eager to get permission, free from intimidation, so as to check up on their state of health. The families fear for their safety because of the possibility that they may be executed.

* Their present state of health and whereabouts are not known. The three men under arrest and the two in hiding are eager for protection from the ICRC and for international pressure from the BBC, ABC,

Radio Hilversum and the UN Human Rights Commission, as well as international and national organisations concerned about human rights abuses in East Timor.

* Since 16 September, the three men have been subjected to torture and interrogation by ABRI and SGI. Sources say that they are being pressed to give information about the resistance network, the strength of the Falintil and resistance fronts based in various cities in East Timor. The families are not in a position to do anything because of the current political situation in East Timor.

TWO DEAD: DILI TENSE

BBC and other agencies, 10 October 1995. Summarised

There has been more trouble in Indonesian-controlled East Timor. Reports say two people have been killed and at least one other injured in clashes between Timorese groups in the capital. The unrest started Monday night after a house search by security forces for suspects allegedly involved in last month's rioting.

Informed sources say the trouble started after police detained a leading member of the urban resistance, during a search in an area of the city known for harbouring opponents to Indonesian rule. [Other agencies give the name of the man arrested as Bobby Xavier, a Timorese who we know as have been convicted and sentenced in 1991 in connection with the Motael Church killing two weeks before the Santa Cruz massacre. Bobby was released from prison in Kupang about a year ago and has been active in the urban resistance ever since.]

Supporters of the arrested man then took two police hostage demanded their colleague's release. The confrontation escalated into a street battle with a rival gang said to be linked with the security forces. A Timorese civil servant was stabbed to death and police reportedly fired teargas to break up the fighting.

The unrest continued Tuesday with further confrontations. One Timorese was kidnapped then killed, his body horribly mutilated. Another man was injured. Many residents believed the security forces provoked the trouble to justify another crack-down on the resistance. These suspicions are difficult to prove. What is not in doubt is the continuing potential for violence among the Timorese themselves. Many are paid informants who spy on their fellow Timorese, a practice which observers say is poisoning society.

One well-placed resident in Dili said the trouble could be the prelude to another large

security operation against the underground resistance.

According to AP, the two dead have been identified as Sarturi and Nelson. Local council member Manuel Carrascalão, who helped bring peace between the groups said the situation was tense Monday but has since calmed down.

According to Reuter, security forces sealed off the Dili suburb where the violence took place after scores had gathered earlier, apparently to attack migrants. Residents said that while the youths dispersed during the day they had gathered on street corners at dusk leaving the town tense.

'The youths are out there waiting for each other. Maybe tonight they will fight again and people are scared to go out,' one student at the university said.

This standoff followed clashes Monday when youths protested against the arrest of Bobby Xavier by stopping buses and other transport and taking a Buginese trade hostage. Police later released Xavier.

Although Timorese youth vented their anger on Buginese, clashes between youth gangs appeared to follow political allegiances, with one side favouring Indonesian rule and the others opposing it, residents said.

MORE SHOOTING IN DILI

TAPOL Report, 11 October 1995

We are receiving news that there has been shooting in Dili today. According to contacts there, shooting could still be heard at around 11pm Wednesday local time. Details are difficult to obtain but according to one source, the shooting has been taken place in three districts of Dili, Audian, Vila Verde and Bairro Pite. One person named Domingos Lie has been injured and taken to hospital.

One of the people killed in Dili yesterday, Sartorio, was buried today. He worked as the head of a storehouse belonging to a private company and was just coming out on the street when he was caught up in the melee and killed. His body was badly mauled. The other person who died yesterday has been named as Salomao.

Friday, 13 October is 'vision day,' commemorating the Fatima legend in Portugal. This is a day when processions normally take place.

People in Dili fear that conditions in the city may deteriorate, following the serious clashes of the past two days. More troops, which the authorities say are riot-police, have been arriving in Dili.

EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR CALLS FOR ARMY TO RESTORE CALM

DILI, East Timor, Oct. 11 (Reuter) — East Timorese governor Abilio Soares urged Indonesia's security forces on Wednesday to restore order after gangs of youths rampaged through the capital in the worst unrest in the territory this year.

Residents said youths armed with knives, bamboo sticks and stones continued to gather in several places around the city after two days of violence, but said there had been no reports of further clashes since early on Wednesday when youths rampaged through the streets of Dili burning tyres and destroying cars.

"I appeal to the security apparatus to immediately restore order to Dili and take legal action against whoever is involved," Soares told a news conference, flanked by local military and police commanders.

Soares said Wednesday's rioting followed the Monday killing of a public servant named Saloman da Costa Soares. He said a second person, Sertanio Arango, a youth from out of town, was killed on Tuesday as revenge.

Unrest in mainly Roman Catholic East Timor has taken a new twist this year with youths venting their frustration along ethnic and religious lines.

Riots have swept several cities since January with Timorese attacking Indonesian immigrants, most of them Moslem.

This week's violence was apparently sparked by local gang warfare between youths who support Indonesian rule and those who oppose it, however.

Police chief Andreas Sugianto told Reuters earlier six youths had been arrested and 12 people badly injured, including two police officers. He told the news conference those involved would be arrested if they did not turn themselves in.

"We know where all the offenders live and only need to summon them and if they don't answer we will come for them," he told the conference.

Soares added: "If they don't want to come after being summoned three times, then we can play rough."

Residents said scores of youths and troops were still locked in stand-offs in several parts of the capital.

"We can't go out because all the streets are blocked by the youths. The situation is tense," one resident said.

Sugianto said youths took three police officers hostage, one a captain, releasing them after an unknown number of Timorese were freed from detention by the military.

Sugianto told the news conference some people had been detained, but did not say how many or why.

Residents said the situation had eased by the afternoon, but others said gangs continued to blockade some neighbourhoods, stopping cars and blocking public or government vehicles.

Others taunted rows of security forces standing some distance away, witnesses said.

Trucks loaded with troops, the only vehicles to be seen in many areas, patrolled the streets, they said.

"The place is crawling with troops. They are just watching the youths and doing nothing," one journalist said.

Shops were shut and only a few buses were operating.

Indonesia has ruled East Timor with an iron grip since its invasion 20 years ago, fighting guerrillas and trying to quash lingering civilian opposition.

It has defended its rule, saying it has poured millions of dollars into infrastructure, education and health.

SIMBOLON DENIES USE OF FIREARMS

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Dili, October 12 (LUSA) — Colonel Simbolon, military commander of East Timor, denied today to journalists that the military are using firearms to disperse demonstrators. Simbolon admitted that dozens of people have been arrested in an operation by the security forces, but added that these used only tear gas and "matracas" [not sure what this is]. Residents in Dili contacted by phone reported that the soldiers "fire on everything and everyone" and talk of a massacre.

General Adiwijoyo, spokesperson for the Indonesian Army, declared to Antara news agency in Jakarta that "the problems in Dili can be resolved through normal procedures, with no need to resort to excessive security measures."

SITUATION IN DILI VERY TENSE

TAPOL Report, 12 October 1995

A contact in Dili told TAPOL at 4pm Dili time today that all the streets and houses in the city are being watched and surrounded with a high presence of troops and police on the streets.

The contact said it is impossible to leave the house because it is being watched and guarded by troops. Many houses are being entered and searched. The contact knows that there have been many arrests but the precise figure is not known because of the

difficulty leaving the house to see what is happening elsewhere. The level of tension is very high. Shooting can be heard most of the time, most of it shooting into the air to keep the population in a state of fear.

The contact said that the military command is under orders to take control of the streets and gain control of the city, meaning that the young people who have been so active must be prevented from carrying out any more actions.

The contact said a 'vision-day' procession took place this morning in which many Catholics took part. This proceeded without interference as far as the contact knows, but as soon as it ended, the streets were cleared and troops proceeded with their operation to take control of the streets.

The contact said that everything should be done outside to bring pressure to bear on the forces of occupation to end the reign of terror. Clearly, conditions in East Timor will continue to be tense during the coming months because of so many anniversaries: 28 October, fourth anniversary of the killing of Sebastião Gomes in 1991; 12 November, the Santa Cruz Massacre; and 7 December, the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion.

ARMY STRIKES HARD

NRC Handelsblad, 12 October 1995. By Dirk Vlasblom, Slightly abridged

Jakarta — Last night the Indonesian military used violent methods in Dili for the first time in months. They fired indiscriminately and used teargas to disperse groups of rebellious youths that had put up barricades in various parts of the city. Today the army has continued its operations in Dili.

Hundreds of young Timorese have been waging urban guerrilla fighting in Dili since Monday which has already resulted in two deaths. They were fighting against supporters of integration and against immigrants from various parts of Indonesia.

Yesterday, the Governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio Soares, appealed to the army and the police to restore order. The military commander of the region, Colonel Mahidin Simbolon, said it would take two days to restore order. His units have blocked off whole neighbourhoods for the past 24 hours and made dozens of arrests. Police and soldiers in combat uniform have been patrolling the streets constantly. One young boy was hit in the face by a bullet and taken to hospital in a serious condition.

As for the background to the recent unrest, several versions are circulating. Governor Soares said that on Monday, fighting broke out between two gangs of youths, one led by Bobby Xavier, a well-known anti-

Indonesian activist, and the other led by Alexio Cobra. [Cobra was named earlier this year as the man who organised the Ninja gangs.] According to the Governor, Cobra destroyed Xavier's car after which fierce fighting flared up. Two people were killed during the fighting, one a civil servant from the public works, Salamao da Costa Gomes, 18, and Sartanio Araujo, 38. The victims died from stab wounds and slashings with machetes.

Manuel Carrascalão, member of the regional assembly, has a different version. He says all hell broke loose when Bobby Xavier resisted arrest by the army because they did not produce a warrant. According to the police, Xavier was involved in anti-Indonesia demonstrations in 1991 which ended in the bloody massacre. Eventually he was arrested, according to Carrascalão, whereupon groups of youngsters went to kampungs inhabited by Sulawesi migrants and pro-Indonesian East Timorese and took three policemen hostage. On Wednesday morning, the policemen were released when the army released some of the East Timorese who had been arrested.

INDONESIA STAGES SHOW OF FORCE IN EAST TIMOR

Hong Kong Standard e-news 10/13/95

DILI, East Timor: Indonesian troops and police staged a show of force in the East Timorese capital Dili on Friday, sweeping through neighbourhood streets and houses wracked by days of rioting, witnesses said.

They said security forces in full riot gear had marched since dark through Dili's suburbs, some firing volleys into the air, terrifying residents and taking away an unknown number of suspects.

"They came here shouting 'Come outside, East Timorese dogs.' I saw with my own eyes as they forced their way into my neighbour's house and took away 14 youths," one resident said.

The crackdown follows four days of unrest in the capital, the worst this year, in which gang warfare turned to stand-offs between youths and security forces. At least two people have been killed and more than a dozen seriously injured.

Residents said the crackdown began after days of relative restraint by the military, who had until Thursday used only teargas and sticks to disperse gangs of youths barricading themselves in several neighbourhoods.

According to some residents, two youths were shot overnight, including one who was shot in the head in the suburb of Kuluhun. It was not possible to confirm the reports.

The mopping up operation began late on Thursday, residents said, and continued on Friday as troops and police lined several streets taunting and sometimes hitting passers-by.

"Most of us are not foolish enough to send our children out in a situation like this. We know who these troops are. They have been here 20 years and will take them away even if they do nothing wrong," one female resident said.

Jakarta annexed East Timor in 1976 in a move not recognised by the United Nations. It has defended its rule, saying it has poured millions of dollars into infrastructure, education and health.

Most shops, schools and governments offices remained shut.

One witness reported seeing four large military vehicles manned by special forces troops patrolling the streets of the former Portuguese colony, with soldiers singing military songs and shouting "viva Indonesia" as they passed.

It was not clear whether the military had restored order in all neighbourhoods, many of them locked in stand-offs not only with security forces but with each other.

Local parliamentarian Manuel Carrascalão visited one area overnight, trying to calm youths who vowed to attack any soldier trying to enter their neighbourhood.

"If we fight each other we are finished," he told them.

The crackdown followed a call on Wednesday by Governor Abilio Soares for security forces to restore order after renewed unrest in several parts of the city.

Police and military officials were not immediately available for comment. They had earlier confirmed troops were firing into the air but said no-one had been injured.

Major-General Abdul Rivai, chief of the Bali-based Udayana military region which covers East Timor, has blamed the unrest on groups trying to disturb order and security.

East Timor's clandestine movement is a loose-knit network of civilians opposing Indonesian rule. It is linked to a small guerrilla army in the mountains and the largest exile group seeking independence for East Timor.

INDONESIA SAYS RESTORES ORDER IN DILI, ARRESTS 120

Reuter, 13 October 1995. Abridged

Dili – Indonesia said on Friday it had restored order to the East Timor capital of Dili, completing a sweep through the city in which 120 youths were arrested and four soldiers injured.

The region's military commander Major-General Abdul Rivai told reporters that

security forces had detained 120 East Timorese during the unrest. He did not give a timeframe or say whether the youths would be charged.

The soldiers were injured in the crackdown, he said.

"The situation is under control now," Rivai, chief of the Bali-based Udayana military region which covers East Timor, told reporters before leaving the territory by plane.

The crackdown follows four days of unrest in the capital, the worst this year, in which gang warfare turned to stand-offs between youths and security forces.

At least two people have been killed and more than a dozen seriously injured in the former Portuguese colony which Indonesia invaded in 1975.

Residents said security forces in full riot gear had marched since dark through Dili's suburbs, some firing volleys into the air, terrifying residents and hauling away suspects.

"They came here shouting 'Come outside, East Timorese dogs.' I saw with my own eyes as they forced their way into my neighbour's house and took away 14 youths," one resident said.

Residents said the crackdown began after days of relative restraint by the military, who had until Thursday used only tear gas and sticks to disperse gangs of youths barricading themselves in several neighbourhoods.

According to some residents, two youths were shot overnight, including one who was shot in the head in the suburb of Kuluhun. One army source said 25 Timorese had been injured in the sweep.

It was not possible to confirm the reports.

Residents said the operation began late on Thursday and continued on Friday as troops and police lined several streets, taunting and sometimes hitting passers-by.

"Most of us are not foolish enough to send our children out in a situation like this. We know who these troops are. They have been here 20 years and will take them away even if they do nothing wrong," one woman said.

Most shops, schools and governments offices remained shut.

One witness reported seeing four large military vehicles manned by special forces patrolling the streets, with soldiers singing military songs and shouting "Viva Indonesia" as they passed.

The crackdown followed a call on Wednesday by Governor Abilio Soares for security forces to restore order after renewed unrest in several parts of the city.

Rivai earlier blamed the unrest on groups trying to disturb order and security, includ-

ing the clandestine movement, a loose-knit network of civilians opposing Indonesian rule.

It is linked to a small guerrilla army in the mountains and the largest exile group seeking independence for East Timor.

AI: UP TO 120 DETAINED AFTER NEW RIOTS IN DILI

AI FI216/95 EAST TIMOR Fear of Torture

AI Index: ASA 21/49/95, 13 October 1995

Further information on UA 216/95 (ASA 21/44/95, 11 September 1995) and follow-up (ASA 21/45/95, 14 September 1995) — Fear of torture

Up to 120 people are alleged to have been detained by the security forces in East Timor since renewed rioting broke out in the capital, Dili, on 10 October 1995. Amnesty International fears that all those held may face torture and ill-treatment.

The precise number of individuals detained is uncertain. On 11 October, East Timor Police Chief Andreas Sugianto stated that six had been arrested. On 13 October, Major-General Abdul Rivai, the military commander of Udayana, the region covering East Timor, announced that the security forces had arrested 120 people. It is not clear when the arrests took place, and the authorities have not provided any information about the identities and whereabouts of the 120.

Despite repeated claims by the authorities in East Timor that the security forces do not torture detainees, Amnesty International believes that the torture of political detainees there is routine. The organization is aware of individuals detained after riots broke out in Dili on 8 September who were severely beaten despite being visited by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The fact that those in detention do not have access to independent lawyers or to their families increases the risk of torture and ill-treatment.

Since 10 October, there have been unconfirmed reports of up to a dozen individuals being wounded as a result of the latest clashes, including those alleged to have been beaten by the security forces. A 16-year-old youth is in hospital after reportedly being shot in the face by Police Mobile Brigades on 11 October.

Of those detained after the rioting in September, up to 20 people, whose identities are unclear, are believed to remain in detention and to be facing trial for their alleged role in these earlier riots. It is not clear if they have had full access to their families and lawyers, and they are still believed to be at risk of torture or ill-treatment.

FURTHER BACKGROUND

The recent disturbances in East Timor began on 6 September in Maliana, some 120 kilometres west of Dili, following local anger about government inaction in regard to a statement made by a prison official in Maliana which was deemed to be insulting to the Catholic faith. On 7 September trading stores belonging to Indonesian migrants were burnt down in Viqueque and on 8 September, demonstrations broke out in six different locations of Dili. On 9 September, the Comoro Market in Dili was burnt down. Unrest flared again in Dili on 10 October, with clashes between those opposing and those supporting East Timor's integration with Indonesia. Groups of youths are also believed to have blockaded off sections of Dili. Independent sources allege that the military provoked the unrest in September and the subsequent rioting in Dili in October through the use of agents provocateurs.

The findings of investigations into the September riots by Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia — Komnas HAM) has disappointed many observers. The Commission's report stated that violations were committed by "one group in the community against another," rather than commenting on violations committed by the security forces, including cases of arbitrary arrests and torture.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send telegrams/express/airmail letters in Bahasa Indonesia, English or in your own language:

- urging the Indonesian authorities to provide details of the identity and whereabouts of all those detained in Dili since 10 October, as well as any specific charges that are to be brought against them;
- calling for all possible measures to be taken to ensure the safety of all the detainees, including those held since the earlier disturbances in September;
- calling on the authorities to allow continued access for all those in detention to the International Committee of the Red Cross, lawyers of their own choice and their families.

APPEALS TO:

CHIEF OF POLICE FOR EAST TIMOR: Lt. Col. Andreas Sugianto [Salutation: Dear Lieutenant-Colonel] Kapolda Timor Timur Dili, East Timor (Indonesia)
Telegrams: Kapolda Timor Timur, Dili, East Timor

MILITARY COMMANDER REGION IX/UDAYANA: (covers Bali, Lombok, Nusa Tenggara and East Timor)

Maj. Gen. Abdul Rivai [Salutations: Dear Major-General] Pangdam IX/Udayana Mar-

kas Besar KODAM IX Udayana Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia
Telegrams: Pangdam IX/Udayana, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia
AND, TO THE FOLLOWING:

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Ali Alatas
SH Menteri Luar Negeri JI Medan Taman Pejambon No 6 Jakarta, Indonesia
Faxes: +62 21 36 0517; +622 1 345 0517

Please do not send appeals after 28 November 1995.

COMORO POLICE PRISON

From Mariza Cabral, Oct. 16

LUSA reports, which are too many to translate on my own, refer that many prisoners have been taken to the police commando in Comoro. You may recall that Comoro is the most dreaded place, where prisoners are generally tortured. One Dili resident said that some current arrests are prompted by denunciations by others previously arrested. This suggests that prisoners in Comoro may be under torture.

VOA — 'ORDER RESTORED'

Voice of America, 10/13/95

Intro: Indonesian security forces said today (Friday) they have restored order in and around Dili, the capital of the troubled territory of East Timor. David Butler reports from our Southeast Asia bureau in Bangkok, a military show of force Thursday and Friday ended four days of clashes between rival gangs and confrontations between protesters and security forces in East Timor.

Text: Major-general Abdul Rivai, chief of the military region covering East Timor, said 120 youths were detained in the security operation. He did not say if they would be charged. General Rivai told reporters the situation was under control as he left by plane for his base in Bali Friday.

Security forces in full riot gear swept through neighborhoods in Dili and its suburbs Thursday night and Friday, occasionally firing in the air. Residents reported some of them sang military songs and chanted viva Indonesia.

Beginning Monday, clashes between gangs of youths supporting and opposing Indonesian rule in East Timor left at least two young people dead and more than a dozen seriously wounded.

Four soldiers were injured in the military sweep. East Timor governor Abilio Soares called on the military to restore order Wednesday.

Until Thursday, security forces had exercised relative restraint, using only tear gas and sticks to control gangs holed up in several neighborhoods in and around Dili. Most

shops, schools and government offices remained closed Friday.

Indonesian forces intervened in a civil war in East Timor in 1975, after the territory's Portuguese colonial rulers left. After thousands of deaths, Jakarta annexed the territory in 1976. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's claim to sovereignty over East Timor.

The worst clash between pro-independence East Timorese and Indonesian security forces occurred in November, 1991, when troops fired on a crowd in a Dili cemetery, killing at least 50—and possibly more than 100 demonstrators.

In an interview with a Portuguese radio station Thursday, East Timorese resistance leader José Ramos Horta, who is based in Australia, likened this week's military action to the 1991 killings. He also claimed security forces had killed at least six young people. That claim could not be independently confirmed.

Analysts say they anticipate further unrest in the territory on the anniversary of the cemetery killings next month.

“PLEASE DO NOT MINIMISE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE HEROIC PROTESTS”

Publico, 14 October 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Eyewitness account of the confrontations in Dili.

A leading figure in Timorese life managed to send to Lisbon a first-hand account of the events which last Thursday rocked East Timor's capital city. The source of this testimony—appeal is reliable but, for obvious reasons, *Publico* is unable to reveal the name of its author.

“This afternoon, Indonesian forces of occupation unleashed new violence on the civilian population, and particularly upon our young people.

They started by throwing gas canisters, and then opening fire with their automatic weapons and stoning houses.

They went on to force their way into people's homes and, with total contempt and using unrestrained violence, they tortured the families they found inside. People were later taken to what was formerly the hospital in Lahane. It is now occupied by Indonesian troops. Just yesterday and today over 40 seriously injured people were taken there, and it is now known that some people were simply murdered in their homes during the raids. This time, one of the military's victims was one of their collaborators, Aleixo Cobra, who used to work for

them as an agent provocateur among young people.

Many of the local people, who feel like animals waiting to be slaughtered by the Indonesians, are appealing to the international community. The Indonesians are turning Timor into a hunting ground for human beings.

According to the local Indonesian newspaper STT, the person responsible for today's bloody operation was the present Governor, Abilio Soares, as he is reported to have requested it.

Also, people here are saying that another reason for this violence is that Indonesian leaders want to aggravate the situation in Timor with bloody confrontation, and to weaken the prestige of the Bishop. It is as if they are saying sarcastically “just look at the kind of peace the Bishop has arranged.” The truth is that the Bishop and the people really do want peace. This was made crystal clear by what happened at the end of the meeting in Austria. All the Timorese present gathered unanimously around their Bishop and signed for unity and peace. However, neither the Indonesian Government and nor its army want peace. What they want is war.

The Government is not interested in peace. It had to encourage disunity and continue the war. That is what is happening now. The events of the past few days have led the older people to remind the younger ones about the destruction of the massacres perpetrated by the very same Indonesian army, in the neighbourhoods, streets and homes throughout Dili from 7 December 1975.

Memories have started flooding back to us of the piles of bodies that stretched along the beach at Lecidere. Many of the victims were killed on the Ponte Cais in Dili. Recent days have also reminded us of Tasi Tolu, scenario of huge massacres after 1975. Lorry loads of prisoners taken from Balide district and from torture centres in Vila Verde and Santayo were taken to those lakes where the Indonesian army summarily executed hundreds of Timorese men and women.

People even remarked at the time that the waters of Tasi Tolu had turned red. Everything the Timorese feared from the start is beginning to come true: the Indonesian Government and army came to Timor to exterminate it.

The people feel that no high-ranking person in the administration is concerned about the real interests of the population.

Here are some recent clear examples: the continuation of systematic sterilisation of Timorese women; the sending of two thousand new Timorese civil servants, after a short training period, to villages around Java. Many of them are young single girls,

aged between 20 to 30. At the same time, however, two thousand Indonesian civil servants are about to arrive in Timor, like an invading administrative army. This is why the people believe that nobody is concerned or able enough to defend their interests and future.

Meanwhile, additional military forces are disembarking in Timor. Four days ago, we saw four large vessels unloading Indonesian troops.

Furthermore, the Indonesian army has just recruited and quickly trained two thousand young Timorese, who are mostly illiterate and lacking any motivation, to be sent to the front of the Indonesian battalions who are hunting the Commander of the Resistance in the bush.

Many people here are longing for a UN Security Council decision to send a multinational force, under UN control, to Timor in order to put an end to the banditry of the Indonesian army which, for the past 20 years, has been destroying an entire nation and its culture, while insensitive and irresponsible neighbouring governments have looked on.

Please, do not minimise the significance of the heroic protests of our young people. They are the expression of the long resistance of a people who have endured for 20 years an oppressor and unjust invader, 180 times more powerful.

TIMOR: RESISTANCE SAYS 5 KILLED BY INDONESIANS

Publico, 14 October 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Numbers of dead reported by Resistance sources in Darwin.

Francisco Sertorio Araujo, Saloman, Domingos Ameu, Francisco Soares and Amilcar Gonçalves. According to the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), these are the names of the five Timorese who have been murdered during the disturbances which have occurred in Dili since Monday.

Based on information received from the underground Resistance inside Timor over the last few days, the CNRM's list also includes the names of 17 wounded.

The numbers reported from Darwin refute the official Indonesian version, which continues to refer to 2 dead and 11 seriously wounded. ... The Indonesian authorities have also reported “dozens” of arrests, while the Resistance puts the number at 127 Timorese arrested. Yesterday, General Rivai, chief of the Military Command of Udayana, which is based in Bali and includes Timor, acknowledged that 120 people had been arrested.

Speaking in Dili, before returning to Bali, Rivai said that the situation was "under control," but warned that raids on homes would continue and that Indonesian soldiers would not hesitate to "open fire, aiming at the feet" of anyone disobeying the occupier's orders.

Our Lady of Fatima

According to sources reporting to LUSA and various international news agencies, after a night of intense house to house searches, it seemed yesterday that the open confrontations of recent days had given way to a climate of tension.

About 6,000 Timorese had taken part in the traditional Our Lady of Fatima procession, which ended before sundown, leaving the streets of Dili deserted by nightfall. The procession, which usually attracts greater numbers and ends later, went off without incident.

Still according to the LUSA report, the only incident is said to have occurred when a Republic of East Timor flag was hoisted in the Matadouro neighbourhood, the "general headquarters" of young pro-independence activists.

Meanwhile, many military vehicles could be seen on the capital city's streets. According to the source referred to by LUSA, the vehicles were crammed with soldiers acting in a clearly "provocative, arrogant and contemptuous manner" towards the Timorese.

The main concern now is about the young people in detention. Among them are said to be two guerrillas. Many of them are reported to have been taken to the Comoro police headquarters, outside the city.

Comoro is a very familiar name to the Timorese: it was there that the Indonesian military took Xanana Gusmão after his capture. It was there that many of those arrested in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre were taken. Those who came out alive brought with them accounts of torture and ill-treatment, and had the scars to prove it.

MANUEL CARRASCALÃO ASKS FOR HELP

From TAPOL, 15 Oct.

Local Timorese parliamentarian, Manuel Carrascalão, has phoned Portuguese radio with a call for international action. Carrascalão did a drive through Dili suburbs on Friday, October 13 following the killings and multitude of arrests and stopped at many houses to see how people were doing. To his surprise, he found only women and children. All the men and boys had disappeared; whether they had been rounded up by the army, or had fled to the mountains to avoid the army, it was not clear.

As well, Indonesia's Minister for Religion is en route to the Vatican to see if the special status afforded East Timor could be removed, placing the Church in Timor under the authority of the Indonesian Catholic Church. The Minister is also asking that Bishop Belo be withdrawn from his current position.

Both of these items require urgent international action, possibly at the level of the UN. Please ensure that the relevant people within your governments are informed and asked to take action.

DILI UNDER SIEGE

By James Balowski, Green Left Weekly, Oct. 15

For almost a week, thousands of East Timorese youths have taken to the streets of Dili, East Timor in a series of violent clashes with Indonesian security forces. Although exact figures are unclear, reports from various sources suggest that several people have been killed, at least 15 hospitalised and scores of others suffered minor injuries. On October 13, after a massive deployment of security forces and the arrest of 120 people, that military announced that it finally had the situation "under control."

Riots have swept through several cities in East Timor since January. The latest outbreak began on October 10 and, according to Jakarta-appointed governor, Abilio Soares, started after fighting broke out between two gangs of youths, one led by Bobby Xavier, who he referred to as a well-known "anti-Indonesian activist," and the other led by Alexio Cobra, who was named earlier this year as the person responsible for organising the notorious death squads popularly referred to as the "Ninja gangs."

A number of eyewitness sources in Dili, however, told Green Left on October 13 that the incident was precipitated by a house search by security forces for people allegedly involved in last month's "rioting." Trouble began around 3pm after police detained Xavier during a search of the Matadouro neighbourhood, a suburb known for its pro-independence sympathies. Xavier was convicted and sentenced in 1991 in connection with the Motael Church killing two weeks before the Santa Cruz massacre. He was released from Kupang prison about a year ago.

Manuel Carrascalão too, a member of the regional assembly, asserts the violence erupted when Xavier resisted arrest because police failed to produce a warrant. When police took Xavier away, groups of youths retaliated by going to a kampung inhabited by Sulawesi migrants and pro-Indonesian East Timorese and taking three police offi-

cers hostage. The confrontation quickly escalated into a street battle with police firing tear-gas into the crowd. Two people were killed by stab wounds and slashings with machetes.

Within a few hours, demonstrators calling for Xavier's release gathered in front of the Indonesian secret service headquarters in the suburb of Colmera. Students from a local university rallied in the city centre protesting the increased military presence in the territory. In an unprecedented move, the authorities released Xavier in exchange for the hostages.

Unrest continued the next day, with confrontations between security forces and local residents breaking out across Dili. It was during these clashes that military intelligence operatives kidnapped and killed 19 year-old Francisco (Chico) Seltorio.

During the clashes, young people ramaged through streets in the suburbs of Matadouro, Vila Verde, Audian and Kaikoli, setting tires alight and destroying cars, including an anti-riot police vehicle. Police admitted that six people were arrested and 12 badly injured, including two police officers. Protesters erected barricades around the suburbs of Matadouro, Kaikoli, Villa Verde and Audian to prevent security forces from entering and arresting those involved in the earlier protests.

By late afternoon on October 11 the security forces had broken though barricades in all of the neighbourhoods except Matadouro. At least 50 people were reported to have been injured during the operation.

At a press conference held that day, Soares, flanked by military and police commanders, said "I appeal to the security apparatus to immediately restore order to Dili and take legal action against whoever is involved." Police chief Andreas Sugianto told the conference that those involved would be arrested if they did not turn themselves in. "We know where all the offenders live and only need to summon them and if they don't answer we will come for them," he said.

Later that day, the British human rights organisation, TAPOL, reported that shots had been fired in different parts of the city. Witnesses told Green Left that shootings had taken place in the neighbourhoods of Audian, Vila Verde and Bairro Pite and that residents were not able to leave their houses because of the huge presence of troops, with many houses being searched.

On this day, 15 people were seriously wounded and three killed. Several sources have confirmed that the dead youths are Francisco Soares, Domingos Ameu and Amilcar Gonçalves.

On the morning of October 12, five others were arrested and that night Xavier's

brother, Francisco, was run down by a military vehicle.

On October 13, commander of the Udayana military command which covers East Timor, Major-General Abdul Rivai, announced that security forces had finally regained control of the city and had detained a total of 120 people during the unrest. The identities and whereabouts of those arrested have not been released. Amnesty International has expressed grave concerns over the arrests saying that the torture of political detainees there is routine.

The Indonesian government has said the events resulted from ethnic and religious differences, and portrayed the Indonesian military as the defenders of law and order. But East Timor's Bishop Carlos Belo has rejected this saying that religion and the independence cause have become intertwined. "We have been patient for too long, the Timorese people are treated like chickens or ducks, shoo them here, shoo them there. Policies must be changed" he said.

Other observers have remarked that the spontaneous and widespread nature of the violence reflects a general anger which is becoming increasingly difficult to contain.

Many residents believe the security forces and Indonesia's extensive intelligence network provoked the trouble last week to justify another crackdown on the resistance. One source in Dili told Green Left that it was a prelude to a new offensive against resistance forces in the mountains, planned for late October and November. Resistance sources have reported that 10 tanks had already disembarked and that groups of masked "Ninjas" had re-emerged in the territory, intimidating people suspected of pro-independence activities.

With the large number of anniversaries coming up — the killing of Sebastião Gomes on October 28, the November 12 Santa Cruz massacre and the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion on December 7 — Jakarta may want to ensure that they have as many troops as possible in Dili over the next few months.

TIMORESE YOUTH ROUND-UP CONTINUES

The New Zealand Herald. Tuesday, 17 October 1995, Reuter.

DILI- Indonesia pressed on with its house-to-house arrests of East Timorese suspected of being involved in last week's rioting, rounding up dozens and vowing to detain more, the region's police chief said yesterday.

Witness reported several mass arrests in the capital Dili, including the capture of up to 30 youths outside a Roman Catholic

school in the suburb of Balide Raihun early yesterday.

"I will continue to arrest them because if we don't do so they will disturb Dili. If they continue their activities then I will arrest them," said the police chief, Colonel Andreas Sugianto.

Police sources said 150 youths had been detained since late last week.

Authorities said the situation in East Timor was under control after the worst unrest this year in which two people died and a dozen were injured.

Security forces had largely returned to their barracks but were seen making occasional forays to several parts of Dili to round up more youths, witnesses said.

Residents said they remained afraid that the youths would be tortured, although the police have denied reports of routine torture.

A local legislator, Mr. Manuel Carrascalão said the sweep had covered most of Dili.

"Please arrest them if they did something wrong, but not if they have no idea of doing so. You are arresting people who did nothing and that is against Indonesian law," Mr. Carrascalão said.

One mother said that her son, Rui Pedro Lopez, aged 22, was detained on a shopping trip to the market.

She said his motorbike had been damaged by police.

"He didn't come back so I went to the police to look for him and they told me he was in detention," she said.

Colonel Sugianto denied the youth had been arrested.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it one year later in a move never recognised by the United Nations.

It has defended its rule, saying it has poured millions of dollars into the tiny territory.

EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR DENIES REQUESTING SHOOTINGS

DILI, East Timor, Oct. 18 (Reuter) — East Timor's Governor Abilio Soares denied on Wednesday that he ordered Indonesian troops to open fire on civilians during riots last week in the troubled territory.

"It's not true. I never asked for any killings or shootings. I asked the security officers to restore order so that people can return to their normal daily life," he told reporters.

Soares, the Jakarta-appointed governor in the former Portuguese territory, denied foreign reports which said he asked the Indonesian military to fire shots at rioters during

unrest residents and diplomats said was the worst in years.

He did not elaborate on the nature of the foreign reports.

At least two people were killed and about 20 injured in last week's rioting when gang warfare turned to stand-offs between youths and security forces.

Residents have complained of widespread intimidation, including shooting into the air, destruction of their houses and cars, and the beating and disappearance of young people as Indonesian security forces responded to Soares' call to restore order.

A number of residents contacted by Reuters on Wednesday said security officers had continued their search for suspects involved in the rioting.

"When I was on my way to the office this morning, troops stopped my car, asked me to go out and open my shirt. I did not know what they were looking for. I feel that we are in hell," one said.

Soares said 20 people were being treated at the hospital after being injured in the riots and more than 200 had been taken in for questioning.

He also denied another allegation he took part in night patrols with military officers to search for more suspects.

"I never took part in any patrol...when there was civil war I never shot people, let alone when I am a governor now," he said.

A senior adviser to President Suharto held talks with East Timorese leaders on Monday in what residents said was the first such initiative in the territory in years.

Sudomo, head of the president's Supreme Advisory Council, left East Timor on Tuesday after calling on local community leaders not to inflame the situation through their comments.

Participants in the talks said Sudomo spoke for two hours on Monday with some 50 local leaders, including members of the local parliament, to seek views on East Timor's political situation and future.

Diplomats said the move may be linked to wider, long-term efforts by Indonesia to gauge the options to grant greater autonomy to several provinces in eastern Indonesia.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year, in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

WRONGFUL INTERPRETATION

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Macao, Oct. 16 (LUSA) — The violence employed by the Indonesian soldiers against the Dili population is due to the wrongful interpretation by the military of what was the governor's intent, governor Abilio Osorio Soares' secretary told Radio Macau today.

"The governor said he wanted to keep the peace here, but what was translated by the Bali military commander and the Timor military commander was that they should act militarily in order to capture all the youths who had been fighting in Dili," said the governor's secretary. "The governor did not say to use firearms, only to keep order here in Dili. If there were shots, that is due to the Bali military commander, general Rivai."

The secretary added that the governor had gone to Jakarta to participate in a meeting of all Indonesian provincial governors.

JAKARTA CRUSHES DILI PROTEST

*Sydney Morning Herald, October 17 1995.
David Jenkins, Asia Editor*

[In a related report on ABC radio, Monday night, Michael Maher reported that many East Timorese youths are reportedly fleeing Dili for the countryside to avoid being detained in this 'sweep.']

In a bid to regain the upper hand in Dili, Indonesian police have arrested up to 30 youths outside a Catholic school in a northern suburb and vowed to press ahead with a crackdown which has filled the city's jails.

'I will continue to arrest them because if we don't do so they will disturb Dili,' Dili police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto said yesterday. 'If they continue their activities then I will arrest them.'

Police sources said that 150 youths had been arrested since Thursday. Last week hundreds of East Timorese youths ram-paged through Dili streets in 2 days of rioting, burning tyres and destroying cars in an outbreak that left 2 people dead and dozens injured, several by gunfire.

Last month there were 2 days of unrest after a Muslim official allegedly made insulting remarks about Catholicism. 6 police officers and at least 16 civilians were injured and 800 Muslim Indonesian immigrants left East Timor.

The latest clashes erupted on October 10th in the Matadouru district of the capital and involved hundreds of youths, some in favour of the Indonesian Govt. and others wanting independence. Timorese sources say that other affected areas of Dili included Becora, Bidau, Taibesse, Santa Cruz and Haudian.

A local parliamentarian, Mr. Manuel Carrascalão, said the sweep had covered most of Dili, including the capture of 50 students taking refuge in a Catholic clinic on Saturday. It was not clear if this was the same incident reported by another resident, who said that he saw up to 30 youths being taken away from outside the clinic.

Security forces had largely returned to their barracks yesterday but were seen making occasional forays into several parts of Dili to round up more youths, witnesses said.

'Conditions in Dili are back as usual, it is calm,' an official said. But residents said that they remained afraid.

Diplomats in Jakarta are investigating claims that last week's violence was fanned by Indonesian intelligence operatives seeking to provide a pretext for continuing military presence in the territory. diplomatic sources said.

'The argument seems to be that if there are troubles in the province, Jakarta will still need a military presence there. It makes sense in some ways. In other ways it makes no sense at all,' one source said.

Fretilin representatives claim the unrest was created by Indonesia's intelligence network. Much the same point was made by Mr. Carrascalão 'These incidents were not caused by pro- or anti-integration elements, but because of provocation by the military,' he said on Thursday. 'I think the military believe it's dangerous for them if East Timorese youths are united.'

Diplomatic sources say that the latest unrest differs from last months' in three ways — it has been confined to Dili, there has been less destruction of property and the trouble has involved clashes between rival groups of pro and anti-Indonesian youths rather than clashes between demonstrations against Buginese merchants and people from other parts of Indonesia.

Residents said they feared that many youths unconnected with last weeks' violence were being rounded up and faced torture in detention.

E. TIMOR GOVERNOR TO FIRE CIVIL SERVANTS

JAKARTA, Oct. 19 (UPI) — East Timor Gov. Abilio José Osorio Soares threatened to fire civil servants involved in violent riots in the troubled former Portuguese colony, the official media reported Thursday.

"I will take firm action when there is a civil servant found involved in violence in this region. I will not hesitate to expel them from government employee status," Soares told the state-run Antara news agency.

Soares was responding to reports that many government employees were involved in various disturbances that have taken place in the province over the past two months.

Some 142 people suspected of involvement in the violent riots were taken into police custody for questioning, Soares said,

adding, "If any of those is found to be a civil servant they will be expelled."

Soares said the activities of security forces in handling the violence has been "proper" because the rioters were out of control and committing criminal acts.

"The actions taken by the Indonesian armed forces are proper and do not violate the existing regulation and laws," he said. "The local government has fully handed over the violence to the military."

East Timor has been rocked by a string of violent riots during the past two months with the latest outbreak an incident early last week that left at least two people dead and more than a dozen others were injured.

Several days of violence occurred in the former Portuguese colony in early September, sparked by an alleged insult to Catholicism by a Muslim warden in the region. The demonstrations caused hundreds of Muslim immigrants to flee the area.

Soares also denied reports he had taken part in patrols and fired shots during the recent crackdown on violence.

"This republic is finished if the governor must be involved in military patrols. I have hundreds of thousands of military troops throughout Indonesia that can be called to safeguard the situation," he said. "Why should I take part?"

The denial was a response to reports by foreign broadcasters that military troops had beaten and fired shots at protesting citizens.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and annexed the territory one year later. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's claim to East Timor.

INDONESIA RELEASES MORE THAN 100 EAST TIMORESE

DILI, East Timor, Oct. 20 (Reuter) — Indonesia said on Friday it had released more than 100 of some 260 young people arrested after a week of rioting and police crackdowns in the East Timorese capital.

"We released them because they are just followers but there are still 162 people in the police station for interrogation to determine the extent of their involvement," Colonel Andreas Sugianto told Reuters.

"If they were behind the riot they should be brought to the court in accordance with Indonesian law," he said.

Military and police have swept the capital for the past week, searching for youths they believe were behind some of the worst unrest in the city this year.

Soldiers shot into the air, ransacked houses and intimidated neighbourhoods after gangs of young East Timorese rampaged through parts of the city, apparently an-

gered by a combination of ethnic, religious and economic grievances.

At least two people were killed.

Some of the youths arrested said they had been tortured in detention, including one who told Reuters he had been hit by wooden sticks and iron rods in a small, unlit room.

Sugianto declined to comment on the charge.

The situation in Dili remained calm but tense with most shops, schools and public offices open. Many people were still afraid to go outside, one resident said.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, annexing it the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

INDONESIA MILITARY SAYS RIOTS PURELY CRIMINAL

JAKARTA, Oct. 29 (Reuter) — Indonesia's military has said there was no political motivation behind recent riots in troubled East Timor in which two people were killed and about 200 arrested, Antara news agency reported on Sunday.

"It was purely criminal affair. Those responsible for it are now in police custody for further investigation," Major-General Abdul Rivai, commander of the Udayana Military Command, was quoted by the official news agency as saying on Saturday.

Riots and disturbances in East Timor during September and October killed at least two people, injured dozens and resulted in more than 200 arrests.

The disturbances have been partly blamed on ethnic and religious tension between the predominantly Catholic East Timorese and recent arrivals from mostly Moslem Indonesia.

Rivai, whose jurisdiction includes Bali and East Timor, said the military has concluded that the riots were not part of the independence movement run by Timorese rebels.

"We have so far not found anything to conclude the riots were part of a subversive scheme. So, for the time being, we consider them as a purely criminal affair," he said without elaborating.

Antara quoted a spokesman for East Timor police Captain Yohanes Wardoyo as saying 56 people were still in detention following the riots. He did not give details on the charges or say if they would face trial.

Indonesian Religious Affairs Minister Tarmizi Taher flew to the Vatican on Thursday for a four-day visit to discuss problems in East Timor, including religious tolerance.

East Timor's Catholic Church reports directly to the Vatican and is not a member of the Indonesian Council of Churches.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year, in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

INDONESIA POLICE CONTINUE SEARCHES IN EAST TIMOR

slightly abridged

Dili, East Timor, Nov. 2 (Reuter) — Indonesian police are continuing door-to-door searches for people involved in last month's riots in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, residents and police said on Thursday.

Residents reported security forces had fired into the air on Wednesday night to disperse a small crowd, and some said tear gas was used after a fire at a military petrol pump in Dili.

Police denied there was any shooting as part of the continuing roundup of suspects.

"It is big lie. Nothing happened. If you don't believe me please call the government," a police officer, who declined to be identified, told Reuters.

East Timor police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto later also denied the claim of shooting.

But he confirmed security forces were continuing to search at night for those involved in last month's riots in which two people were killed, 20 injured and more than 200 temporarily detained.

"I will continue to look for and capture the youths who are involved," Sugianto said, adding that 30 youths still in custody would soon have their cases taken to court.

Sugianto said no one was arrested in Wednesday night's sweep.

Manuel Carrascalão, a local parliamentarian, told reporters on Wednesday around 23 youths who were released after questioning following the incident had reported torture, including electric shocks, being used during questioning.

Sugianto strongly denied the torture report.

"If they report this nonsense I will arrest them again because they promised to not make any trouble again," he said. Residents on Thursday reported truckloads of armed troops and riot police continuing to circle the streets of the East Timor capital Dili.

Sugianto confirmed the presence of the security forces but denied authorities were using a stronger approach in the lead-up to the fourth anniversary of the shooting of civilians at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991.

OTHER EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

EAST TIMORESE PRISONERS WRITE U.S. CONGRESS

Translated from Portuguese

Semarang Prison (Java), Mid 1995

Your Excellencies

Illustrious Members of Congress of the United States of America

We the undersigned, political prisoners, survivors of the 12 November 1991 tragedy in Santa Cruz, Dili, East Timor, take the liberty of addressing this prestigious legislative body of the great nation of North America, expressing our greatest consideration and respect for the manner in which the Congress has directed its attention and concern towards the events that have developed in East Timor.

By means of this letter we would like to present Your Excellencies the image of the present situation "in loco" in East Timor, after the massacre of 12 November 1991 in Santa Cruz, Dili.

The continuing presence in East Timor of the Indonesian armed forces has generated systematic human-rights violations through the course of two decades of occupation. In fact, the International Red Cross has kept record of the more recent arrests and murders of civilians, and the disappearance of over twenty East Timorese civilians in the period from January to July, generating an increasingly tense situation.

The establishment of a climate of terror fostered by the military oppression of police character, through the creation of terrorist groups supported by the Indonesian Intelligence Service, intended to create an environment of intimidation, has caused the exodus of the Timorese youth from the territory. On the other hand, we observe a renewed massive wave of Indonesian settlers, who arrive in East Timor and are positioned in the strategic and most fertile land in the territory. Meanwhile, the Timorese population is forcibly pulled out of its villages and placed in new concentration camps created by the Indonesian territorial forces with the purpose of dismantling popular resistance. Moreover, the Indonesian forces have promoted social disturbances in the main East Timorese cities, with the intent of portraying the National Resistance as consisting of bandit groups, removing from the picture all political character, and the demand for self-determination by the East Timorese people. And there is the continual

politics of "Divide and Conquer" designed to conceal the true common political goals of the people, projecting to the World the wrong image of the East Timor conflict being a war between brothers.

The most recent upheavals, which have included nearly the entire East Timor territory, are reminiscent of a volcanic eruption, in which lava accumulated for years is finally expelled. The strong motivation for this wave of brute-force action against the Indonesian colonizers is the chagrin of this defenseless People, accumulated over twenty years of brutal military occupation, rooted in the feelings of discontentment with the integration policy, with the military occupation, and with the growing human rights abuses.

No doubt that after twenty years of illegal occupation of the territory the Jakarta government today faces great difficulties in successfully carrying through its program of forced annexation of East Timor which as its twenty-seventh province. This is proven when even the pro-integrationists, led by current East Timor governor Abilio Osorio Soares, have abandoned their traditional political position by presenting a proposal to the Jakarta government for concession of political autonomy to the territory; which was rejected by president Suharto.

The existence of a national conscience among all Timorese is made clear with the success achieved by the dialogue between political leaders in Austria, from which resulted a joint communiqué which has much disappointed the Jakarta government.

We want to denounce here the way in which the Jakarta government attempts to influence the UN Secretary General to not confer much importance to the intra-Timorese talks, so that the Timorese political leaders will not come to take active part in the process that would lead to a solution to the East Timorese conflict. This gesture by Jakarta reflects its unwillingness to embrace the success achieved by the Timorese political leaders in Austria, and represents an attempt by Jakarta to abort the UN program.

Today, with the existence of the International Tribunal for War Crimes, we believe it is appropriate that the crimes committed by the forces occupying East Timor be pondered, crimes which amount to over two hundred thousand Timorese lives during a situation of war crisis, and which ought to be considered and condemned by the referred tribunal, for which we solicit that Your Excellencies intervene with this tribunal.

Today we enter the XXI century, in which the standards are higher and the need stronger than ever for the democratization of all peoples, the establishment of respect for

human rights, and the importance of World solidarity; in order to achieve more just social conditions, human dignity, and for that the value attached to human rights places these at the center, not at the periphery, of the concerns of World political leaders.

We are confident that the US Congress, presently dominated by an overwhelming majority of members of the Republican Party, will not conform itself with the present situation of conflict in East Timor. On the contrary, we believe that the actions of this prestigious Congress with respect to East Timor should in the future be more determined and forceful. And we believe it is fair that the solution to the East Timor conflict, which has already exterminated two hundred thousand lives, not be measured with a system of double standards.

We wish that God bless Your Country and the American People.

Respectfully,

1. Francisco Miranda Branco
2. Jacinto das Neves R. Alves
3. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha
4. Filomeno da Silva Ferreira
5. Saturnino da Costa Belo
6. Juvencio de Jesus Martins

TIMORESE ON TRIAL FOR HELPING FALINTIL

Jawa Pos, 16 August 1995. Abridged

Matias Gouvea Duarte known also as Hunuk, 44 years old, is on trial in Dili district court activities aimed at separating East Timor from Indonesia from July 1991 till November 1994.

The defendant did not want to be defended by any lawyer.

Hunuk, who worked at the General Hospital in Dili, is accused of giving refuge to guerrilla leader, Xanana Gusmão and protecting him during an interview with three foreign journalists. He is also said to have been responsible for health care for the guerrilla movement and the clandestine front and supplied medicines and cash to the guerrilla leader.

He is being charged under Article 106 of the Criminal Code and he faces a maximum penalty of life or twenty years.

"BEATING OUT" THE ENEMY

From Timor Leste (monthly publication of CDPM — Maubere People's Rights Commission). September 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – On 16 February 1995, a document from the Armed Resistance Executive Council reached the world outside Timor. It

contained details of the tactics employed by the Indonesian army in East Timor.

"From the beginning of the 80s, the enemy has been carrying out surround and annihilate campaigns. These tactics are supported by air, sea and land bombardment. Furthermore, they have been using the local population in their raids."

POSITIONING OF GROUND TROOPS

Indonesian troops are positioned along the main access routes usually used by the guerrillas. Along the less frequently used paths — the ones they think will be used by guerrillas to escape from the encircling troops — local people are positioned, accompanied by a small number of troops. Once this has been set up, they send out platoons (...) which they call 'hunting parties' to locate the hideouts and put the guerrillas on the run, while another group in the rearguard starts firing, and a third main body of men advance noisily — like the beaters in a hunt — (firing their weapons, shouting and sounding bamboo instruments which used to be used to frighten away monkeys raiding crops).

These were the tactics used from 1983 to 1987, although at that time the local population was not involved.

From 1987 to 1990, the enemy also used these tactics, adjusting them according to their estimates of guerrilla presence. The enemy was unaware, however, of the numbers of guerrillas in each region, its equipment, and who the key leaders were. In regions where there were constant guerrilla attacks, large-scale hunting operations of this kind were carried out. In such operations, 3 to 5 battalions would be employed in addition to 2 or 3 companies of armed native people called Alfas (lately referred to as Militarasi). Smaller-scale operations (with 1 to 3 battalions plus armed natives) are carried out in regions where there is less guerrilla activity and a lower number of guerrillas captured.

The encircling and "beating out" operations last between one and two months, after which counter-guerrilla groups (...) are sent in, supported by armed members of the native population."

TACTICS AND EMPLOYMENT THEREOF

"1. After positioning troops in the zones or areas to be "beaten," they start firing and carry on for days or sometimes weeks. After that, they move on to another zone or area, but leave behind some troops in their original positions. Those who stay behind stop firing, while those who move on to another area continue to fire. This is all repeated until the entire area or zone has been covered.

2. Troops take up a position and start firing their weapons while groups set off and advance one or two kms., firing at the same time. Between the first position and the group that is advancing, a third body of troops takes up position and remains there very quietly.

3. They position the main body of troops in a specific zone or area, leaving another (zone/area) free. Between the occupied zone or area and the free zone/area, there are groups of soldiers who set up ambushes along the paths and routes. If there is a road between the occupied zone and free area, they position groups along that road. For example, if the main body of troops is "beating" the area in the South, they leave the East free, and vice-versa, or they position the main body in the East and special teams are launched to the South, with backup from the Commandos and Militarisasi, in order to make us move and run towards the main body.

4. Once the troops are in position, they start firing to let us know there are troops in the area. They do not send out patrols, or if they do so they only go 100 to 200 metres from the base. They send out spies to locate our bases. On the basis of information obtained by the spies, troops are sent out to attack us, either by day or night, depending on whether the terrain is open or forest... When the "beating" is finished they return to the town or camp where their battalion command is located. In their absence, the counter-guerrilla groups, which consist of commandos and armed native population, take over (...) In the dry season, these groups ambush the water springs, while in the rainy season, they set up ambushes along the paths used by our small patrol or link groups."

DIVERSION TACTICS

1. When they decide to "beat" an area or zone, they travel in vehicles from the town to the place, and unload. They then advance, giving the impression that they are going to "beat" the area (to drive out guerrillas), but what they really do is advance directly to the chosen zone (...)

2. After a few weeks of "beating" a zone or a strip, they stop and return to one of the concentration camps in the area. There, they start celebrating and say they are leaving, and take all their luggage with them. They start buying things to take home with them (e.g. cockatoos) — all to give the local people the impression that they are really leaving. Before "leaving" they go around the town to say good-bye to everyone, and then set off at night in the direction of Lautem. However, on the way, they leave all their luggage and belongings at the Poskim (Military Command Post) and return the same

night to the zone or area in which they had previously been "beating," and start "rebeating" the area.

3. When they decide to "beat" the coastal areas, they use the same tactics as described above. For example, if they want to "beat" the Com and Tutuala areas, they first go to Lospalos and embark in Lautem or Laga, saying that they are leaving for Dili or Bali. Then, once at sea, they change direction and turn towards Com, where they disembark in the middle of the night, and do their best not to be seen by the locals (...)

In addition to "beating" areas, and the manoeuvres and tactics they employ, both the battalion troops and the Commandos recruit individual local people (lately, even women) called "panas" to find out where we are based and then pass on the information to them, in return for food and money. These "panas" go out when all the other locals are allowed leave (e.g. for meat production, etc.). They mingle with the groups, and use this opportunity to try to locate any trails or traces we may have left. Once they have passed on information to the enemy, the latter goes out to "beat" the area in which traces or footprints were seen. (...)

Recently, they have been using the following tactic: (...) the Commandos (...) recruit armed individual locals to contact us and say that they too want to participate in the fight. They even give us some details about the military, ammunition, etc. and stay with us for a long time to gain our confidence. They learn all about our habits, and when they think they know enough, then they betray us — either by using their weapons (which is not always successful) or by poisoning our food, tobacco or wine. (...)

VILLAGE MADE TO PAY A HIGH PRICE

The Sydney Morning Herald, September 9, 1995. By Daniel Pedersen and John Martinkus

With a single wounding and two retaliatory killings, East Timor's dirty war continues, write Daniel Pedersen and John Martinkus.

When five shots hit the police commandant of the sub-district of Vermasse, seriously injuring him on his way to work on July 27, the attack triggered a quick response from Indonesian Battalion 745 (Baucau).

By early afternoon, two East Timorese brothers were dead, with eight M16 bullets embedded in each body and crucifixes forced into their rectums.

After the 9am shooting of the police commandant, Indonesian military protocol

was followed the letter. A town meeting of Vermasse, 31 kilometres west of Baucau, was called. Soldiers then methodically searched house-to-house to ensure all inhabitants attended.

According to a highly placed government source, it was during this search that movement was heard in a dwelling. With no response at the front door, soldiers moved to the rear and encountered two youths attempting to flee. A volley of automatic shots rang out, heard by the boys' father, Mr. Cosme da Costa Freitas, the head of Vermasse village. He found the mutilated bodies of his two sons on the dry ground.

The same government source said that within the next 24 hours 18 people were arrested and put in Baucau jail.

Baucau residents believe several of the prisoners have been shot in the arms and legs and denied medical attention.

None has yet been released. Baucau — 132 kilometres east of East Timor's capital, Dili — is the second-largest city in the territory and was the tourist hub of the former Portuguese colony.

In the early 1970s, Australia's TAA flew a Fokker Friendship three times a week from Darwin to Baucau. Tourists, mostly Australian, found a picturesque town perched on a mountainside 500 metres above sea level and dominated by the imposing Portuguese colonial architectural of the marketplace.

The markets are charred and deserted now, the result of four days of violent demonstrations in January against the Indonesian presence in the town.

Tension between the local Timorese people and Sulawesi immigrants — who now dominate local business — exploded after the death of an East Timorese youth at the hands of a Sulawesi trader on January 1, according to Amnesty International and Baucau residents.

For four days, as many as 5,000 East Timorese marched around the town and gathered in the square outside the Roman Catholic church, chanting slogans against Indonesia and refusing orders to disperse.

Fires lit by young Timorese ripped through the markets and adjacent shops owned by Sulawesi immigrants. The military had lost control.

An Australian tourist visiting Baucau at the time described crowds of East Timorese standing defiantly in the town centre, watching silently as Indonesian troops circled them in squads of six or seven, their M16 levelled at the crowd. Soldiers sprayed gunfire into the crowd in the square outside the church.

Government sources in Baucau this month put the number killed at 25, with

many more injured. This figure dwarfs the official Indonesian tally.

A spokesman for Amnesty International (Indonesia), Mr. Tony O'Connor, confirmed details of the July 27 killings.

Of the January incident, he said information from the territory was so restricted by the Indonesians that exact details were impossible for Amnesty to gather.

At night in Baucau, the streets are deserted. The only movement comes from a tightly knit band of police outside their sandbagged post.

For young Timorese, the streets after dark are extremely dangerous. For those detected the likely result is arrest, torture and sometimes death.

Fresh memories of this year's so-called "ninja" death squads—groups of hooded men that roamed the streets of Dili and Baucau after dark, invading homes and beating East Timorese of suspected of independence leanings—ensure the unofficial curfew is broken only by the military and guerrillas of Falintil, the armed wing of the Fretilin clandestine independence movement.

MILITARY SAYS GUERRILLAS KILL THREE CIVILIANS

Reuter, September 2. abridged

Jakarta – Armed rebels in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor killed three civilians in a raid on a village this week, the official Antara news agency said on Saturday.

Quoting the Indonesian military commander in the territory, Colonel Mahidin Simbolon, the agency said seven people attacked a construction camp at Samagua village on Monday night, summarily shooting one man identified as M. Adil.

It said the group then broke into a nearby house killing a man identified as Martindo and his younger brother, Antonio Ximemes, both while they were sleeping.

Samagua village, 150 kms (95 miles) east of the territory's capital, Dili, is in Baucau district where Indonesian troops reportedly executed two East Timorese youths in late July.

The executions were believed to be connected with the shooting that month of an Indonesian junior officer.

TIMORESE WOMEN WANT FREEDOM FROM RAPE

Reuters, September 3. abridged

Dili, East Timor – For many East Timorese women, a right they have yet to enjoy after 20 years of Indonesian rule is freedom from rape.

Maria (not her real name), 25, carries the bulk of her unborn child under a dirty T-shirt, her long curly hair and dark features unmistakably Timorese. She is six months' pregnant by an Indonesian soldier who allegedly forced his way into her house in a village near Los Palos, past her mother and father, and raped her. "He had a gun and I was afraid," she said, crying. Pathetically, she adds, "I have not heard from him since. Not a letter or anything."

Her story and others are denied by Indonesia, which says no such abuses exist. East Timor Police Chief Andreas Sugianto told Reuters such stories were "incorrect, crazy and a provocation."

"There's no chance for such a thing to happen here.... It seems that someone wants to create an impression that this region is worse than Bosnia. That's not true," he said.

According to British author John Taylor, Timorese women have endured a prolonged campaign of forced sterilisation and contraception. Timorese sources say the programme continues, although Sugianto denied any such programme beyond government-sponsored family planning available in every province.

But the most immediate threat to women comes from the Indonesian army in East Timor, which officially numbers seven battalions but which defence sources put much higher.

Isabella (not her real name), 29, lives in the same village as Maria, a primitive but picturesque hamlet of leaf and mud huts perched on East Timor's craggy northern coast.

Isabella is perhaps unusual. She has two daughters, one seven years old and one two years old, from two fathers, both of them soldiers who she says raped her. The girls have Indonesian names in bitter memory of their fathers.

"I have no protection because I live alone with my younger sister, as my parents are already dead, and one of my brothers was killed by the Indonesians," she said in an interview.

Trying to work out how widespread such abuses are is hard in a territory where fear keeps most people quiet. Aid workers say the issue of rape is also muddied by strong traditions that press victims to conceal their experiences.

But a local church worker, Fernando (not his real name), 26, has tried to keep a tally.

"I have been writing down the names of the women and the names of the soldiers who rape them, and the battalion they come from," he said.

He says he knows of 50 women in the neighbourhood who have between one and three children each after being raped by

Indonesian soldiers. No soldier has been punished, he said.

TWO BATTALIONS WITHDRAWN

Jakarta Post, September 6, 1995

DILI, East Timor: The Armed Forces (ABRI) has pulled two army battalions from East Timor, reducing the size of the military in the province to five battalions.

East Timor Military Commander Col. Mahidin Simbolon said the two infantry battalions would not be replaced.

An infantry battalion normally consists of 600 soldiers.

With their departure, there are now five infantry battalions doing their territorial work, plus some combat troopers whose size is still smaller, than one battalion, Antara reported.

The territorial troopers have been deployed in the province chiefly to conduct civic works, including rural development.

The two battalions withdrawn were sent back to their home commands, one in Tanjungpura (East Kalimantan) and another in Sriwijaya (South Sumatra)

MILITARY TRAINING FOR CIVIL SERVANTS

Jakarta Post, September 6, 1995

DILI, East Timor: The provincial administration has introduced basic military training courses for its employees in a move to strengthen their discipline.

Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares warned that those who refused to take part in the course would be expelled, Antara reported.

"The basic military training is not intended to 'militarize' civil servants. It is intended to teach them discipline," he said when launching the course for the first group on Monday.

Discipline should be part of civil servants' attitude and behavior, he said.

EAST TIMOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

From East Timor Centre for Human Rights Information, Education and Training Report No. 6/95; 8 September 95

ETCHRIET has received the following information on a variety of recent human rights violations suffered by East Timorese.

1. Disappearance of Afonso Pinto, an East Timorese collaborator with the Indonesian military, and candidate for the post of Regent of Viqueque.

Afonso Pinto took part in the Indonesian-sponsored 'reconciliation' meeting in Chepstow England last year, where he expressed disappointment with the process of integration of East Timor into Indonesia.

He was last seen getting out of a helicopter with an Indonesian military officer with whom he had worked in anti East Timorese guerrilla operations, after being allowed to briefly visit his wife to say good bye before supposedly leaving on an 'assignment.' He has since disappeared.

2. There has been no Indonesian statement regarding disappeared Clandestine Resistance Leader Pedro Nunes (Sabalae) and his assistant Remigio Levi da Costa, who was captured on 29 June by the Indonesian Army, according to East Timorese Resistance sources.

Latest Resistance reports say that Sabalae was taken to Jakarta, most probably to the Army Intelligence (BIA) detention centre in Tebet Selatan where he was intensely interrogated under torture. According to these sources, he was then taken to Bali, where he is most probably being held at the Military Police detention centre. It is further reported that he has refused to talk, and was even promised that his capture would be publicly acknowledged if he did so. Resistance sources feel that there is a strong possibility that the two men may have meanwhile been murdered by the Indonesian military.

3. Resistance Leader Xanana Gusmão:

East Timorese sources inform that Commander Xanana Gusmão has been placed in total isolation at his Cipinang Prison cell in Jakarta. His is kept locked in it throughout the day.

In the past Xanana, while forbidden to receive outside visitors, was allowed to meet fellow inmates. Even this has now been prohibited. The only human being he is allowed to see is the guard bringing his food, who locks up and leaves immediately after carrying out his task. Xanana Gusmão was repeatedly interrogated by military intelligence officers throughout August, after copy of his correspondence regarding an East Timorese women's petition to the Beijing Women's Conference was intercepted in East Timor. A five months prison sentence remission, automatically granted on the occasion of Indonesia's 50th independence anniversary, was cancelled.

4. It is alleged by Resistance sources that last month's burning down of a market in the East Timorese locality of Ermera, was a deliberate action of the Indonesian Military to allow a pretext to arrest youths suspected of anti Indonesian sentiments.

As a consequence, members of an East Timorese clandestine opposition group called 'Fitun Naroman' were detained. First a youth named João das Neves was arrested and severely mistreated to reveal names of the group leadership. These were said to be Osvaldo the group's head and Germenino its secretary. These two young men were also arrested and severely mistreated until they provided the list of the approximately 200 members of the group. Many members were then arrested but subsequently released. Osvaldo, Germenino and João das Neves remain under detention.

5. According to eyewitness reports, two East Timorese youths were summarily executed by Indonesian Army members in Wailakama village on July 27. These were Marcelino da Silva Belo, a Catholic village youth group leader, and student Augusto Freitas Belo. The Army accused the youths of being Resistance supporters. The victims families were not allowed to keep the corpses, which were taken to Baucau before being returned to the village a day later. No confirmation of the murder was issued by the Indonesian Army.
6. Latest reports from the town of Viqueque refer to serious disturbances. In retaliation for the murder of two East Timorese civilians by Indonesian troops on 24 August, local youths have just burned four mosques and 20 market stalls owned by Indonesian transmigrants. An unspecified (large) number of arrests of East Timorese suspects has followed.

7. Two East Timorese, Marito Reis and Albino Lourdes, released from Cipinang prison Jakarta on 17 August after serving a 12 year sentence for political reasons, are stranded in Jakarta. The funding they are supposed to receive from the Justice Department for their return home to East Timor has not been forthcoming.

The two former prisoners are forced to rely on the support they receive from East Timorese, NGOs and Church organisations in Jakarta. They are in need of medical attention, but are not eligible to receive assistance from the International Committee of the Red Cross, as they are no longer political prisoners.

8. East Timorese sensitivities have been dealt a further blow by the formal raising of the Indonesian national flag on the top of Mount Ramelau on August 17. Mount Ramelau, the highest peak in East Timor, is a place of profound symbolic significance to the East Timorese.
9. Indonesian moves to exacerbate internal conflict among East Timorese continue

intensifying. Youths are being recruited for paramilitary training, aimed to gradually localise security operations against the East Timorese nationalist Resistance. Rather than have mostly Indonesian troops fighting East Timorese, the new Jakarta strategy is to increase the number of East Timorese fighting against fellow East Timorese.

Pro-integrationists Tomas Gonçalves, in Ermera, and João Tavares, in Atabae, have been ordered by the military to train East Timorese civilians to assist 20 battalions carrying out an offensive against the guerrillas in the mountains next October. Meanwhile Governor Abilio Osorio has been quoted in the media as warning public servants unwilling to take part in military training that they could be dismissed.

KONIS SANTANA WANTS SABALAE CAPTURE INVESTIGATED

Translated from Portuguese, summarized

Sydney, Australia (LUSA, Sept. 11) — The leader of the Timorese resistance, Konis Santana, has ordered an internal enquiry to the armed front, to establish the circumstances under which the leader Sabalae was captured.

Pedro Nunes, known in the resistance as Sabalae, and his assistant Remegio Levi da Costa, were captured on June 29 by Indonesian soldiers, and their location is unknown.

The Timorese resistance fears there may have been treason inside the prison where the two men were placed, and it fears that Remegio may have been killed.

"The fact that Indonesia hasn't yet announced the captures is an indication of that at least one of the men may have been killed," said a resistance source in Dili. "Until now the Indonesian soldiers who would either capture or kill leaders of the armed resistance were promoted, but this has now been changed." "As there is now more information outside ET, everything is now usually made public, hence we fear that one of the two men may have been killed."

Konis Santana delegated a group of the clandestine front in Jakarta to try to establish the whereabouts of Sabalae, and investigations are under way in Ermera.

"Given the location where Sabalae was captured, it is certain that he was betrayed," said the source. "It seems that once again the same thing happened as with Xanana."

There are speculations about the current location of Sabalae, Dili sources having indicated last week that Sabalae was taken to an army detention center in Tebet Selatan, in the vicinity of Jakarta, "where he was tortured and interrogated daily." According to

these same sources, Sabalae was then taken to Bali, where he is under arrest at the military police headquarters. "All indications are that he refused to cooperate with the authorities, even though he was told that if he talked about the resistance his capture would be reported publicly and his sentence reduced," indicated the same sources.

Sabalae had replaced Constâncio Pinto – the organizer of the November 12, 1991, demonstration that led to the Santa Cruz massacre – in the leadership of the executive of the ET clandestine front.

TIMORESE SAY NO TO APPRENTICESHIP

Jakarta Post, September 13, 1995

DILI, East Timor (JP): Many of an estimated 2,000 newly-recruited civil servants have rejected the government's plan to send them to other provinces on apprenticeships.

They have skeptically said that they fear they will be forced to accept foreign values incompatible with theirs or face discrimination in other provinces.

Some give somewhat simplistic reasons like they cannot afford to part from their families for one to two years. Several said they would rather quit than apprentice in other provinces.

The provincial government had planned to send newly-recruited civil servants to the other 26 provinces on apprenticeships before being permanently posted in East Timor.

XANANA'S DRIVER'S TRIAL POSTPONED

Jakarta Post, September 16, 1995

DILI, East Timor: The district court adjourned on Thursday the trial of a man they say was the driver of imprisoned rebel leader José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão, citing poor health on the part of the accused and the ongoing civil unrest in the East Timor capital.

Henrique B Da Costa is accused of assisting pro-independence rebels. The prosecution alleges that he worked as Xanana's driver prior to the rebel leader's capture by security forces.

The court said it had adjourned the trial because the city of Dili was not secure as a result of the ongoing ethnic and religious violence and that the accused was in poor health, Antara reported. The adjournment was the second in a week.

"It is impossible to try a sick defendant. Besides, security does not allow it at the moment," prosecutor B. Sudiro said. "Besides the accused is the assistant of Xanana,

who has ardent supporters in the area," he added.

In a previous trial session, Henrique denied that he had been Xanana's driver, maintaining that he was a farmer.

PRISONERS TO BE MOVED

From a protected source, by fax to Darwin, Sept. 15.

From Dili East Timor, we inform that Indonesian authorities in Dili have just decided to move 90 Timorese political prisoners in Becora Prison (LP) to Maluku (Ambon) or Java in nearest time.

The prisoners include: Henrique Belmeiro, Matias Duarte Goveiva, José Antonio Belo, José Pinto, Pedro de Fatima, Pedro da Costa and others. That is the anticipation of Indonesia concerning with the worst situation recently and also there will be a visiting from Human Rights delegation to East Timor, therefor Indonesia have much doubt about the prisoners. But all the prisoners families and the prisoners themselves do not want to leave East Timor because it'll be difficult for the families to visit, and also we worry about their lives.

Therefor, we require to all solidarity groups, Human Right Organisations or Amnesty International to insist on Indonesian Authorities in East Timor to stop their decision.

Thanks for the attention and help.

Timorese Youth Resistance

EAST TIMORESE PRISONERS TO BE MOVED

From ETCHRIET- East Timor Centre for Human Rights Information, Education, and Training

Human Rights Report No 7, 18 September 1995

ETCHRIET has received information from Dili sources about the impending relocation of a large number of East Timorese political prisoners from Becora jail in Dili to jails in Maluku and Java.

This relocation is being undertaken in the wake of mid-September riots following insults against the Catholic religion by a prison warden at Maliana. The Indonesian occupation authorities are reported to feel increasingly insecure about the prisoners and their contacts with members of the wider society, from which they are attempting to isolate the prisoners.

The planned move precedes the planned visit to East Timor by United Nations Human Rights Commissioner José Ayala Lasso.

Prisoners and their families are against this removal that imposes a further burden on them. Prisoners will be isolated from the

support provided by their families. This support is essential for them, given the deficient conditions of the Indonesian jails. Also, being in East Timor, affords some degree of security, lacking in other areas.

The plight of East Timorese prisoners in the hostile, ethnically discriminating and corrupt Indonesian prison system is well known. There are sufficient cases of East Timorese experiencing increased hardship after transfer to other areas beyond the reach of family members. The cases of prisoners in Semarang and Kupang are well documented. Possibility of family visits are rare, and depend on International Committee of the Red Cross funding.

In its report N-6, ETCHRIET referred to the plight of East Timorese prisoners Marito Reis and Albino Lourdes, released from Cipinang prison Jakarta after serving a 12 year sentence for political reasons. The two are stranded in Jakarta, as the funding they were supposed to receive from the Indonesian Justice Department for their return home to East Timor was not paid, in all likelihood due to administrative corruption. The two have had to resort to the help of churches to survive.

The transfer of prisoners from zones of war, like East Timor, is proscribed by the Geneva Conventions.

Members of the East Timorese Youth Resistance request in a message sent to Australia, that human rights organisations and solidarity groups do everything in their power to prevent the Indonesian authorities from carrying out these damaging plans to move the East Timorese prisoners away from their homeland.

EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR AND BIKERS ESCAPE SHOOTING

VIQUEQUE, East Timor, Sept. 26 (Reuter) — Up to 15 shots were fired at a group of motorcyclists in East Timor on Monday including the territory's Indonesian-appointed governor who were taking part in a rally, witnesses said on Tuesday.

They said some 30 of the 300 bikers were floored by the shooting but no one was reported injured by the gunfire.

It was unclear how many people were involved in the shooting or if governor Abilio Osorio Soares, who was leading the pack, was the target.

A police spokesman confirmed the incident and said that an investigation was under way.

Local security officials refused to say what measures had been taken after the incident which took place at 2.45 pm as the

rally neared Illomar, 150 km (93 miles) southeast of the capital Dili.

Soares told those who fell to get up and continue with the rally, they said.

Reports said some of the bullets hit a number of motorcycles but none of the riders was hurt by the gunfire.

Indonesia still faces small bands of guerrillas who oppose its rule over the former Portuguese colony which it invaded in December 1975 and annexed the following year.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's rule there and considers Portugal the administering authority.

The five-day rally which began on Monday plans to travel more than 1,388 km (860 miles) around the eastern and western parts of the island of Timor.

FEAR STALKS THE STREETS OF DILI

From Northern Territory News, September 29th 1995. By News Limited journalist, Nick Carter.

(Note that Nick Carter was advised to leave East Timor by Indonesian police after taking photographs near a military site.)

Fans of cold war spy fiction would recognise Dili, where fear, suspicion and double crossing are the staples of daily life.

The journalist disguised as a tourist is forced to play an intriguing guessing game — spotting the intelligence agents and informants disguised as waiters, taxi drivers and general passers-by.

As soon as I stepped off the aircraft they had me spotted, the only white face among the 60 or so passengers on board. Just two or three tourists a day arrive in the annexed state.

With a secret police force to rival that of Ceausescu's Romania, keeping track of visitors is not hard.

Strolling the streets on my first afternoon, I quickly became accustomed to the two questions locals stop to ask.

They are: "Hello mister. Where are you from? Where are you going?"

Anywhere else in Indonesia they might be taking as casual conversation openers by locals keen to practice their English or sell you a fake watch.

But in East Timor they have a sinister ring.

Those who are prepared to speak out do so cautiously, in the backs of cars, in open places where they can be sure they are not being bugged.

The ground rules are clear. No one is to be quoted by name. Even so time and time again over the next few days, my informants

plead not to be identified. We cannot speak freely they explain. This is not Australia.

On the streets the reason for their fear is apparent. Truck loads of soldiers patrol the streets, sirens sounding late in the afternoon.

A band of taunting Indonesian youths roam like a bunch of soccer thugs chanting slogans and singing patriotic songs.

"Provocateurs," my informant explains. One morning near the Santa Cruz cemetery, scene of the Dili Massacre, I am approached by a scruffy man and his friend who talks to me in whispered, broken English.

He has a story to tell and documents for me to be taken out to show the outside world.

He seems convincing but I hesitate. Perhaps I am being set up.

"I am a tourist," I explain. "I cannot take your documents."

By day four I am feeling more confident, cocky even and I decided to take a look at the mysterious building of which I had heard so much — the headquarters of Indonesia's intelligence service, Satuan Gugus Intel.

I heard terrible tales from people who claimed to have been tortured behind the compounds bamboo fence.

As I walked past the unmarked entrance casually glancing inside, two men dressed in civilian clothes ran after me.

"You are a spy, they say. You have taken photographs. What is your name?"

"Nick," I replied.

"Yes," replies one man. "Nicholas, Nicholas Carter." He proceeds to tell me the name of the town I had visited the day before.

For two hours they proceed to question me in the courtyard. Where had I been? Who had I talked to? Write it all down.

One man takes the film from my camera to be developed. He arrives back with a blank strip of negatives and says I can leave.

An immigration official who had been called to witness my interrogation offers to take me to my hotel. I say I will get a taxi. He suggests I should not.

"Perhaps it will be better if you leave Dili today," he says. It seems sensible advice now that the spooks had marked my card.

On the way to the airport the official says he is home sick for Jakarta, his wife and his family. He is lonely and unhappy in a posting everyone in immigration dreads.

He hopes to be recalled to Java later this year. "I will be happy to get out of this place," I tell him as my flight is called.

"Of course," the official replies, "So will I!"

As I sit safely on the plane I reflect that almost two decades after the Indonesian invasion, East Timor still has the appearance of a country under occupation.

The military is every where almost outnumbering the civilian population in many provincial town and villages.

Their presence is widely resented.

There seems little doubt that a referendum would deliver an overwhelming vote in favour of independence.

If there was any truth to Indonesia's claim that it invaded at the request of the Timorese, it cannot justify its continued presence that way.

But the reality is that East Timor's population are caught in a much wider international game of diplomacy.

Indonesia's growing economic clout together with its strategic importance as a military counter balance to an increasingly assertive China, mean that the West cannot afford to upset the New Order regime.

Timorese I spoke to seem remarkably understanding of the dilemma Australia finds itself in over East Timor.

One churchman said: "We are a small country, we cannot expect Australia to fall out with Indonesia over us.

Never the less it seems Indonesia's brutal and heavy-handed disregard for normal, decent human behaviour in East Timor has only served to inflame in situation, creating instability in a "province" three hundred kilometres from Darwin.

Australia should be using its supposedly close relations with Jakarta to suggest a different approach might be more effective, an approach based on dialogue, conciliation and self determination rather than crude terror.

TIMORESE BEAR THE SCARS OF REPRESSION

The West Australian (newspaper), Saturday September 30, 1995, pp.18-19

For the people of East Timor, the past 20 years have been dominated by fear and repression. NICK CARTER reports on how Timorese cope with the Indonesian presence.

EAST TIMOR'S ugliest secret is hidden behind a bamboo fence on a bland side street in central Dili. A secluded compound of single-story buildings has become a house of torture. The buildings are the headquarters to the Indonesian army's notorious intelligence service — the Satuan Gugus Intelijen. For almost twenty years the SGI has been a byword for fear and repression in the annexed State.

Those brave enough to speak about what happens behind the bamboo fence tell horrifying tales of beatings, electrification, whippings and solitary confinement — in short, the instruments of terror used by authoritarian regimes around the world. The Indone-

sians continue to deny that they torture people. But the physical scars on former inmates and the consistent accounts of human rights groups tell a different story.

Almost two decades after the brutal Indonesian invasion, the military regime still relies on terror to maintain its grip on the troubled island province, which is little more than 300km from the Australian coast.

Ilisiga still bears the scars from her five-hour stay behind the bamboo fence almost four years ago. The bruises from the kicking and punching have gone but the deep welts on her back and legs from the thrashing she was given with barbed wire whips probably will never disappear. Her crime – participating in the November 12, 1991, demonstration in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery where scores, probably hundreds of her fellow protesters were shot dead by Indonesian troops. Since then, the 22-year-old has been a fugitive. She is just one of more than 500 East Timorese who church sources say move nightly between safe houses in an effort to keep one step ahead of the intelligence agents.

Little in East Timor is free from the prying eyes of the SGI, a unit staffed by crack troops from the Indonesian military's Red Beret special force. Senior officers, mainly trusted men from Java, run a sinister network of agents and informants who infiltrate almost every area of Timorese life.

In the west of the city, a building which once housed the Marconi radio station now serves as a telephone eavesdropping centre. It was from this building that officials of the short-lived Fretilin government broadcast urgent appeals to the world as Indonesian troops rolled in and aircraft strafed the streets on December 7, 1975.

Those who fall into the SGI's clutches say the nightmare begins as soon as they are driven through the unmarked gates of its headquarters. Newcomers are often stripped and electric wires are attached to sensitive parts of their bodies in preparation for questioning. Former inmates say cries from the electrocution chamber echo menacingly along the corridors reaching the ears of others waiting in solitary cells. The mental torture is often worse than the physical pain, according to one man who spent two weeks locked in a damp, pitch black 2m by 2m cell. Interrogators try to get the names of other suspected members of the clandestine resistance. Victims face the stark choice of holding out against an imaginative array of torture instruments or naming others who, in all likelihood, will be wheeled in to face a similar fate. In the privacy of the back of a car, one parish priest told me he had lost count of the number of former inmates who had told him of being tortured by the SGI.

The scale of the military presence in East Timor is awesome. Dili is ringed by military barracks and the military presence in the country is even more overwhelming. Military checkpoints are dotted along every road. In many towns and villages towards the east of the island, military personnel outnumber the civilian population. There is still a threat from Fretilin [sic] guerrillas who continue to launch isolated attacks and ambushes on Indonesian military targets from bases deep in the forest. But their numbers are small, perhaps barely more than a couple of hundred. Their leader, Xanana Gusmão, has been in Jakarta's Cipinang prison since 1992 serving a 20 year sentence for insurrection.

The main challenge to the military is maintaining civil order among the estimated 700,000 East Timorese Roman Catholics among whom resentment towards Indonesians appears to be widespread and increasing. Any hope the Indonesians might have had that the unrest in East Timor would eventually die down in East Timor appear to have been dashed. In the most recent series of riots between September 6 and 11 in Dili and other towns, the most active group were high school students.

Indonesia's open-door policy, launched six years ago, which encouraged Indonesians to settle in East Timor, has only added to the disaster fostering hatred and envy. With the help of preferential loans and other benefits, Indonesian newcomers run most of Dili's small businesses and shops. Hatred of Indonesians this month erupted into full-scale communal rioting. The trigger was remarks insulting to the Roman Catholic faith allegedly made by a prison officer in Maliana, some 120km west of Dili. News of the insult spread quickly. The following day in Viqueque Indonesian-run shops, a mosque and a Protestant church were burnt. One day later the unrest spread to the capital with demonstrations in six different locations. East Timorese students burnt tyres and hurled rocks at Indonesian military units. A market at Comoro where most of the stalls were run by Indonesians was burnt to the ground.

The Indonesian Government has categorised the riots as ethnic and religious, attempting to downplay them as part of an internal, inter-communal division in which the Indonesian military stand as the defenders of law and order. But East Timor's outspoken Bishop Carlos Belo said religion and the independence cause had become intertwined.

"We have been patient for too long," he said. "The Timorese people are treated like chickens or ducks, shoo them here, shoo them there. Policies must be changed."

Opposition to the Indonesians is expressed in subtle ways, often through music. The Church also has become a centre for East Timorese nationalism, the only institution where business is still conducted in the Tetun language. Before the Indonesian invasion there were 200,000 registered Roman Catholics, according to Dili's Vicar-General, Father José Da Costa. Now he says there are more than 600,000.

"The people believe in the Church, they see it as being interested in their problems. It is the one place they can speak freely about justice, about human rights," he said.

But after 20 years there is a certain weariness about the East Timorese struggle for independence. While they take heart from noting that the United Nations has never accepted Indonesian sovereignty, they realise Western nations dare not upset Indonesia, a country growing in economic and strategic importance. Most now see independence as an unrealistic goal as long as President Suharto and the Indonesian military hold the reins. Their hope is that a different Indonesia will emerge under Mr. Suharto's successor, one which will give Timorese the right to choose their own future.

One churchman compares the route towards independence to the winding roads in Timor's mountainous interior.

"It doesn't look far on the map," he said. "But it always takes a long time getting there."

MORE INDONESIANS LEAVE TIMOR

Reuter 26 September 1995 Jakarta Abridged

Indonesians fearing for their safety after anti-immigrant riots have continued to flee East Timor in the past week, the official Antara news agency said on Tuesday.

It said more than 1,000 Indonesians from various cities in Java, including civil servants and traders, would soon arrive in Surabaya in East Java after fleeing East Timor.

"It is believed that 1,073 people from East Timor, who are now in East Nusa Tenggara, will come to Surabaya," Antara said, without specifying when or how they would arrive.

Hundreds of Indonesians fled to west Timor after two days of rioting in a number of East Timor towns in early September.

Antara said on Tuesday that 75 people from Maliana, 138 km (86.2 miles) west of Dili, arrived in Surabaya on Monday by ship and 81 others came last week.

The Moslem-oriented Republika newspaper said on Tuesday the ministry of social services' office in Surabaya would pay the transport expenses for people who wished to their home towns.

The paper quoted Suwarji, a headmaster at a government high school in Maliana, as saying he decided to leave East Timor after being told by a Catholic figure he was on a list of immigrants who would be killed by local Timorese.

Rioting also occurred in the capital Dili where angry youths set fire to the main Komoro market which was dominated by Moslem Buginese traders from nearby Sulawesi island.

Youths from the majority Roman Catholic Timorese rioted in anger at derogatory comments reportedly made against Catholicism by a prison official from mainly Moslem Indonesia posted to the territory, residents said.

POLICEMAN FIRES ON SOLDIER

Jakarta Post, October 2, 1995

DILI, East Timor: Local military chief Col. Mahidin Simbolon confirmed yesterday reports of an armed clash between a police officer and a soldier over a prostitute.

Simbolon said the incident, involving an officer of a mobile police brigade and an officer of Army Company 744, occurred on the night of Sept. 27 in a red light district in Komoro, about four kilometers west of here.

While there has been no word of casualties, eyewitnesses said the incident provided quite a spectacle for the locals. Details of the argument between the two officers were not immediately available.

Simbolon, meanwhile, told reporters that the episode was so commonplace as to be unremarkable.

'It was a common thing. In Jakarta, such incidents happen almost every day. You journalists should not make it look like something new,' Simbolon said.

Eyewitnesses said the incident started when a policeman opened fire on an Army officer. The bullets fired reportedly missed the officer. Shortly afterwards, a company of Army officers came to the policeman's dormitory in connection with the dispute.

Bystanders said the situation was brought under control after Simbolon and East Timor police chief Col. Andreas Sugiarto intervened.

EAST TIMOR GETS LOW COST HOUSES

Jakarta Post, October 3, 1995

SURABAYA, East Java: The state-owned housing company (Perumnas) will build 200 low cost houses in East Timor this year to help fill the glut of applications in Indonesia's youngest province.

The head of Perumnas regional IV division, Soedmanto, told journalists here Monday that the waiting list for low cost housing has reached 1,000 applicants. The regional IV division covers East Java, East and West Nusa Tenggara along with East Timor.

As quoted by Antara, Soedmanto said that during the sixth development plan (Pelita VI) a total of 1,000 houses will be built in East Timor in the Ainaro, Gleno, Same and Komoro regencies.

Meanwhile in Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara, an additional 100 low cost houses are also due to be built this year. According to Soedmanto a majority of the houses will be allocated for civil servants.

UNPRECEDENTED PRISONER EXCHANGE IN TIMOR

Publico, 10 October 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Timorese activist Bobi Xavier, arrested yesterday morning by Indonesian authorities, was "exchanged" later in the day for a secret police agent who was being held by the Falintil, the armed wing of the territory's resistance movement.

This prisoner exchange — the first ever since Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975 — was Indonesia's way of getting around the outcry caused by Xavier's detention. A group of demonstrators, calling for his release, had been gathering in front of the SGI (Indonesian secret services) headquarters in the Colmera zone. Meanwhile, in the centre of Dili, students from the local university had also been calling for his release.

Preparations for the exchange of prisoners started early in the afternoon. Jacob Fernandes, a leading local government official in the Santa Cruz neighbourhood, mediated in the process.

According to Timorese sources ... Bobi Xavier's release was witnessed by dozens of Timorese, who were then dispersed by Indonesian security forces. Among the awaiting crowd were university students, who surrounded Xavier and took him away to a house in Becora on the outskirts of Dili.

23-year-old Bobi Xavier had been arrested once before after cheering long-live East Timor and Xanana Gusmão, in 1991 in court during the Resistance leader's trial in Dili. (Xanana Gusmão is currently serving a prison sentence in Cipinang prison, in Java.)

The demonstrators, who were demanding Bobi Xavier's release yesterday, were also protesting against increased Indonesian military presence in East Timor. Resistance sources reported to the LUSA agency that 10 war tanks had been disembarked and that, in collaboration with Jakarta's army,

the groups of masked "Ninjas" had re-emerged in the territory and were intimidating people suspected pro-independence activities.

RESISTANCE DENOUNCES "COLLABORATORS"

Publico, 13 September 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Vidal Sarmento, Secretary of the Manatuto Council, and Belarmino Lopes, brother of ambassador Lopes da Cruz, were accused yesterday of being collaborators, by the representative of the Timorese Resistance in Lisbon. Vidal and Belarmino are said to be acting in conjunction with the forces of Colonel Prabowo, Suharto's son-in-law, who is in charge of psychological warfare activities in the territory.

INDONESIA HOLDS TALKS WITH EAST TIMOR LEADERS

DILI, East Timor, Oct. 17 (Reuter) — A senior adviser to President Suharto has held talks with East Timorese leaders in what residents said on Tuesday was the first such initiative in the territory in years.

Sudomo, head of the president's Supreme Advisory Council, left East Timor on Tuesday after calling on local community leaders not to inflame the situation through their comments.

"Many statements put forward by some local leaders will make it more difficult for the government to solve the problems of the area," he told the official Antara news agency in Dili.

Participants said Sudomo talked for two hours on Monday with some 50 local leaders, including members of the local parliament, to seek views on East Timor's political situation and future.

"They were trying to collect information on the real situation in East Timor and aspirations of local people about how they perceive integration (with Indonesia)," one of the participants told Reuters.

He asked not to be identified. Another participant confirmed his account of the meeting in a Dili hotel.

The meeting followed a month's fresh unrest which residents and diplomats say was the worst in years. In a sweep begun last Thursday, security forces said they had detained 150 youths and planned to capture more.

Sudomo said his visit was connected with the government's nationwide plans for greater autonomy at the provincial level.

"There is no relationship with the rioting which happened in this region," he said.

Residents have complained of widespread intimidation, including shooting into the air, destruction of their houses and cars, and the beating and disappearance of young people alleged to have participated in last week's rioting.

Participants in Monday's talks said Sudomo's initiative appeared to follow similar unrest in September. They said questionnaires had been circulated two weeks ago, but reached only a handful of people before his arrival on Monday.

It was not clear whether the move, the first by such a senior figure in years, was made with Suharto's blessing. Sudomo is considered close to the president.

"He appeared to be talking on behalf of the president, but he did not say it directly," one participant said.

Sudomo told Antara that all sides should work to promote stability in the territory.

"The East Timor problem has not just become a national problem, but an international one," he added.

Indonesia has been grappling with unrest in East Timor ever since its 1975 invasion of the territory, when what was planned as a swift takeover deteriorated into a decade-long struggle against guerrillas.

The United Nations still recognises Portugal as the administering power and there are regular talks under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary-General to find a lasting solution to East Timor's status.

Senior East Timorese figures such as Nobel Peace Prize nominee Bishop Carlos Belo and Governor Abilio Soares have called for the former Portuguese colony to be given special status, but Indonesia has ruled out any such move.

In his talks, Sudomo called on East Timorese to work out together a definition of autonomy for the territory, which is treated as a separate but special province within Indonesia.

JAKARTA WARNS TIMOR OFFICIALS

The Australian, October 19. AFP — abridged

Chairman of Indonesia's Supreme Advisory Council (DPA), Mr. Sudomo slammed public officials for making 'hollow' statements as authorities tried to contain the damage from the latest round of rioting and arrests Antara reported yesterday.

Mr. Sudomo is on a 3 day visit to East Timor to meet public figures, military leaders and NGOs to hear views on regional autonomy, Antara reported. He denied that his visit was related to the riots.

'Before making any statement, make sure that your information is not biased or mis-

leading. Check and recheck it, or you will only be messing things up,' he said.

Sudomo named the MUI (Indonesian Council of Ulemas, the highest authority on Islam) as one of the groups whose comments 'have even made it more difficult to settle the East Timor issue in international fora,' he said.

After recent riots sparked by alleged anti-Catholic remarks made by a prison warden in East Timor, the MUI said it deplored any harassment and violence towards Muslim settlers in East Timor

The following article appeared in Brisbane Courier Mail on October 18th. No source was given. Some details are inconsistent with the AFP report above.

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'Many statements put forward by some local leaders will make it more difficult for the Government to solve the problems of the area,' he told Antara in Dili.

Participants said Sudomo talked for 2 hours to 50 local leaders including members of the local parliament, to seek views on East Timor's political situation & future.

'They were trying to collect information on the real situation in East Timor and aspirations of local people about how they perceive integration (with Indonesia),' one of the participants (who asked not to be identified) said. Another participant confirmed his account of the meeting in a Dili hotel.

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separate but special province within Indonesia.

ARMED RESISTANCE NOT 'MORIBUND'

From a protected source via Bruno Kahn, Oct. 20.

News from East Timor

1. From the PUBLICO newspaper of October 18th we knew that someone is circulating the idea of a "resistencia moribunda" (a dying resistance). This is certainly not true. Even if there is a strong youth movement in the cities, the backbone of the whole movement is the armed resistance. It does function not only as a symbol, but the organizer, the real political and military backbone of the nationalist movement. The youth's movement would have no sense at all without the resistance. It is not dying: more and more youths are joining the armed resistance, exactly because of its importance for the struggle as a whole, and also because they are hunted down by the military in the cities. The Clandestine Front is very shocked with this kind of statements.

2. The military and the SGI are still every day hunting down for members of the Resistance in the whole city of Dili and surrounding areas. Yesterday they took more 20 young men from Hera to the POLWIL in Comoro. Taxi drivers imprisoned, with no charges are already 20. The Indonesians are taking prisoners indiscriminately. On the 18th, they went to the house of Luis Barreto, a member of the KNPI (the Indonesian youth's association). As they did not find him, they took his young child of 4 years old into prison, after beating his wife, and smashing out all the contents of the house. The day before, they took Luis' wife and his son aged 2 years old for a day in prison. Late in the afternoon they released her. Today Luis presented himself to the Red Cross, and they took him to the KOREM.

3. The same strategy is being played out: the police, the SGI, and the military go around in civilian clothes, armed with machine-guns. They break into people's houses in Dili and the surrounding areas, and take prisoners. They must have made so much blood with every prisoner, that they started going to the shops asking the traders there to give new shirts for their prisoners, so that the blooded shirts are just burned somewhere. No one escapes this new wave of violence: even Apodeti people, even pro-Indonesians. The house of Mr. Parada's sister, the local Assembly's President has been smashed out. And many others got the same treatment, like Francisco Barreto, the Dili district Secretary, a long-time Indonesian supporter. Even their collaborators, like

Aleixo Cobra, or Bobby Xavier have been imprisoned. Bobi Xavier have been imprisoned.

4. José Galucho has been imprisoned yesterday at 10.00 am at his house.

5. Domingos Soares, 15, a resident of Camea, a student of SMPN was taken prisoner on the 18th of October. With him, were taken other seven students. We don't know of their whereabouts.

6. Elisio da Silva Neto, from Baucau, a fourth year university student, was taken from his house in Toko Baru/Bidau. We don't know his whereabouts since Oct. 12

7. The Army is planning a big military operation in November code-named SAPU RATA (eliminate). In the VIQUEQUE area only there are NANGGALA UNITS, Four Army Battalions (Bat. 327, 328, 413, and 406), without mentioning the KODIM. There is also the TEAM SAKA, TEAM SERAN, and TEAM MAKIKIT, Timorese units backed by the Indonesians. The Team RAILAKAN is operating in ERMERA region, supporting other five battalions.

8. José da Costa, 20, disappeared from Bekusi, Dili, on Oct. 13th, at 08.00 am.

9. Miguel Marques, 27, from Becora-Dili, taken prisoner on October 18.

FRETILIN IN REPLY TO *LE MONDE*

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Lisbon, October 20 (LUSA) — Falintil is “in high spirits and psychologically prepared” to continue defending the Timorese people in its struggle against “an increasingly aggressive Indonesian occupation army,” asserts the Fretilin, in a communiqué sent today to LUSA.

The ‘Frente Revolucionaria de Timor-Leste Independente’ thus reacts to the article published on the 17th in the French paper *Le Monde*, according to which the Timorese guerrilla is moribund. The Fretilin communiqué is signed by the external delegation, in Australia.

“The Falintil know that they cannot defeat the Indonesian army, in the conventional sense, but they know also that gradually and with persistence, they will irrevocably weaken it,” the text says.

The proof that the Falintil are “alive and very active” is the presence of numerous Indonesian battalions in ET, which “have recently been reinforced with over 2,000 new soldiers.”

Therefore, “to minimize the role of the armed resistance reveals not only ignorance but also a naive political view with unpredictable consequences.”

TWO DECADES OF DEATH, DESPAIR & TORTURE IN INDONESIA'S ACHILLES HEEL

*Sydney Morning Herald, October 21 1995.
Sue Neales — slightly abridged*

East Timorese village elder Adao Cabral was a worried man. It was Monday, September 11 and widespread riots between Catholic Timorese locals & Muslim Indonesian immigrants had broken out across the country.

Close to home, Cabral was also scared. The previous evening he had seen dark figures lurking outside his house in the small village of Luro, where he was the local chief. After a vigorous campaign about the new Indonesian school in town pating Catholic Timorese students to change their faith, Cabral knew he had aroused the ire of many powerful Muslims. Among them some of the 5,000 Indonesian soldiers living in the surrounding Los Palos region. He sent a message to his brother-in-law asking him to come and sleep at his family house that Monday night. But by midnight Cabral was dead, his body found on the floor of his bedroom, two stab wounds in the heart and the knife by his side. The local police said it looked like suicide. But Cabral's family and the local community are certain it was another political murder at the hands of the Indonesian military.

Luro is now in suspense, waiting for the official cause of death to be announced by the Indonesian officials who run Luro. It's an explosive situation — East Timor today is in a state of high tension, more volatile than any time since November 1991. Any small spark appears capable of setting off a battle between Indonesian soldiers and Timorese youths. Just as an alleged insult by a prison official in Maliana against the Catholic religion led to nationwide riots in early September, a finding of suicide in Luro may have the same disruptive effect.

Cabral's widow is reluctant to talk about his death. Conversations with a foreigner are always followed by a visit from the local police. But a local Catholic priest and friend of the Cabral family, Father Agostino Salicias risks speaking out.

‘There is much fear in East Timor, everyone is afraid,’ Fr. Salicias says, just hours after burying Cabral. ‘So people think its better if they keep silent. It is then up to the priests to defend the people and their human rights. It means I often have to go to the military and make problems. That is difficult. It is part of my job to give people courage. We can't close our eyes. We must

face these things and make sure that the truth is told.’

Behind the picture-postcard veneer of swaying coconut palms, coffee covered hillsides and blue seas lies an oppressed and sullen country divided by race and ruled by force. Just as sinister is the constant presence in Dili of thousands of uniformed soldiers, military police and intelligence officers and the paid informers who watch, follow and chronicle every movement in the streets. No one trusts anyone any more. Even in the smallest villages, Indonesian command posts perched on rocky outcrops remind the local population that East Timor is Indonesia's 27th province. Truckloads of riot police and soldiers roar daily around the province. Clusters of army men sprawl at roadside inspection points, demanding to see travel passes and frisky boys not yet in their teens.

East Timor feels like an occupied land. Dili, ringed by army barracks and police stations has been likened to a concentration camp. Normality is a life based on fear, brutality and lies. 17 year old Manuel hanging dangerously out of the decrepit minivan, shouting and touting for business as it lurches through villages, looks like any care-free teenager enjoying his first job. Manuel actually spent the previous week in a military prison in Dili, with his hands tied behind his back and electric shock wires connected to his shoulders and waist after taking part in the September street riots.

Torture is nothing new for Manuel. On his right thigh is an ugly bullet-hole scar, a legacy of his part in the ill-fated Santa Cruz protest march. It left 13 year old Manuel in jail with thumbscrews on his toes and his childhood a distant memory.

For many East Timorese, Santa Cruz was a personal breaking point. It drove some young men out to the mountains and a life of exile as armed resistance fighters. For others, the massacre reinforced a determination never to integrate with the Indonesian ‘invaders.’ One Timorese, imprisoned and tortured after Santa Cruz, said ‘The more you kill, the braver people become.’

For a small group of the country's intellectual elite, some of whom had favoured Indonesian rule in 1975, it pushed them into outspoken opposition.

Manuel Carrascalão is a powerful local businessman and coffee grower, a member of the local parliament, brother of an Indonesian ambassador and a member of the first Indonesian integration parliament in 1976. The thin, grey-haired patrician of one of East Timor's oldest families was appalled.

‘It changed my mind,’ Carrascalão said, ‘We don't have a democratic system here; we don't even have civil rule — its rule by force, oppression and suffering. In 1975 I

thought that integration would be best for the people. But they haven't given us integration, they have given us occupation.'

Carrascalão has decided the time has come to tell the world just how bad life in East Timor has become. He hopes his position will protect him, although his brother often tells him to be careful.

'It's true we live life here on two levels. We joke a lot and smile a lot and pretend it's a game. But mostly it's a very serious game we are playing. It's about truth and justice and human dignity.'

The phone rings. It's the ABC from Darwin asking about the latest riots. He answers calmly, relaying information about the numbers arrested, missing and killed. For most people such a conversation would be dangerous. For Carrascalão it is just a part of a new determination to make a difference.

'My people here suffered under Portugal and now they are suffering under Indonesia. I'm 62, I've been to university, I've married and had children — now, before I die, or even if I die doing it, I want to leave something better for my people. I hope by telling people overseas what is happening, some of the suffering can stop.'

Just before dawn in the beautiful hillside village of Letefohu, local priest Fr. Domingos Soares is talking about suffering too. As the sun rises behind the mystical Mt. Rame-lau, Fr. Soares is holding an outdoor mass in Tetun for his parishioners. The women are dressed in lace mantillas over bright silk blouses, gold coins glittering in their hair, their mouths slashes of betel-nut red. The men fidget in ill-fitting suits and beaten, broad-brimmed hats. Little girls in layered and faded flamenco dresses play in the shadow of the cool white church.

Life is simple in such a remote village — the houses are still bamboo huts and there is no power. But much has changed. The old Portuguese colonial inn on the top of the hill is now a major Indonesian military post. To travel anywhere requires permission from the village chief and a formal pass.

Children have to learn Indonesian, food is scarce and money short. Prices for coffee are at rock bottom and, the refusal of the Indonesian Government to buy Timorese mountain coffee has all the hallmarks of a conspiracy, Fr. Domingos explains. He is intent on finding a way to get better coffee prices for his people.

Letefohu, like most villages in East Timor's central highlands, is known to have rebel guerrillas living nearby. Many families have husbands and sons 'away' in the mountains. The Indonesian authorities view these villages as strongholds of resistance.

'So what the Government does is to refuse to buy our coffee,' says Fr. Domingos, 'If the families here haven't got enough food

and money for themselves, they are not going to be able to support the guerilla fighters too. It's that simple. But it means that everyone here is suffering. And when your family is starving, it's very difficult not to be tempted by their offers to join the police force for 150,000 rupiah (about \$A100) a month.'

Born and bred in the Timorese mountains and having lost several brothers in the fighting that followed the 1975 invasion, Fr. Domingos is determined to keep Timorese culture alive. He admits that he dislikes hearing the children taught in Indonesian or being instructed that East Timor is Indonesia's 27th province. He only conducts services in Tetun and makes sure that the children learn all their culture. He is building a new independent school with the help of money from Japan.

The Catholic Church has come to play a vital role in East Timor. Bishop Belo, neatly deflects questions about the role of the church in Timor. He denies that it has become a de facto opposition, or that it has any special function at all. Belo has weaved a careful line between the Indonesian authorities and his people for years. His presence can calm a heated situation. The authorities are often forced to appeal for Bishop Belo's help in quelling riots.

'People here feel like slaves in their own homeland; we are slaves to the Indonesians and all the power and policy decisions are managed by them,' Bishop Belo said as he prepared to make his annual trip to the Vatican.

'And you see how they [the armed forces] beat the people, they don't like to learn. Every time I go to see them, it's always the same: 'We will improve,' but where are the results?'

Bishop Belo has taken a letter with him giving details of previously unpublished atrocities and deaths. It lists numerous cases of killings at the hands of militia. While open massacres on the scale of Santa Cruz seem in the past, Bishop Belo acknowledges the underlying level of brutality and intimidation is unchanged.

The proximity of death is impossible to ignore in East Timor. Small cemeteries with blue and white painted gravestones litter the hillsides. Almost all crosses bear dates of the past 20 years. Every family has lost relatives or whole branches of their clans.

Another legacy of what Bishop Belo calls the ongoing 'civil war' is the sheer number of children without parents. East Timor's biggest orphanage near the Eastern inland town of Venilale is full. It is run by a rock-guitar playing American nun, Sr. Marlene Bautiste. Most of its 128 orphans lost their parents during the Indonesian offensives in the mountains or the ensuing tuberculosis

and malaria. Eight year old Nolasco Gusmão is an exception. His mother lives in Dili. His father is Xanana Gusmão.

It's dusk at Venilale and loud electric guitar chords are reverberating down its old main street. As she teaches one wild-looking teenager how to play the drums, Sr. Marlene admits she worries about the future for East Timor's young people and children like Nolasco. They are a divided generation. Half are angry and passionately prepared to fight for a free East Timor. The rest are content to mimic the Indonesian soldiers, devour Indonesian soap operas and earn pocket-money as informers. Most have been brought up with weapons and violence. Almost all don't have enough to do.

It was the former group who led the latest riots in East Timor. Throwing stones at soldiers, burning tyres in the streets, torching mosques and terrorising new Indonesian immigrants, their handiwork was a troubling mix of political activism and racial terrorism. Most were not born in 1975.

Armindo Maia, outspoken deputy-rector of the University of East Timor, sees such large numbers of young people rebelling against Indonesia as a stark reminder that the 'East Timor issue' will not go away.

'I tell my students the best way to fight is by brains, not by violence — I don't want to sacrifice our young people or to see them disappear or come out of jail mutilated and mentally affected,' says Maia.

The Indonesian government retaliates to such accusations with claims that millions of dollars have been spent on roads, schools and hospitals. Schooling is compulsory but now free and literacy rates have soared. Most children no longer follow their parents into subsistence farming but look for jobs as public servants, clerks, secretaries, teachers and tradesmen. Jobs and financial security is the aim of this generation. Whether they will get these jobs is another matter. Two months ago, 70 young men protested outside the Governor's office in Dili, claiming they had been discriminated against in public service entry allocations.

They said ethnic Timorese had missed out because Indonesian Muslim migrants had been favoured for the jobs, which with a salary of \$150 per month, a house and many benefits are a passport to security. Their calls have a ring of truth, less than 20% of the civil servants are Timorese.

Transmigration is a sensitive matter. New concrete villages of little white square houses have sprung up along the southern coast. The 150,000 Indonesians have a firm grip on the shops, markets, hotels, restaurants and the commerce of the towns. Already almost half of Dili's population is non-Timorese. It gives rise to suggestions that the Indonesian authorities are playing a

numbers game, certain over time that the combination of new migrants and next-generation integration will swamp the existing Timorese culture.

A visit to the newly-opened white marble museum in Dili gives credence to these fears. The entire multi-million dollar museum is staffed by non-Timorese. Visitors are shown models of traditional-style houses, tools and gardens as if they were relics of the past. Yet only 2 days earlier in eastern East Timor, the same artifacts were in daily use as part of a culture that remains alive.

Bishop Belo is a vocal critic of the transmigration program and development budget. He claims most of the funds have been used to facilitate the movement of about 17,000 troops in the country, to provide incentives for Indonesian immigrants to move to East Timor and to imprint Indonesian culture on Timorese youth.

'Who and what are these developments for?,' Bishop Belo asks.

'Materially the structure of East Timor has changed; but who is enjoying the benefits? My people are not happy.'

Armando Maia goes further and believes the only way to return peace and happiness to his home is an independent East Timor, led and governed by Timorese people. Unlike Manuel Carrascalão, who thinks pragmatically Timor could become self-governing within a wider Indonesian federation, Maia just wants Indonesia out.

Perhaps surprisingly, there is little bitterness towards Australia's unforgiving stance on East Timor. Even the fiercest proponents of a free East Timor recognize Australia's own diplomatic imperative to have strong ties with a powerful neighbour like Indonesia.

On a less formal level, Australia is seen as doing much. The annual visits by the Australian Ambassador are seen as important. In a new girls training college, the dormitory beds, desks and typewriters have been provided by Australia. And up in the guerrillas hideaway, the malaria pills are stamped with the mark of a Newcastle pharmacy.

Manuel Carrascalão is more critical. He believes that Australia should have insisted more of the profits from the Timor Gap oil exploration found their way back to East Timor — 'it's East Timorese oil after all.'

Up in Letefohu, Fr. Domingos appeals to Australians to remember their debt to East Timor during World War II. 'Your Prime Minister says there is no room for sentimentality in Foreign Affairs. But we are people and you are people and we all have sentiments and emotions, it's what being a human being is.' Meanwhile inside the Venilale mission, Sr. Marlene's youthful rock group are singing their way to their

own future. The words of the Tetum pop song 'Joven Sira Forte' ring out across the school playground: 'Young people, be strong; you are the future; you can change the world.'

LIVING IN DEATH'S SHADOW; THE LAST GUERRILLAS FIGHT ON

*Sydney Morning Herald, October 21 1995
Sue Neales.*

They slipped out from behind the simple cloth curtain in the bamboo hut, high in the Timor mountains under the shadow of Mt. Ramelau. Hair shaggy, faces gaunt and eyes wild and haunted, these two East Timorese independence fighters had risked their lives to come and talk about their silent war. With Indonesian soldiers living even in remote villages, soldiers scouring the hills and paid informers at every turn, it was a dangerous strategy.

It was the first time that either man had been down from the mountains for several years. José has been living as guerrilla fighter since 1982 while Roberto has been a fighter for 4 years. It was after 10pm on a black night. The rest of the village slept. Hands were held tightly, knuckles constantly clicked. At every dog bark or footstep outside, the room tensed and waited. Guards were posted at all doors and around the hut. An escape route through the roof had been planned. We all spoke in whispers. The night before, two military police burst into the hut where I was staying, aware of my presence in the village within minutes after my arrival. Westerners, especially Western women, rarely come to these mountain passes. It was difficult for me to travel anywhere without alerting informers.

In between bouts of tension, José and Roberto spoke simply of their preparedness to die.

For 13 years since he was 24, José has sacrificed all to wage a lonely isolated war in the mountains. All he seeks is to free East Timor from the clutch of the occupying forces. He has no wife, children or home. Just days, months and years of living wild and fearful amongst the giant trees of the mountain jungle, gun by his side, always moving, ever conscious of the roving Indonesian patrols.

José has seen many of his friends die: 'Living in the mountains, we know that one day we might die; but we also know that it will have been worthwhile,' he says.

'Already we have decided to die if we have to, for the right of our people to be free.' Once there were thousands of fleeing families living in the hills. Now most have taken up life again in the villages and there

are fewer than 2000 armed rebels like José and Roberto in the hills.

Their days are probably numbered too. A massive campaign began in September to capture the resistance leader Konis Santana, driven by the newly-arrived hardline military commander, Colonel Simbolon. Trucks full of special commando squads are now arriving daily in the central hill towns close to where the rebels are concentrated.

José and Roberto look tired and nervous. They wear old green and khaki trousers, carry a water bottle but no guns, they speak eloquently in Tetum. Only when they talk of their commitment to fight to the death for the cause of East Timorese independence, does a passionate gleam fill their dark eyes. 'We are here to tell what it is like in the mountains, what we are still fighting for,' José says, 'This is not a physical war for us. It is a moral war. We ask you to tell the world that we are not killers by nature, but that we are committed to this work because it is for our people. We are not doing anything wrong — our cause is just.'

José bluntly calls the Indonesians his enemies. He says their soldiers are intent on killing all Timorese rebels and are much better equipped than his men.

Roberto listens intently during these exchanges. He is a new type of guerrilla — a university student who was so shocked by the death of his friends at Santa Cruz that he abandoned his studies and joined the guerrillas. His life is now lived on the run. Small ambushes of Indonesian troops are their only tactics.

'We have no army, hardly any guns. Yet with our hands and our hearts and justice on our side we have kept the biggest army in South East Asia at bay for 20 years. We think this is some type of victory,' he said.

José glances at his watch. They have dallied long enough. 'We are here to appeal to all Timorese, both within and outside East Timor, to be unified in the fight for just one ideal — the liberation of our people and country,' he says, 'We ask too for anyone who can help to do something for us, the guerrillas in the mountains, because we are suffering. We will all die here without some more help.'

With that plea José and Roberto push back their chairs and melt away to face their fate.

EAST TIMOR AN UNCERTAIN PRIZE FOR INDONESIA

by Jeremy Wagstaff (unabridged)

JAKARTA, Oct. 22 (Reuters) — East Timor, swept this month by fresh civil unrest, is sometimes called 'Indonesia's Vietnam.'

As the Americans pulled out of Saigon in 1975, the Indonesians were just arriving in Dili, and they are still there nearly 20 years later.

Like the United States found over Vietnam, Indonesia faces the same international ignominy and domestic resentment that shows only signs of growing, particularly among local youth.

"I have never seen such a group of people with so much hate in their hearts. It's an ugly, ugly situation," one American visitor said after witnessing riots there this week.

And, while East Timor may be a lot closer to home than Vietnam was to Washington, for most Indonesians it is a remote and pointless prize.

"It has been a nightmare for Indonesia. For almost 20 years Indonesia's image has been damaged in the world community for violating international law by invading East Timor," said Constância da Conceição Pinto, a former clandestine leader.

Few Indonesians would concede officially that its invasion and occupation of the former Portuguese colony has been a disaster. The official line is that Indonesia moved in to restore order and that it remains committed to development.

"Integration with Indonesia has restored order and stability in the region and enabled the benefits of development to notably improve the quality of life for thousands of East Timorese citizens," the government said last November.

Historians say today's misery has its roots in the priorities of the Cold War.

As communist forces swept to victory in Indochina in 1975, colonial rulers Portugal disentangled themselves from East Timor in the midst of a bubbling civil war.

Afraid of the growing power of the leftist Fretilin forces and the spectre of a Soviet-aligned enclave on its doorstep, Indonesia prepared an invasion which it launched in December 1975, hoping its superior army would win swift and painless victory.

Instead, chaos ensued, triggering a guerrilla war that on a lesser scale continues to this day.

Famine and atrocities decimated the population.

The 1990s have seen urban unrest, from the bloody massacre of Santa Cruz — when troops were caught on film firing into crowds of young demonstrators, killing at least 50 — to last week's street riots and subsequent military crackdown.

A small, but symbolic, guerrilla force remains in the hills, irritating Indonesian forces with occasional attacks.

In the towns and in Indonesia proper an allied clandestine movement stages occasional hit-and-run demonstrations or courts foreign attention with well-prepared stunts

such as last month's bid by five youths for asylum in Britain's Jakarta embassy.

Indonesia bases several battalions throughout the territory, a craggy half-island the size of Holland, and appears to most visitors and many locals as an occupying army.

Residents, most of whom have lost relatives to war, famine or disappearances over 20 years, are cowed, sullen and afraid. Most observers agree it adds up to a stalemate that is wearing down both ruler and ruled.

"Indonesia must be aware that that a political issue like East Timor will never be resolved on military terms," said Florentino Sarmento, one of the few East Timorese figures critical of Indonesia who remains in the territory.

There are few signs that such resolution is near.

While Indonesia has spent millions of dollars improving East Timor's infrastructure, education and health, it has invested little in winning East Timorese hearts and minds.

Indeed, fresh resentment is building up at the influx of outsiders who have taken over much of East Timor's commerce.

"These combined factors, which have led to the social and economic marginalisation of a majority of East Timorese... are seen as central to the current problems and must be taken into account," a recent visitor said.

If Indonesia is aware of this it shows no signs of it.

A series of apparently spontaneous riots in the capital Dili since early September prompted a crackdown last week that netted more than 250 youths and intimidated whole districts.

Two people died in the unrest, East Timor's worst this year.

Internationally, the situation is far from resolution.

The United Nations, which does not recognise Indonesia's writ in the territory, has organised a series of so far fruitless meetings between Portugal, Indonesia and East Timor exiles in an effort to reach a solution.

While most nations prefer to skirt the issue in the interests of competing in Indonesia's growing economy, East Timor continues to haunt Jakarta in terms of human rights, with vocal lobbies haranguing officials wherever they can.

This does not exclude Indonesia from seeking a role befitting its status as the world's fourth largest country, but it does help dent its efforts to portray a benign image.

"They must come to realise that East Timor is not a problem for just us but for the whole of Indonesia, and that it is destroying both its international image and all

the positive things achieved over the past three decades," Sarmento said.

Some however see economic motives replacing Cold War ones in underpinning Indonesia's staying power. For one, a deal with Australia to exploit jointly oil reserves off East Timor is something neither country wants to lose to diplomacy.

With possible reserves of 200 million barrels of crude beneath the Timor Gap, the uneasy status quo is likely to remain at least economically attractive.

EAST TIMOR VISITS RAISE HOPES

*'The Australian,' October 24 1995. by
Robert Wilson*

A comprehensive review of Indonesian policy in East Timor looked increasingly likely after a rash of high-level government visits to the province, the editor in chief of Suara Timor Timur, Mr. Salvador Ximenes Soares said in Sydney last night.

Mr. Soares is also a member of the Indonesian Parliament. He said the visits could herald administrative changes in East Timor.

'Recently there has been a growing realisation among the Indonesian Government leaders that there needs to be a solution to the problems of East Timor. There have been indications that a review may be underway. The Minister for Development and Planning has been there recently, as well as the Minister for Religion. The Vice-President visited not so long ago and there was also a recent visit by the head of the Supreme Advisory Council.'

Mr. Soares, who is in Australia as a guest of the Dept. of Foreign Affairs, said he was hopeful of progress in economic and social development but he could not see the Jakarta Government granting independence or autonomy.

'It's not likely, even with a change of president that you would get a move towards independence. But the changes which can occur are not necessarily just related to President Suharto. They are also determined by local leaders and at the provincial level. You can have changes at that level.'

Mr. Soares said reform proposals to give greater autonomy to sub-provincial governments, including those in East Timor, held hope.

'I'm not saying that all you have to do is to give special status to East Timor — it's deeper and more involved than that. But I'm optimistic,' he said.

PRE-ANNIVERSARY CRACK-DOWN RUMORED IN DILI

Macao, Nov. 3 (LUSA) — Dili residents today contacted the LUSA agency in Macao expressing “great concern” about rumors that run through the city about a “large scale cleanup operation” by the Indonesian armed forces, which could start this Sunday.

According to these sources, the rumors were initiated in a conversation in Hera, a location about 10 Kilometers East of Dili, between two soldiers, one Indonesian, and one Timorese. “One of these soldiers said that starting November 5, a great disaster could occur in East Timor, especially for children over five years of age, and for those people born before 1975,” one Dili resident told LUSA. The soldier added that “this is our life in East Timor. Even though I don’t want to kill Christ, orders are orders.”

These statements were sent to LUSA in a note with the original version of the soldier’s statements in Bahasa Indonesian, and their translation in Portuguese.

“Could this be possible? Only God knows, and we can only pray for that God protect us. If you can, pray for us as well, especially for that God save the innocent,” said the same note. “Let God’s will be done, because us Timorese have become used to everything that may come to happen.” The note ends with a full transcription of the “Our Father” prayer.

After receiving this note, LUSA telephoned other Dili residents who confirmed the rumors that run through the city and that relate an alleged “large cleanup operation” with the proximity of the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre.

“There is suspicion of that something is being planned to mark November 12, and so this operation is being interpreted here as a prevention measure to abort any initiative relating to the anniversary of the massacre,” a Timorese person told LUSA.

“Anything is possible and these rumors about a military operation are being taken seriously and causing great concern among the Timorese,” said another source in Dili.

EVENTS IN WEST PAPUA

Editor’s Note: There has been a large amount of new information coming out about West Papua, Timika, Freeport, and related issues. *East Timor Documents* cannot include very much of it. To receive ongoing West Papua news by email, send a note to cscheiner@igc.apc.org.

FIRM “MORALLY INVOLVED” IN ALLEGED IRIAN KILLINGS

JAKARTA, Sept. 1 (Reuter) — A group of activists from Indonesia’s remote Irian Jaya province said on Friday that U.S. mining giant Freeport McMoRan Copper and Gold had a “moral involvement” in the alleged army killing of at least 16 people there.

Indonesia’s official National Commission on Human Rights said earlier this week the company was not linked to the alleged killing but said it would soon send another team to continue its investigation into alleged human rights violations in the province.

The first team returned to Jakarta from Irian on August 25 after visiting several villages.

“Freeport had a moral involvement in the killing because it took place in the company’s premises,” Phill Eravy, one of the Jakarta-based Irianese activists, told a news conference.

“The victims were kept in containers belonging to the company and those people were killed by the army members which guarded the mining,” he added.

The Roman Catholic church in the province has reported that Indonesian troops gunning down unarmed villagers in the Timika area, near the Freeport copper mine. The most recent report by the Catholic church in Irian Jaya accused troops of gunning down 11 villagers, including two children, on May 31.

Freeport, whose main copper and gold operation is located in the town of Timika, 3,275 km (2,046 miles) east of Jakarta, has been put in the spotlight following allegations by rights groups that its mine was used by troops to torture victims.

PT Freeport Indonesia’s Environmental Manager Bruce E. Marsh told Reuters on Friday it would be inappropriate for the company to make any comment before the human rights commission issued its report.

“But I think it is great that people are talking about it and discussing it and we are open and happy to talk to any Irianese people who are concerned about this thing,” he said.

Eravy said his organisation, The Forum for the National Attention of Human Rights in Irian, believed it was too early for the human rights commission to clear Freeport.

“It is too early to say that Freeport is not involved. ABRI (armed forces) are there in Timika because of Freeport. They are there to guard the company,” he said.

PT Freeport Indonesia has a nine percent stake in the venture.

NEW INTERNET RESOURCE ON WEST PAPUA

From: Carmel Budiardjo, TAPOL, Sept. 7

Dear East Timor activists,

TAPOL has set up a new conference entitled: reg.westpapua, networked through GreenNet.

There have been very important developments concerning West Papua in the past few weeks. Following the major ACFOA report published in April about killings and other atrocities in the vicinity of the Freeport mine, the Bishop of Jayapura came out with his own report of atrocities in the Timika region, close to the Freeport mining company. It has caused a stir in Indonesia, infuriating the military, but prompting a lot of publicity in the Indonesian press not only about the atrocities but also about the harmful role of Freeport.

The West Papua conference already has more than twenty topics, including the full text of the Bishop’s report and several interviews of the Bishop translated into English.

Campaigning on behalf of West Papua has now become a top priority. My request at this moment is:

- that you alert people in your country interested in West Papua who may not know about these developments,

- that you request your own network to take on reg.westpapua so that the news there can be more widely disseminated.

The massacre of 31 May this year highlighted by the Bishop is very similar to the Liqueca killings, only on a larger scale. The issue deserves wide international attention and condemnation.

For groups in Australia, I was struck by a remark by Amaral, a member of Indonesia’s HR Commission, quoted in *The Age*: “We know that this is an issue in Australia and we will try to conclude our report before the Bali meeting between Mr. Keating and President Suharto or there may be more anti-Indonesia demonstrations in Australia.”

The West Papua group in Australia doesn’t have the network that exists for East Timor. Couldn’t Amaral’s apprehension become a fact, with the help of East

Timorese groups, whatever the Commission comes up with?

To receive reg. westpapua by email, contact cscheiner@igc.apc.org.

Thanks for all your help.

INDONESIAN MASSACRE CONFIRMED

The Age, Monday September 4, 1995, Louise Williams, Jakarta

Indonesia's Human Rights commission has received confirmation of a reported massacre of civilians in Irian Jaya by Indonesian troops and will seek to complete its investigation ahead of the meeting later this month between the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, and President Suharto.

A commission member, Mr. Clementino dos Reis Amaral said witnesses interviewed by a four member team that travelled to Irian Jaya last month had confirmed that soldiers opened fire on a prayer group in May, but estimates of the number of dead differed from the 11 claimed in a Catholic church report.

Mr. Amaral said 2 new witnesses, who were among the survivors, had been found and a 2nd team would leave for Irian Jaya this week to conduct further interviews before the result of the commission could be released.

He said that the commission was aware of the sensitivity of the hr issue in Australia and denied suggestions made in a leaked Department of Foreign Affairs cable that the results of the investigation would be suppressed.

'We are under a lot of pressure to resolve this case, the people of Irian Jaya call the office every day. The results will be publicly released and released to the armed forces, we will not hide anything,' he said.

'We know that this is an issue in Australia and we will try to conclude our report before the Bali meeting between Mr. Keating and President Suharto or there may be more anti-Indonesian demonstrations in Australia'

Mr. Amaral who was part of the team that visited Irian Jaya last month said that the commission was investigating a total of 17 deaths and disappearances in 4 separate incidents in Irian Jaya since October last year.

Mr. Amaral said the commission had confirmed that 2 men were shot dead by Indo troops when they unfurled the Papua New Guinea (OPM?) flag following church services at Christmas last year and Easter this year. He said however that the commission had been unable to determine whether another four people missing had been killed.

The alleged massacre of 11 members of a prayer group by Indonesian soldiers needed clarification he said. During his first visit to Irian Jaya the commission interviewed witnesses who were travelling with the soldiers. They confirmed that the troops opened fire but said they saw only 3 dead. He said new witnesses who were with the victims at the prayer meeting had now been found.

'We need to know exactly who killed these people and why they were killed. What we know now is that soldiers opened fire but not who they are. We also know we have reports of 17 dead or missing people but we have located only one body so far.'

Mr. Amaral said that the people of Irian Jaya were very 'nervous and tense.'

'We know there are many human rights violations and that we have to do something about them,' he said.

Mr. Amaral said that the Commission was still operating without its own headquarters in Jakarta despite being established almost 2 years ago, in the face of international and domestic pressure over the Santa Cruz massacre

He said however that the commission operated 'very freely' throughout Indonesia and was planning to open its first regional office in Dili this year.

'We are facing many problems in the field of human rights in Indonesia, especially in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh. We know we are right to investigate and we are not fearful of doing something about the situation'

Note: The reference to the leaked cable is to reports that the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia had reported after a recent visit to Irian Jaya that he had confirmed the thrust of the recent ACFOA report that 37 people. He reported that he had gathered information from 'independent and reliable sources' that documented the deaths of at least 22 people in Irian Jaya since June last year. (The Age, August 30th)

IRIAN JAYA REPORTS

Australian Financial review, Oct. 24-27, 1995, Four part series by Greg Earl.

Sulawesi traders, Jakarta bureaucrats & Australian miners are pouring into Irian Jaya in a human flood that is transforming one of the world's last frontiers. But Indonesia's ambitious drive to develop its vast easternmost territory is fraught with dangers for Australia — perhaps even more troublesome than East Timor.

Jakarta has flagged a major role for Australia and some companies are already involved, but the business links appear certain to collide with a raft of conflicts over the environment and human rights. Indonesia

has always seen the province as a resource-rich escape valve for densely populated Java but it is only now that western Indonesian fortune seekers are making inroads into Irian Jaya. Muslim newcomers recently overtook the province's 400,000 Catholics in a significant shift in ethnic balance. Of Irian Jaya's 1.85 million people there are 1 million Irian Jayans in a province that makes up nearly a quarter of Indonesia's land mass.

'Irian is a sleeping giant, but still filled with mystery. Unravelling this is a great challenge but the hope is great,' says Javanese engineer Mr. Soepadyo, who has the task of completing the long-awaited Trans-Irian Highway.

The business opportunities for Australian companies in Irian Jaya are highlighted by the \$3 billion Freeport McMoRan copper and gold mine which spends more than \$200 million a year buying Australian goods from Cairns. But a series of military murders emphasises the traps for the Australian Government which is trying to balance domestic concern about human rights and environmental problems against the benefits of strong relations with Indonesia.

For the Indonesian Government several emerging areas of conflict are

- * erosion of the rare Laurentz tropical glacier and the vast Mamberano river valley are bound to attract international attention
- * over human rights it faces the difficult task of balancing the interests of tiny native groups such as the 5,000 Amungme against the needs of 200 million other citizens

- * and over culture where the country's emerging Muslim technocratic elite will be pushing aside Irian's old establishment of polyglot Christian missionaries whose tiny airstrips and schools have paved the way for Bugis traders and Javanese roadbuilders.

After 40 years in Irian Jaya, Jayapura Catholic Bishop Hermann Munighoff observes mordantly, 'There is no communication with Islam but there is no war situation either.'

But a Sulawesi-born businessman Mr. Andi Ma'mur Madjid rejects suggestions of ethnic tensions; 'I think there is no problem because Indonesia consists of many different culture. I feel like I am Irianese.'

There have always been tensions over the effects of transmigration, sometimes flaring into conflict between the OPM and the Indonesian Army. But discussions with a wide range of government and non-government sources in Irian Jaya last week suggested that development pressures are entering a new phase. NGO sources say that new resistance leaders are emerging in different parts of the province, but conflict with the military is likely to be over local issues

rather than the broader old push for independence.

Jakarta's transmigration plans in the 1980s proved over-ambitious because the Javanese migrants did not thrive in the jungle. In more recent times there have been efforts to bring Christian migrants from closer eastern islands. About 20,000 people were relocated last year, mostly to Merauke and a new scheme is now underway to establish agricultural projects with about 70% outsiders and 30% native Irianese. But voluntary migration from other parts of Indonesia now far exceeds government-organized transmigration and has created the province's fastest-growing town at Timika, south of the Freeport mine. Meanwhile other mining companies are flocking to the copper mountains uncovered by Freeport and Mr. Soepadyo's road-building program will increase military and commercial access to the vast interior.

Next year Garuda will open a massive resort hotel, modelled on Bali's Nusa Dua hotel in Bali, in Balai. Another developer, Intan, announced plans this month for a chain of hotels to replace the existing, generally rundown accommodation.

Government & non-government sources revealed that the central Government has taken the first steps towards building a large inland port on the province's largest river, the Mamberamo, which is also the next target of the trans-Irian road building program. The industrial development of the Mamberamo with a hydroelectric dam, agriculture and heavy industry is a pet project of Dr. BJ Habibie. Indonesian officials have already sought Australian participation in the planning of the Mamberamo development and advanced Australian technology has been used to map Irian Jaya by Australian companies with military cooperation from both countries.

Missionaries told the AFR that last month central government authorities took over native-owned land for the Mamberamo port site and Jayapura church sources say that the Australian Government will be a key target of any campaign against the development policies of the Jakarta Govt.

A business delegation from North Queensland recently toured the region as part of Queensland's efforts to develop trade links into the Merauke region, which Jakarta has identified as a potential rice bowl for the entire country.

Australian companies are prominent among a slate of companies about to be awarded exploration contracts around the rich Freeport copper/gold mine and Australian businesses have been negotiating to set a new lowlands industrial park near the mine.

Plan would split largest province:

Indonesia is considering splitting Irian Jaya into two in a move aimed at boosting economic development, but which could also further undermine the fading independence movement. Provincial government officials said that the plan had been put to the national government and now depended on whether money was available for implementation. President Suharto is planning to visit Irian Jaya in December to name a new town that Freeport has built to accommodate the 17,000 mine workers.

Provincial government official Mr. Suryanto said the two province proposal was designed to facilitate plans for faster economic development by giving official a smaller area to administer. President of the Irian Jaya Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Andi Ma'mur Madjid said the division would help develop the infrastructure needed to attract foreign investment.

Mr. Andi said "Many investors would like to invest here, but they haven't realised these projects because the facilities here mean it isn't feasible .. but for the past five years the government has been spending a lot of money here, which is good because in an area like Irian Jaya, the government is still the engine of development.

TIMIKA [OCTOBER 25]

It has a Sheraton Hotel, shops full of trendy primitive art and an international airport. But the streets still wait for signs and the local Catholic priest stands out a Friday community celebration because he's one of the people not dressed in a penis gourd.

About 10,000, mostly Javanese people have moved to nearby rural areas in recent years under the transmigration program — but many have slipped town. High in the mountains Freeport has built a model remote mining town Tembapapura, complete with French bakery and children's amusement hall for its 15,000 residents.

Later this year President Suharto will open a Freeport designed \$300 million new town near Timika, which might best be described as Canberra — in the sago scrub with nearly laid-out suburban facilities for everyone from a Sumatran mine digger to a US chief financial officer.

But it's in Timika's sprawling shacks that the frontier pressures are most evident with thousands of Irianese and other Indonesians moving to an area that the company is attempting to make economically more diverse by spinning-off mine services to independent companies.

Chief financial officer, Stephen Jones, says 'We're now able to hire directly out of

Timika. People are coming here with the intention of being able to get jobs.' At the Souvenir Shop Kamoro, Mr. Nurdin is the face of change. A trader from Sulawesi who moved in a year ago, he has now gathered a store full of sought after Asmatart for sale to the emerging tourists, but mostly at vastly inflated prices to Bali shops. His shop might be named after the native Kamoro people, but its focus on the more complex art of the more distant Asmat and Dani people has underlined how the free market has really arrived.

Freeport and associated companies employ 1940 native Irianese, including 70 supervisors, in a total project workforce of about 17,000, and are making more efforts as the mine has been embroiled in the public scrutiny which followed the killing of 16 people around the project area.

In Kwamki Lama village outside Timika, where highlands Amungme people were forcefully resettled after rebel attacks on the mine in the 1970s. Freeport has launched a business incubator project to teach business skills to local people.

Out of 21 initial projects, 16 are run by local Amunme or Kamoro people and six are expected to become fully independent small business operators in the next few months. The US-educated coordinator, Mr. Ishak Danuningrat, says there is a waiting list of 65 local people who see the Freeport no-interest loans as a stepping stone into the modern world.

But lowland's Kamoro residents say Freeport's programs favour the highlands Amungme people who are the original owners of the mine land and traditionally more militant than their Kamoro cousins.

And Jayapura-based community activist John Rumbiak, describes the Freeport programs as 'camouflage' which ignore the real needs of the people who have lost traditional land. But in Timika's markets and taxis the alternative to the sometimes paternalistic programs of a foreign multinational is far worse — a growing sea of people from western Indonesia with absolutely no regard for who was there first.

INDONESIA ATTEMPTS TO BUILD BRIDGES WITH ROADS [OCT. 26]

The lines on the wall map resemble a battle plan with green and yellow pincers swinging relentlessly toward a cornered target. The head of Irian Jaya's public works department, Mr. Soepadyo, explains the strategy with the enthusiasm of a general about to break through the enemy defence.

'After we build this road, then this will be something like a magnet,' he explains as he hits the map with a baton to point out

the gaps in the long-mooted Trans-Irian Highway. Mr. Soepadyo is a battle-hardened campaigner — he has taken over the task of developing Irian Jaya after over-seeing Jakarta's controversial efforts to woo the East Timorese with public works spending.

Many environmental and human rights groups see the looming completion of the highways as a key tool in Indonesia's plan to open up the vast interior of Irian Jaya to the army and non-Irianese business.

Once the main priority was building a 1000km road running from north-south from Jayapura to Merauke with the intention of carving a line between West Papuan rebels and potential sympathisers in Papua New Guinea. Now completing a road from Jayapura about 100km across the PNG border to a possible duty free port in Vanimo is seen as an economic opportunity.

But the real priority is to complete the Perbangunan Jalan (Development Road) from Jayapura into the remote Baliem valley area of Wamena where the 9000 year old agricultural civilisation of the Dani people has long attracted hardy travellers to mission airstrips. The gap in the road is now 112km with the main task being to build a 235 metre suspension bridge over the Mamberamo River.

Mr. Soepadyo says it will be finished under current plans in 1998 — or 1997 with special central government priority. He then plans to carve a previously unpublicized road into the virgin Mamberamo valley where Research and Technology Minister, Dr. B J Habibie, is backing a hydroelectric project, industry and vast rice fields. Wamena's isolation has been a major constraint on commercial development. For example cement costs 5 times the Jakarta price because it has to be flown in. The remoteness of the area has also left Irian's missionary community with an influential role but with the roads forging ahead one said 'Maybe one day there will be no more (role for us).'

Looking further west Mr. Soepadyo says surveying is finished all the way to the north-west coast at Nabire with side legs into the mountains where Freeport McMoran operates its copper mine.

'If we finished this the economy will really speed up,' he says, outlining his dream of driving from Jayapura through the heart of the world's greatest untapped wilderness to Nabire and then taking a ferry north to the planned resorts on the island of Biak. But the bridge is this year's target. Mr. Soepadyo has a scale model in the car-park outside his office.

JAYAPURA PREPARES FOR MODERN ERA [OCTOBER 27]

Yan Piteer Karafir has a budget of only \$30 million, a municipal area 15 times bigger than his counterparts in Java and people sleeping in the middle of the road. 'It's just a habit. They think there are no cars,' the Jayapura bupati (mayor) says with a fatalistic air.

In the debate over the future of Irian Jaya that has polarised this year between misconduct by the Indonesian army and the re-emergence of armed rebels, people like Mr. Karafir represent the best hope for the province's original inhabitants. As one of Irian Jaya's minority of native-born municipal leaders, he argues that the Irianese really have no choice but to adjust to the reality of an invasion of economic development and western Indonesian immigrants. He says that he needs at least 10 years to prepare the people still leading primitive lives for the impact of mining and road-building that is already happening. But he warns: 'If we fail, then there are troubles in the future.'

In the Jayapura area Mr. Karafir has embarked on a series of projects designed to bring agricultural marketing skills to subsistence level farmers and says that he is content with the level of funding and autonomy he has from the central Government. And while his region is not a significant beneficiary of the Freeport copper mine, he says the company should not be held responsible for development in Irian Jaya because that is a matter for governments.

The bupati's pragmatism is echoed across town by the Catholic Bishop of Jayapura, Hermann Muninghoff, who took on the military 2 months ago with a detailed report on human rights abuses.

'I saw more in one week than in 23 years before,' he says of local army officers who have been stung by international reaction to the bishop's carefully documented account. But despite his run-in with the military, Bishop Muninghoff strongly supports Irian Jaya's controversial incorporation into Indonesia in the 1960s which has come under new examination.

With a perspective on Irian Jayan life that transcends more than a dozen governors and colonial administrators he says, 'The idea of a free Papua is disappearing and it is a good thing because it was not realistic.' He argues that the Dutch left a cruel legacy by promising independence during the 1949-63 period when Irian was separated from Indonesia and then leaving the province in the hands of Jakarta.

'We are part of Indonesia and it is not changing,' he says.

'East Timor might be different but here it is a fait accompli and they have to take it — there is no other way.'

From his house in the Jayapura hills, Bishop Muninghoff then points to Papua New Guinea, which is just visible across the bay: 'If we see what is happening at the other side of the border then we are very happy with what is happening here. In PNG you can't go out after 7pm. That is not freedom.'

INDONESIA PROBES HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

JAKARTA, Nov. 1 (UPI) — Indonesian military authorities in Irian Jaya will dispatch a team Thursday to the area of a joint Indonesia-U.S. copper mining company to probe alleged human rights violations in region, the official Antara news agency reported Wednesday.

Antara quoted Col. Sulaiman, the military police official in Irian Jaya who will lead the investigation, as saying the 15-member team would begin its investigation to Timika, a sub-district of Fak-Fak district, Thursday.

The team plans to investigate six cases considered violations of existing procedures.

"Among the six violations are the alleged shooting of 11 indigenous Irian Jayanese," Sulaiman said.

He said the team would conduct its investigation based on an order from Irian Jaya's military command. The inquest is scheduled to be concluded by January 1996.

Preliminary investigations show "four soldiers were suspected to be involved in the killings." They have been arrested and are in custody, he said.

The military has admitted there were "legal and procedural violations" by soldiers during operations against rebels in the Fak-Fak district. Indonesia's civil rights commission said in a fact-finding mission concluded in September that security forces carried out "indiscriminate killings" and torture in Irian Jaya during military operations against separatist rebels.

Among the human rights violations reported by the commission was the killing of 16 men, women and children in Timika district.

The probes by the National Commission on Human Rights came after Irian Jaya's Roman Catholic bishop complained of abuses on the part of the soldiers.

Activists from several non-government organizations and Irian Jayan students say the alleged violations were conducted by local authorities against villagers opposed to the activities of the giant U.S. copper mining company PT Freeport Indonesia Corp.

The small Free Papua Movement has fought for a separate state in predominantly Melanesian Irian Jaya since the former Dutch colony of Western New Guinea became Indonesian territory in 1964.

AID CANCELED FOR GOLD PROJECT IN INDONESIA

New York Times, November 2, 1995. International Business section. Unabridged. The article is accompanied by a map.

By Robert Bryce

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation has canceled \$100 million in political risk insurance for a huge gold mining project in Indonesia that is operated by Freeport-McMoRan (sic) Copper and Gold Inc.

The Federal agency, which provides insurance and financing to American companies doing business overseas, canceled the company's insurance effective at midnight on Tuesday. Political risk insurance is intended to compensate a company if it loses assets because of terrorism, sabotage a coup or other political volatility.

The cancellation, which had been rumored for nearly two weeks, was confirmed yesterday by Allison Rosen, a spokeswoman for the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which is known as OPIC. "I can't talk about the grounds of the termination," she said. Ruth R. Harkin, the agency's president and chief executive, has been out of the country this week, and Ms. Rosen said that it was unlikely that Ms. Harkin would comment on the cancellation in any event.

Gregg Probst, a spokesman for Freeport McMoRan, which is based in New Orleans and is a subsidiary of Freeport McMoRan Inc., said the company was disturbed by the cancellation. "We believe OPIC lacks a legal basis for canceling the coverage," he said. "Therefore, we believe the coverage remains in effect, and we will operate on that basis pending a resolution of the dispute, which has been submitted to arbitration, as provided by our contract with OPIC."

People who have been following the issue say the insurance was canceled because of environmental problems at the Grasberg Mine, which contains the world's largest known gold deposit, an estimated 22 million ounces. The ore body, in the mountains in Irian Jaya, an Indonesian province that occupies the western half of the island of New Guinea, also contains an estimated 15 billion pounds of copper and 37 million ounces of silver. The total value of the deposit is estimated at \$50 billion.

In recent years, Freeport McMoRan has pumped more than \$2 billion into the infrastructure at the mine, which employs about

17,000 people. Freeport McMoRan is the largest single American investor in Indonesia.

Environmental groups in Indonesia and the United States that oppose the company's operation in the region say that the company has done little, to contain tailings below the mine site and that runoff from the tailings has killed fish in nearby rivers. They also contend that local villagers can no longer drink water from the river. Freeport McMoRan officials deny that the mine tailings are toxic.

The cancellation comes despite an intensive lobbying effort in Washington by Freeport McMoRan officials, including former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who sits on Freeport's board. The insurance issue was also reported to have been raised by Indonesia's President, Suharto, during a meeting with President Clinton last week at the White House.

The mine has been under increased scrutiny in recent months as a result of two reports contending that there had been several dozen instances of human-rights violations in and around the mine site. In April, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid reported that 22 civilians and 15 guerrillas had been killed or had disappeared in the region. The report also accused Freeport security personnel of having taken part in, several of the killings. Then, in August, the Roman Catholic church of Jayapura reported that it had found evidence to support many of the allegations in the Australian report. The church's report also included accusations of torture.

The company has repeatedly denied any involvement in the reported human-rights abuses.

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation would not comment on the allegations of human-rights abuses or whether the incidents led to the cancellation of the insurance.

Freeport McMoRan executives have said that the company provides food, transportation and shelter to Indonesian military personnel at the mine. But the company said it did not "provide transportation or other assistance to military personnel involved in combat operations."

Steve Feld, an anthropologist and opponent of the Freeport operation who has spent two decades studying indigenous music and culture in neighboring Papua New Guinea, said the decision to cancel the company's insurance "confirms what many people have known and talked about for a long time." He added, "This is extremely important because OPIC's scientists are internationally recognized."

The decision appeared to have been guided by a 1979 executive order, which

provides environmental guidelines for projects that the Federal agency insures or finances. The purpose of the order is to "insure that all significant environmental effects of its actions outside the United States are considered by OPIC in its review of proposed insurance and finance projects."

Neither the agency nor the company could comment on when arbitration might begin.

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

Indonesia is a huge, diverse country. East Timor Documents cannot include all important developments. This is just a sampling.

LIBERATING OUR COLONIAL MINDSET

By George J. Aditjondro

(Outline of a lecture presented in the Winter Lecture Series 1995 on Wednesday, August 14, 1995 at the AIA-CSEAS Monash Asia Institute in Melbourne Australia).

Before discussing the contemporary challenges, allow me first to crack the basic nut, by raising the basic question to expose the basic contradictions in what has been taken for granted during the last 50 years: is "Indonesia" indeed the rightful heir of the Dutch East Indies colony? Or, is Indonesia actually a 'brand-new' nation-state, which has liberated itself completely from the Dutch – as well as the Japanese – colonial yoke?

If the answer is that Indonesia is indeed the rightful heir of the Dutch East Indies colony, then logically:

(a) Indonesia's history as an independent nation should be seen as beginning on December 27, 1949, after the Dutch government "legally" passed its sovereignty to the newborn United Republic of Indonesia (RIS), not on August 17, 1945, when only a handful of Indonesians – under protection of the Japanese occupation army – proclaimed their independence;

(b) Indonesia should constrain itself to the Dutch East Indies borders, and not violate those borders as happened in the case of the annexation of East Timor;

(c) Indonesia should inherit all the Dutch colonial laws, including all the regressive laws to repress opposition and criticism of the regime, such as the *haatzaai artikelen* (the Hate-sowing acts) as well as the laws against 'insulting the authorities,' with a possible sentence of six years imprisonment for anybody who was accused of insulting the King or Queen (1) as well as the progressive Hindrance Ordinance (Hinder Or-

donantie) of 1926, which provide the right of citizens to veto projects that are going to be built in their neighbourhood and are considered to be harmful for their well being – a form of direct democracy;

(d) Indonesia should consist of a three-tier society, with the “brown” rulers who replaced the “white” rulers on the top, using “Foreign Orientals” and other non-Indigenous and non-Indonesians as intermediaries to deal with the masses of the native peoples;

(e) Indonesia should continue the Dutch’s discriminative religious policy, using religion to divide and rule the colonized, as the Dutch did by favoring the Christians while discriminating against the Muslims;

(f) Indonesia should limit its economy towards the production of raw materials to export to the industrialized countries, including the Netherlands, while mainly importing industrial, or processed goods, from those countries, leading eventually to a “dual economy.”

(g) Indonesia should continue the Dutch policy of destroying the maritime powers outside Java (2), and concentrate development on the two major strongholds of the Dutch empire, namely Java and Sumatra (with the exception of Aceh);

(h) Indonesia should continue the Dutch policy of concentrating the state’s power in Jakarta (formerly, Batavia) in a unitarian state system (with the exception of Van Mook’s federalistic system constructed hastily during the Japanese occupation in W.W.II), which is indirectly ruled by the faraway metropole (the Netherlands).(3)

Now, if the answer is that Indonesia is a ‘brand-new’ nation-state, which has liberated itself completely from the Dutch as well as the Japanese colonial yokes, then logically a different kind of “Indonesia” can be constructed,

(a) Indonesia’s independence began on August 17, 1945, regardless of the consent of the Dutch colonial powers or the international community, which by that time was still dominated by the Western powers which came out as victors of World War II;

- as a consequence of glorifying its own August 17, 1945 unilateral declaration of independence (UDI), Indonesia can also accept November 28, 1975 as the UDI and the beginning of the Democratic Republic of East Timor;
- as another consequence of accepting Indonesia’s own UDI is that Indonesia’s support for the December 8, 1962 independence declaration of the “United North Kalimantan Republic” by Azahari’s Partai Rakyat Brunei

(PRB) really makes sense and hence the spirit of the aborted Brunei revolution is worth pursuing now; (4)

(b) the territorial borders of the Indonesian Republic does not necessarily have to coincide with the Dutch East Indies territorial borders. This does not mean, though, that the entire archipelago or region will become fair game for Indonesia’s expansionism, but that those borders can continuously be re-negotiated and determined in accordance with the wishes of the people who live within those borders, based on the universally recognized right of self-determination; e.g.

- the West Papuan people did not determine for themselves whether they wanted to join the Dutch East Indies, but were incorporated in that colony only based on the Tidore sultanate’s claim that they were Tidore’s subjects, and were thereby consequently claimed to be Indonesian citizens after Indonesia’s declaration of independence; hence, they have the right to determine their own political future, a right denied to them in the 1969 so-called “Act of Free Choice” which the UN General Assembly accepted at that time. (5)
- the aspirations of the Acehnese people, who historically supported the Java-based independence struggle and later joined the Indonesian Republic on specific conditions, but who are currently opting for their own independence (6), should not be violently repressed; the Aceh people can also be allowed to determine their wishes through a UN-supervised referendum;

(c) Indonesia should critically screen all colonial laws, adopting the progressive ones while throwing the regressive ones overboard, using the people’s welfare and not the ruler’s interests as its main criteria of selection; (7)

(d&e) Indonesia should abolish all forms of discrimination based on racial, religion, gender, or political conviction, e.g.:

- Indonesia should not favor one particular ethnic, religious or professional group to the presidential seat and other important bureaucratic and military posts, while discriminating other ethnic, religious, or professional groups; (8)
- the “brown” rulers should not exploit the masses of their own race by using economic intermediaries from different races;
- Indonesia should not discriminate one religion over another, or even on set of belief systems (e.g. the monotheistic Semitic religions) vis a vis other belief systems, including polytheist Hindu and

other natural religions, non-theist Buddhism, as well as atheism; (9)

- Indonesia should not deprive anybody from the political, economic, and cultural arenas based on their present or past political convictions;

(f) Indonesia should develop all sectors of the economy with equal attention both the industrial as well as the agricultural sectors;

(g) Indonesia should re-install the maritime powers outside Java, and not sacrifice them on behalf of favoring the agriculture powers in Java;

(h) Indonesia should seriously lay the groundwork of a federalistic state and devolve the power from the old capital (Jakarta) towards the regions, and also devolve power from the new metropole (the CGI, especially the USA/World Bank, Japan and Germany) to a genuinely elected parliament. (10)

If we still have serious disagreements on all those eight points, we have to ask ourselves, what are then the substantive differences between the “colonial” Dutch East Indies and the “independent” Indonesia? Or is Indonesia only a “new society” in an “old state”? Or in a more popular language, old wine in a new bottle?

This leads us then into the contemporary challenges, which are the legacy as well as the “hang-overs” of the 1945-1950 independence struggle:

(I). Defining who we are as a nation-state: is Indonesia a continuation of the former East Indies Dutch colony, a completely new nation-state in the making, or a newborn Java-based empire (Majapahit, or Mataram)?

(II). Defining whom do we consist of as citizens of that nation-state: are we a multi-racial and multicultural agglomeration of peoples? Or are we a single people (satu bangsa) undergoing a process of homogenization under a dominant culture, a dominant religion, and a dominant state philosophy?

(III). Defining the means with which we rule ourselves: are we going to allow ourselves to be ruled continuously by a homogenizing and self-serving elite, which glorify the supremacy of the armed resistance in the independence struggle to legitimize civilian domination by the military as well as to justify the collusion of the former freedom fighters with their Chinese gun-runners? Or, do we have to create a completely new Government ethos?

If the latter is the case then we have to demystify the glorification of the ksatria – or warrior – culture that is believed to have kept us intact as a nation from various external threats, by exploring other contribut-

ing factors which have lead us to (political) independence, as well as exploring other strands in the independence struggle which did not make it.

For instance, we have to explore the "100% merdeka" strand of Tan Malaka, which aimed at political independence from a "foreign" power with the liberation of the people from their own political and economic oppressors, who had been the agents of Dutch colonialism. We also have to explore the more peaceful means of liberating the masses from poverty and isolation from the global community through education, health and economic efforts, which were endeavoured by Muhammadiyah, Taman Siswa, and other civilian organizations. In the mean time, we also have to explore and appreciate the independence fighters on the diplomatic front, and not continuously blame them for yielding too easily to the Dutch demands, as we often read from the literature written by contemporary dwifungsi apologists for the Indonesian regime.

Now, if we do not glorify the armed resistance in the independence struggle, and see their role as important as the peaceful resistance through economic and diplomatic means, then we should also terminate the collusion of business and politics, the "illegitimate child" (anak haram) of the armed guerilla struggle, (11) especially since it deprives the majority of the Indonesian and East Timorese peoples from the full benefits of the Indonesian revolution.

My answers to those questions are probably already obvious for those who are aware of my political trajectory under the New Order regime, having experienced major shifts in the nation's political culture, and having personally grown up – biologically as well as intellectually – in Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Irian Jaya, the Netherlands, the USA, and currently in Australia.

First of all, I do not see Indonesia as the rightful heir and thereby a continuation of the Dutch East Indies, nor as a newborn Java-based empire. Indonesia is becoming, as well as will become, what its peoples wanted it to become, even if that means a reformulation of the old Dutch East Indies borders – which have already been violated – with the consent of most Indonesian intellectuals, since 1975.

Secondly, the Indonesian society as I see it, should not be seen as a single people, but as an agglomeration of peoples, consisting of different races, different ethno-linguistic groups, different historical heritages, different religious and political convictions, who all strive for the right to be treated as citizens with equal rights before the law. Hence, the 1945 constitutional limitation

that only "indigenous" Indonesians could become president should be abolished. Likewise, standard practices or the current predominant belief that only Muslim Javanese military males could even be considered as candidates for the presidency, should also be abolished.

Thirdly, Indonesia's citizens and residents should have the right to be ruled by a civilian government, with maximum protection against the collusion between business (private) and public interests, a government which is accountable to the citizens through periodical elections as well as through unperiodical referenda in matters which effect the public welfare.

Finally, as a way of conclusion, allow me to paraphrase from Albert Memmi's classic (12), which I think it quite appropriate to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Indonesia's attempt to become an independent nation-state:

..... colonization materially kills the colonized. It also kills him or her spiritually. Colonization distorts relationships, destroys or petrifies institutions, and corrupts men and women, both colonizers and colonized. To live, the colonized needs to do away with colonization. To become a man or woman, he or she must do away with the colonized being that he or she has become. If the European must annihilate the colonizer within himself or herself, the colonized must also rise above his or her colonized being.

So the question arises then: after fifty years, have we as Indonesians risen above our colonized being, or have we become colonizers ourselves? Not only colonizers of another people who did not share the same historical heritage as us, but also as colonizers of our own peoples?

Fremantle, August 15, 1995

Footnotes

- (1) In fact, these are the legal instruments which the "New Order" is actually using more and more to crack down on dissidents from all walks of life in Indonesia, recently – trade unionists, journalists, academics, etcetera.
- (2) There is a strong pro-Java & Sumatra bias in the Anglophone Indonesian historiography, especially the focus on the era of the Indonesian modern independence struggle. One tends to forget, that the Makassarese of Gowa were only pacified, through the Bongaya treaty, in 1905. Apart from Eastern Indonesia, the independence struggle carried out in Kalimantan has also been overlooked by many Anglophone historians. This bias is probably caused by the fact that many of the East Indonesian and Kalimantan independence fighters, such as Kahar Muzak-

kar, Andi Mattalata, Sam Ratulangie and his daughter, Zus Ratulangie, and Tjilik Riwut, began their struggle from the bases in Java, due to the colonial centralistic state in Java, before eventually moving to their places of origin. The late Tjilik Riwut commanded the Air Force and Navy units which attacked the Dutch military posts in South and Central Kalimantan, because of his close connections with Sukarno, who was also an admirer of the Air Force, he was later appointed as the first governor of Central Kalimantan, one of the three Dayak governors before a series of Javanese governors ruled Central Kalimantan, until now.

- (3) We should not forget that during the BPKI debates, some of the founding fathers of the Indonesian Republic also opted for a federalistic state, namely Mohammad Hatta and GSSJ (Sam) Ratulangie. They were overruled by the majority of the BPKI members, which were obviously so much obsessed with unity, that they feared federalistic state would certainly work in favour of the Dutch divide and rule tactics.
- (4) Currently, democracy stirs have already become stronger in this Malay Muslim monarchy, which Azahari and his Partai Ra'yat Brunei wanted to reform in the early 1960s. However, PRB is still banned and recently its former executive secretary, Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad, has been detained. Hence, another light needs to be put on this aborted revolution, instead of putting PRB – and especially its former chairperson and founder, Azahari – simply as a "puppet" of Sukarno's expansionistic dreams to take over the former British colonies of Northern Borneo. For a better picture of this aborted revolution and its aspirations, see Zaini Haji Ahmad's book, Partai Rakyat Brunei: The People's Party of Brunei, Selected Documents/Dokumen Terpilih. Kuala Lumpur: Insan; Graham Saunders, 1994. A history of Brunei. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press; Bill Tarrant, "Reform hopes rise as democracy stirs in Brunei," The Australian, May 26, 1995; and
- (5) When the report on the "Act of Free Choice" was debated in the UN in November 1969, it was approved by 84 UN members, with 30 abstentions, most of them from Africa and the Caribbean. Support for Indonesia came mainly from the Western countries, which could not wait to invest in West Papua's wealthy natural resources, and from Arabic countries, which wanted Indonesia's support in their confrontation with Israel over the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. For a detailed report about the way the "Act of Free Choice" was carried out, and how it was approved in the UN, see Robin Osborne, 1985, Indonesia's secret war: The guerilla struggle in Irian Jaya. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, pp.40-52; and George J. Aditjondro, 1993. Bintang kejora di tengah kegelapan malam: Penggelapan nasionalisme orang Irian dalam historiografi Indonesia. Paper presented at a seminar on Indonesian nationalism in the wake of the 21st Century, organized

- by Yayasan Bina Darma at the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, June 2-5, 1993.
- (6) See Tim Kell, 1995. The roots of Acehnese rebellion, 1989-1992. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project.
 - (7) Currently in Indonesia, the regressive colonial laws are being glorified by the regime, while the progressive Hinder Ordinance is often overruled by the new environmental regulations which take away the power from the citizens and the local communities and hand it over to the bureaucrats and their professional consultants, thereby favoring "expert-ocracy" over democracy.
 - (8) With the increasing power of the government-supported Islamic Scholars Association (ICMI), there seems to emerge a strong favoritism for the promotion of Muslim bureaucrats, which is seen by some Muslim politicians and academics as the right political 'correction' to the late General Ali Murtopo's favoritism for right wing Christians – especially Catholics – during the first decade of the New Order. Apart from that, there is also a strong favoritism for Javanese or Java-born bureaucrats and military officials, and on top of that, there is also a disproportional number of military or retired military personnel in the civil service.
 - (9) Indonesia's compulsory and restrictive religious policy has caused numerous unpleasant side effects. Because of the monotheist emphasis (in accordance with the first principle of the Panca Sila), Hinduism, a polytheist religion, has become molded into a monotheist religion, and under the Semitic influence of Christianity and Islam as well as under the economic pressure of modern life, have become a centralized religion and uprooted from their Bali environment. Many local or tribal religions, have to survive as a sect of Hinduism, for instance the Dayak Kaharingan religion and the Torajanese Aluk To Dolo. Meanwhile, in East Timor, many believers in the tribal religions were forced to adopt one of the four religions (Islam, Christianity, Hindu and Buddha) officially recognized by the Indonesian state, and chose Christianity. In addition, followers of Kong Hu Cu, which is a non-theist religion, have opted for Buddhism or Christianity. Finally the prohibition against atheism has triggered the 'free fight' battle for those atheist souls between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia as well as between Protestants and Catholics in East Timor (NTT), with all its unpleasant side effects.
 - (10) Even the current parliament, which already consists of persons screened by the security apparatus for their loyalty to the state philosophy Pancasila and the 1945 constitution, has practically no say in the approval of Indonesia's foreign debts, which has already been pre-arranged by the executive arm of the government. This is a violation of Article 23 of the 1945 Constitution, which emphasizes that the difference between a fascist state and a democratic state is in the right of the people through their parliament to deter-

mine their government's budgets. This shows how in reality the Indonesian government is not accountable to its own people, but to the people of its creditor nations – mainly the USA, Japan, Germany – which through their parliaments can determine the direction and quality of the loans and grants to finance Indonesia's development plans. This is a form of neo-colonialism one could say.

- (11) Two of the richest Chinese tycoons in Indonesia, Liem Soie Liong (Sudono Salim), and Eka Tjipta Widjaja were the gunrunners of the guerilla troops in Central Java and South Sulawesi, respectively (see Sori Ersa Siregar & Kencana Tirta Widya, 1989. Liem Soie Liong: Dari Futching ke mancanegara. Jakarta: Pustaka Merdeka, pp. 24-32). Twenty years later, one of the younger Chinese tycoons, Robby Sumampouw, supplied the Indonesian troops which invaded East Timor in 1975, under the command of Benny Murdani and his two deputy commanders, Dading Kalbuadi and Sahala Rajagukguk. Currently, the three retired generals still act as the protectors of Robby Sumampouw's Batara Indra Group, which has its extensive business operations in East Timor, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and Christmas Island (see George J. Aditjondro, 1994. In the shadow of Mount Ramelau: The impact of the occupation of East Timor. Leiden: Indoc, pp. 58-62, 88-89). Hence, the business and military connections in Indonesia are as old as the republic, and has become the basis of the formation of Indonesia's current oligarchy, which is very deeply entrenched in the Indonesian economy.
- (12) Albert Memmi. The colonizer and the colonized. 1990 Earthscan Publications edition (Original French edition, 1957). London, p. 217.

AJI JOURNALISTS ON TRIAL

From: Yayasan GENI Salatiga, 1 September 1995

JAKARTA – A Jakarta district court yesterday sentenced two journalists to 30 months imprisonment each for sowing hatred against the government amidst an international campaign for their release.

"Fascist court, where is your dignity?" jeered a visitor in a packed court room where the crowd repeatedly booed the three-panel judges. Some visitors unfurled posters accusing Information Minister Harmoko as the mastermind of the political trial.

Chief judge Madjono Widiatmaja said that Ahmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi had been found guilty of the Criminal Act of publicly expressing feeling of enmity, hatred and insult against the government of Indonesia.

Mr. Widiatmaja said the two had also published unlicensed magazine *Independen*

through which they insult President Suharto and Harmoko.

The *Independen* magazine, published by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), reported earlier this year that Harmoko has shares in more than 30 news organizations given to him as ransoms.

Under Indonesian law, a publisher should apply for a license from the Information Ministry before publishing any publication.

Being sentenced back home, the journalists, however, had won international support for their free press campaign. The Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists and a number of international media organizations have repeatedly called on the Indonesian government to release the detained journalists.

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) announced in New York on Monday that it would issue one of its annual International Press Freedom Awards to Mr. Taufik.

"As president of his union, Taufik has helped to lead one of the boldest movements for press freedom anywhere in Asia," said CPJ Executive Director William A. Orme, Jr.

"Throughout the five-months of his imprisonment and trial, he has steadfastly presented a principled and articulate defense of that right."

According to Mr. Orme, Taufik and others who went on to form AJI played an instrumental role in marshaling public protests against the media bans, as well as subsequent violations of press freedom in Indonesia.

Indonesian reporters set up AJI in August 1994 following the failure of the state-sanctioned Association of Indonesian Journalists to protest the closure of TEMPO, DeTik and Editor weeklies.

"Journalists should tell the truth and only the truth. I'm prepared to be jailed just for the truth," said Mr. Taufik, a former reporter of TEMPO and currently of Media Indonesia newspaper.

A number of noted figures like human rights lawyers Adnan Buyung Nasution and H.J.C. Princen as well as Goenawan Mohamad, former TEMPO chief editor, also attended yesterday's trial session.

Along with some 150 other visitors, they sang patriotic songs, showing their support toward the convicted.

Media watcher Ariel Heryanto told the West Australian that the government is trying to scare journalists. "But AJI activists will not be frightened. They will go on."

The Australian-trained anthropologist said that the Indonesian government practiced such a threat successfully in the 1970s. "But not now. The time is different now."

The court has last week sentenced AJI office helper Danang Kukuh Wardoyo to twenty months imprisonment for helping Messrs. Taufik and Maryadi sowing hatred against the Indonesian government.

CPJ has presented the International Press Freedom Award annually since 1991 to recognize the commitment of journalists to the ideals of press freedom, even in the face of political persecution and personal hardship.

The award will be presented in New York on December 6, before an audience of leading American journalists and major media executives which include R.E. "Ted" Turner of CNN, Benjamin Bradlee of The Washington Post and Tom Brokaw of NBC News.

CPJ is co-founded and chaired by well known presenter Walter Cronkite of CBS and directed by Katharine Graham of The Washington Post, Peter Arnett and Bernard Shaw of CNN, Anthony Lewis of The New York Times, Dan Rather of CBS and some other leading media figures.

Government prosecutor T.S. Limbong demanded the Central Jakarta district court to sentence the journalists to four years jail term each.

ACHMAD TAUFIK AND EKO MARYADI, TRI AGUS TRIALS

Report from someone in attendance at the sentencing of Achmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi (AJI), and the reading of his defense speech by Tri Agus (PIJAR), Sept. 2, 1995

September 1, 1995 was a busy day for Soeharto's New Order judicial system and an emotional one for young pro-democracy activists. Within the span of a few hours, two dissidents were sentenced and the trial of another began. In the morning, Achmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi, two journalists from AJI (Alliance of Independent Journalists, which publishes the magazine *Independen*) were sentenced to 2 years and 8 months in prison for spreading hatred of the government. In the afternoon, one level down in the Central Jakarta Court building, Tri Agus read his defense speech, becoming the fourth PIJAR foundation activist to stand trial in the past few years, following in the footsteps of Nuku Soleiman, sentenced to jail for insulting the president via the distribution of stickers reading "Soeharto is the Mastermind of All Disasters."

It was as if the government had deliberately waited for the month of August to draw to a close before resuming its normal blunt repressive tactics. During August, Indonesia celebrated 50 years of independence with red and white flags hung every few meters and propaganda billboards extol-

ling development, the crushing of the PKI and the Dutch (often run into one event), the potential of human resources and technology, and the country's acumen in sports (to name a few topics of national pride). Taking the opportunity to show a kind face, the state abolished the 'ET' marking (ex-political prisoner) from identity cards and released a number of high profile long term political prisoners connected with the so-called attempted communist coup of 1965. (At the same time, it vowed to execute others.) Although the release of the prisoners and the abolishment of the 'ET' designation were both targets of long term campaigns by human rights activists, Soeharto used them to show his munificence and lack of resentment.

Meanwhile, activists took advantage of the dual meaning of 'merdeka,' the nationalists' anti-colonial cry, to ask why after 50 years of merdeka [independence], Indonesia was still not merdeka [free]. Another widely circulated slogan, quoted by Tri Agus in his defense speech was "50 persen merdeka, di tahun Indonesia Cemas." 50 percent free in the Year of Indonesia Disturbed. (Cemas, rather than Emas, golden.)

During the sentencing of Achmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi, the courtroom was packed and people overflowed into the hallways. Luminaries on the Indonesian political scene such as Adnan Buyung Nasution of the LBH, the scholar Marsilam Simanjuntak, and Goenawan Mohamad, editor of the banned *Tempo* and chief impetus behind the formation of AJI, as well as a number of domestic and foreign journalists were all in attendance. The outside courtroom speakers were purposely turned off so as not to cause any additional disturbances from the crowd, which jeered or hooted nearly everything the judge said.

To prove, for instance, that the two AJI activists had spread hatred against the government, the Judge Madjono Wildiatmadja had to spell out the constitutional passages that showed ministers, presidents, and vice-presidents were equivalent to the government. This was met with tremendous laughter. If the judge mentioned that something had been demonstrated according to law, someone shouted in a courteous voice, "Yeah, but what law is that, Sir?" Occasional cries of "Sidang Sandiwara!" (Show Trial!) could be heard. Among other things which "proved" the guilt of the two accused, the judge demonstrated that the offending magazine, *Independen*, published without SIUPP (permission to publish), was intentionally sold at a low price in order to achieve a wide distribution.

After the verdict had been read, the crowd sang a solidarity song, and then the judges had to be escorted out through a hos-

tile crowd by police wielding bamboo sticks. Even so, there was considerable shoving, and a couple of youths with bitter and angry expressions lurched after the judges as they cleared the door. The judges wore uncomfortable smiles. Then, the convicted were escorted out to cheers and applause. Eko had tears in his eyes but looked determined while Achmad retained a casual composure.

Remarkably, there was no security clearance and no identity cards were checked in any systematic fashion. Meanwhile, no fewer than three activists from SMID (Indonesian Students in Solidarity for Democracy) and one other student were arrested outside under the pretext of not having their identity cards (though they were carrying signs), and a group of high school students were forbidden from entering the courtroom because they had stashed their uniforms in their bags.

After the two were escorted out, some fiery speeches were made, poetry was read, and a small performance piece was made out of burying the robes of the Indonesian judicial system and covering it with scattered flowers from a wreath which had read: "To the honored judges: We are suffering from this Courtroom Drama." Activists openly compared the repressive tactics of the New Order regime to Dutch colonialism.

The demo ended with cries of "Hang Harmoko!" The demonstrators were expressing their anger over the fact that Harmoko, the Information Minister and the head of Golkar, has thus far not been held accountable under the same laws against defamation of religion that have led to the conviction of others. In July, Harmoko badly mispronounced the Arabic in an Islamic tract so that it came out as an obscenity.

During the reading of his defense speech on August 28, Achmad Taufik compared the use of the *Haatzaai Artikelen* (Hate Articles) of Dutch colonial law with their current manifestation as articles 154 and 155 of the Indonesian criminal code (KUHP). He listed every nationalist leader and publisher who had been brought to court under these articles and mentioned the verdict. A significant portion had simply been freed, and nearly all of the rest had been given sentences of less than six months. Meanwhile, virtually all dissidents brought to trial under the New Order have been convicted for extended terms.

A week before, the office boy at AJI, a young high school aged boy named Danang Kukuh Wardoyo, was sentenced to 1 year and 8 months in prison for helping to distribute AJI literature at a meeting. Compared to the extended, fiery political speeches given by Achmad and Eko as their defense appeals, Danang's was only two

pages long and simply said he couldn't understand why he was being tried when he was just trying to earn a living. Even the typically cautious national daily Kompas took an editorial stand condemning his sentencing.

Eko's and Taufik's speeches were pointed and often very funny, making jokes about Harmoko that even brought a smile to one of the assistant judge's face. Otherwise the prosecutor and the three judges sat deadpan while the accused read their speeches, knowing full well that it was all part of the act and would not in any way affect their pre-drawn verdicts. Occasionally, one of the assistant judges nodded off. The prosecutor stared blankly, except in those moments when Eko referred to him as "the most clever prosecutor," at which point he could barely conceal a flinch. If Eko's and Taufik's speeches were humorous, Tri Agus' was written as a comedy. It is well known that under the New Order, the place where freedom of expression finds its ultimate realization is in the court room, when it is clear that a verdict is already drawn. The pleidoi, the defense speech, has become its own literary form. Tri Agus' pleidoi, is titled a "Crazy Era," using the vulgar Javanese word for crazy that Soeharto leveled against demonstrators in Dresden earlier this year.

As Tri Agus read it, the microphone distorted his voice and when criticism became too heated, phased out altogether in a shrill squeal. Each time this happened, the audience shouted out, "Don't continue reading!" or "Repeat it!," and a court clerk would go off into a back room and solve the "problem." At one point the judge warned the audience that if they kept up their reactions he'd order the trial to be held without the public in attendance.

Tri Agus was being tried for quoting, in PIJAR's newsletter, KABAR DARI PIJAR (News from PIJAR), a sentence uttered by Adnan Buyung Nasution in June of 1994 after the banning of three major Indonesian news weeklies. At issue is whether a journalist, even an advocacy journalist, can be held accountable for quoting what someone else said. Buyung, now Chairman of the Board of the LBH, (partially) denies uttering the offending sentence: "This country has been messed up [dikacaukan] by one person and his name is Soeharto." (Dikacaukan could be messed up, ruined, or even fucked up depending on the context and intonation. The latter is perhaps most appropriate.) Buyung was noticeably absent at the trial, and has alienated many younger activists for his hesitancy to come forward and take a stand, which would clearly put him at risk. Several young activists lamented

that this has created a rift in the pro-democracy movement.

To rub in the absurdity of being tried for quoting the sentence, "This country has been messed up by one person and his name is Soeharto," Tri Agus repeats it several times throughout his pleidoi. He asks:

"The Public Prosecutor has concluded that I intentionally insulted President Soeharto by writing the sentence of Adnan Buyung Nasution: 'This country has been messed up by one person and his name is Soeharto.' I emphasize here that if I actually wanted to insult Soeharto, why would it be only by quoting Adnan Buyung Nasution like that? I have a warehouse of insulting words for Soeharto, but I've been waiting for the moment to use these words."

Apparently the moment was there at the trial.

At the very beginning of the pleidoi, he said he wanted to remind the audience of the official law which is in effect in this country:

"Two articles

"Article 1 (one): Soeharto has never messed up this country. "Article 2 (two): If Soeharto messes up this country, see article 1 (one)"

Chapter III of the pleidoi, titled 'Soeharto dan Kacau' (Suharto and Ruin) contains Tri Agus' manifesto and the bulk of the humor. He notes that he is already intimate with Soeharto. He and his friends celebrated the birthday of that "battered and senile toothless old man born in Godean, Yogyakarta in 1921" by inviting about 90 people named Soeharto they picked out of a phone book to a party. All kinds of people came, including doctors and ex-ABRI officers, and there were both those who regretted and those proud to have the name Soeharto.

Its not true, he repeats a joke in circulation, that Soeharto wants to be president for life. What he wants is to be president until death. And the reason Soeharto hasn't been replaced as president is that the four conditions haven't been met: "1) He must be Islamic, 2) From ABRI, 3) From Java, and most importantly, 4) With experience as President." Activists, he said, have made his name an abbreviation for "SUDAH HARUS TObat," Must Repent. And he takes the opportunity to quote another joke, where English, American, and Indonesian archeologists confront, in the pyramids of Egypt, a mummy which to the surprise of the Englishman and the American has never heard of either of their countries. But when the mummy hears that the "short brown skinned" archeologist is from Indonesia, it says, to the amazement of the others, "Haaaaa! You're from Indonesia? Uh, word

is that Soeharto is still the king of Java, no?" And the jokes go on. Significantly, Tri Agus spends a good deal of time talking about East Timor, which he refers to in Portuguese as Timor Leste. He notes that the 50th anniversary of the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence coincides with 30 years of the rule of Soeharto and the 20 year anniversary of the "attack and occupation of Timor Leste which until now has not been recognized by the UN, the international community, or the people of Timor Leste themselves." He substantiates the fact that 200,000 have lost their lives by quoting Abilio Soares and the research of George Aditjondro.

But then he turns to the humor which makes a tragedy palatable. Timtim, the Indonesian for East Timor, he says stands for "Timor Leste Ingin Merdeka Tapi Indonesia Melarang," East Timor wants to be free but Indonesia forbids it. And he relates a story of a curfew in Dili:

"In Dili, whoever is running wild in the streets after 10 pm will be shot on sight. Two Indonesian Corporals, Salim and Kardiman, were talking at precisely 9:30. Suddenly a shot was heard: 'Bam!' Apparently, Salimin had just shot a youth. 'What are you doing! It's just 9:30, why did you shoot him?' asked Kardiman. 'Of course I know that,' answered Salimin, 'I know him. He's Gomes and his house is in Tasi Tolu on the edge of town. I'm sure the trip from here to his house is more than a half hour,' Salim went on calmly."

In the rest of his pleidoi, which talks about corruption, succession, and hypocrisy, it is abundantly evident that Tri Agus knows he doesn't stand a chance of being acquitted. But he knows at least he can go to jail in a blaze. That at least, is the image conjured by PIJAR, blazing and red-hot.

INDONESIA SAYS WILL CHECK PORTUGAL'S TV PLAN

Reuter, 5 September 1995. Abridged

Indonesia said on Tuesday it would check reports that Portugal planned to broadcast television programmes to its former colony of East Timor, the official Antara news agency said.

"We are going to check the truth of the reports," Indonesia's Information Minister Harmoko, was quoted as telling reporters.

A Portuguese newspaper Expresso was quoted by the Jakarta-based Republika newspaper on Tuesday as saying Portugal's state-owned television planned to broadcast its programmes to East Timor by satellite starting in October. It was not clear if the television programmes would be specific to

East Timor or also broadcast to other areas. Harmoko did not say if the government would ban the programmes if they were aired.

INDONESIA READY FACES PORTUGAL'S TV PROGRAMS

JAKARTA, Sept. 6 (UPI) — An Indonesian minister says (Wednesday) the country is ready for Portuguese television to broadcast its programs into East Timor, a former Portuguese territory. The minister says propaganda is a daily activity by Lisbon.

INDONESIA'S SUHARTO SEES NO PLACE FOR OPPOSITION

JAKARTA, Sept. 8 (Reuter) — Indonesia's President Suharto has dismissed a call for opposition parties to be officially recognised, saying the move would be inconsistent with the state's ideology and constitution, the Jakarta Post newspaper reported on Friday.

In a meeting with the Association of Indonesian Engineers on Thursday, Suharto said he would not endorse a call for the creation of opposition parties, the newspaper said.

"The spirit of consensus through deliberations precludes the existence of opposition," State Planning Minister Ginanjar Kartasmita quoted Suharto as saying after the meeting.

Consensus through deliberation is the fourth point in Indonesia's five-principle state ideology of Pancasila, which also includes calls for belief in one supreme God and national unity.

Moslem scholar Nurcholish Madjid said on Monday the two minority parties, the Moslem-oriented United Development Party (PPP) and Nationalist-Christian Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), should be recognised as opposition parties.

Officially, the parties, whose activities are restricted between election campaigns, are just "partners" of the government.

"They (political and economic analysts) find that what we've been doing is wrong because they judge things using alien systems," Suharto was quoted as saying.

Indonesia's 500-seat parliament is dominated by the ruling Golkar Party, which at the last election in 1992 won 282 seats compared with the PPP's 62 and PDI's 56.

The Indonesian military has 100 appointees in the assembly, although in April they agreed to cut this to 75 after the next election, in 1997.

INDONESIAN JOURNALIST JAILED FOR "INSULTING THE PRESIDENT"

From Article 19, London, 11 Sept. 1995

Tri Agus Susanto Siswihardjo today (11 September 1995) became the fourth Indonesian media worker in as many weeks to be sentenced to imprisonment for his professional activities. He was convicted of insulting President Suharto and sentenced to two years' imprisonment on the basis of an article in Kabar Dari Pijar, the newsletter he edits for the pro-democracy organization, Pijar.

Frances D'Souza, ARTICLE 19's Executive Director, emphasized that "There can be no justification whatsoever for this conviction. It is a violation of international human rights law to punish an individual merely for publishing criticism of the President. Indonesia should recognize its international obligations and urgently repeal legislation which has been used to punish legitimate political criticism."

The Kabar Dari Pijar article, which was published some nine months before the government brought charges against Tri Agus Susanto, concerned the protests that followed the banning in June 1994 of three leading news publications. It quoted a leading human rights activist as saying that Indonesia had been "messed up" by President Suharto.

Frances D'Souza added: "This prosecution was clearly politically-motivated, coming at a time when the government was cracking down on other government critics. The government's campaign is a crude attempt to intimidate others from expressing opinions critical of the government."

being convicted of expressing "hatred" against the government through AJI's magazine, *Independen*. A week earlier Danang Kukuh Wardoyo, a junior office assistant at AJI, was sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment after being found guilty of assisting Ahmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi by distributing copies of *Independen*, which has since been banned.

For further information, please contact Ann Naughton, ARTICLE 19, International Centre Against Censorship Tel: 44 171 278 9292; Fax: 44 171 713 1356

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT "FACTS" ON EAST TIMOR

From pages on the World-Wide Web maintained by the Embassy of Indonesia for Canada. Team editor: STAID Canada 1990 (Akmaloni, Eko Wibowo, Gatot Susilo, Gita Nurlaila, Pramitha Juristyarini) Last updated: September 15, 1995

1. Accusations: "200,000 or one-third of East Timor's population have been killed since Indonesia invaded the country in 1075; the worst case of genocide, per capita, since the Holocaust."

Facts: On the matter of alleged "genocide" the fact is that nobody knows authoritatively how many people died in East Timor, during the civil war, as a result of tribal strife, during and after the Indonesian intervention, and as a result of famine. That many people died is tragic but the deliberate exaggeration of the number of deaths to discredit Indonesia is simply dishonest. In 1976, Fransisco da Cruz, spokesman of the East Timor Provisional government was quoted in the international press as having said that "60,000 had been killed" in East Timor. The next day, however, the same spokesman said that 60,000 had "lost their lives or homes" and this figure included the 40,000 refugees who had fled to West Timor. Through a process of mutual citation-and with the active assistance of the Indonesia's critics/pro-Fretilin lobby, what began as a figure of 60,000 — was gradually escalated to 200,000 or one-third of the population.

(Address by Richard Woolcott, former Australian Ambassador to Indonesia from 1975-1978 to the Sydney Institute on May 1992)

2. Accusations: "About 100 people were killed and over 100 wounded when troops opened fire on peaceful procession at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor on November 12, 1991."

Facts: The tragic incidents that occurred in Dili, East Timor, on the 12 November 1991 was deeply regrettable, as was immediately and repeatedly expressed by the Indonesian Government at the highest levels. It was a tragic incident and clearly not an act ordered by or reflecting the policy of the Government or the Armed Forces. It was not an orderly and peaceful procession dedicated to commemorate the death of Sebastian Gomez. In fact, the demonstrators posed provocative and aggressive attitude that threatened the arms and safety of the security personnel. A spontaneous reaction took place among the security personnel to defend themselves, without command, resulting in excessive shooting at the demon-

strators, causing death and wounded. The commission feels that there are sufficiently strong grounds to conclude that the death casualties totalled about 50 while the wounded exceeded 91.

(East Timor: Building for the Future, published by the Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, July 1992; Final Report of the National Commission of Inquiry, Jakarta, January 1992)

3. Accusations: "In January 1974 the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) entered a coalition with the Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor (Fretilin). Both parties agreed with the Portuguese to move towards independence over a three-year period. The Indonesian Military bribed and persuaded several UDT leaders to organize a coup in August 1975 and since then Indonesia invaded East Timor."

Facts: An orderly and peaceful decolonization came to an abrupt halt when in August 1975 the Portuguese colonial administration abandoned East Timor in a most irresponsible manner, after allowing the situation in the territory to deteriorate to the point of civil war, in fact, after practically instigating civil war by clandestinely turning over its arms and munitions to one particular group, the Fretilin. In doing so, Portugal in effect relinquished its responsibility as administering power. In August and November 1975 Indonesia was not even involved in the tragic events unfolding in East Timor, although it had to bear the consequences of the turmoil interalia in the form of 42,000 East Timorese refugees streaming across the border in to West Timor. Four political parties in East Timor (except Fretilin) proclaimed on November 30, 1975 the dependence of East Timor through integration with the Republic of Indonesia.

(Statement by H.E. Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister before members of the National Press Club, Washington, D.C. 20 February 1995)

BACKGROUND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS REGARDING EAST TIMOR ISSUES

Why did the Portuguese leave East Timor?

What is described as a "process of decolonization" by Portugal deserves rather to be termed a record of failure and ineptitude. In August 1975, the colonial authorities in Dili, in a most irresponsible manner, simply packed up and left East Timor, after allowing the situation in the territory to deteriorate to the point of civil war. Portugal was, in fact, guilty of practically instigating civil war by secretly turning over its arms and ammunition to one particular minority group. FRETILIN. This development can be

seen as the culmination of centuries of colonial neglect and a completely bungled decolonization process. By utterly failing in its responsibility, Portugal in fact has forfeited any right to be still considered the "administering power" of East Timor.

In the face of this, the East Timorese people had rightly assumed their inherent right to decolonize themselves, considering themselves no longer bound to any decolonization covenant with the erstwhile colonial power. This they did by choosing independence through integration with Indonesia in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) and Principles VI, VIII and IX of General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV) and as further confirmed by the relevant provisions of General Assembly Resolution 2625 (XXV).

How has Indonesia helped East Timor?

Every part of the archipelago that is the Republic of Indonesia has been an integral and self-determining part of this strong and unified nation. It has been and remains a goal of Indonesia to ensure that the benefits of development reach every part of our vast country, proportionate to the needs. Indeed, that is the single reason why East Timor receives the largest amount of development funds on a per capita basis, an investment that has produced hospitals, schools, roads and commerce when little to none had existed under Portuguese rule.

What about the "population discrepancy"?

Of all the numerous myths about East Timor developed and disseminated by Indonesia's detractors, none is more malicious and misleading than the endlessly repeated allegation of the number of lives lost in East Timor during and after the process of integration. These critics charge that East Timor's population decreased by 200,000 or more, thus implying that about one-third of the population has either perished or disappeared and that Indonesia should be held responsible for this. Some even go so far as recklessly accusing Indonesia of "genocide."

Not only does this juggling of numbers represent a shameless distortion of the tragic facts surrounding Portugal's mishandled decolonization of East Timor, but it also shows a complete and often deliberate misreading of the process of population surveying and census-taking that has taken place prior to and following the departure of the colonial government.

The only internationally accepted census of East Timor was taken in 1980 as part of a nationwide count carried out by the Government of Indonesia. The resulting population figure – 555,350 persons – seemed to show a decline of some 69,000 from the last colonial estimate of 624,564. The true dif-

ference will never be known, colonial authorities themselves acknowledged that their figures for 1974 and earlier were estimates based on reports by "liurais" (village headmen), whose counts were never verified by the Portuguese Government. In any case, any drop in the population of East Timor was much lower than the distorted figures disseminated by these critics.

In 1976, a spokesman of the East Timor provisional government was quoted in the international press as having said that "60,000 had been killed" in East Timor. The next day, however, the same spokesman said that the press had misquoted him, for what he in fact had stated was that 60,000 had "lost their lives or homes" and this figure included the 40,000 refugees who had fled to West Timor.

These figures and the apparent short-fall in population have subsequently been eagerly seized upon by Indonesia's critics and, through the process of mutual citation, have not only been constantly repeated but gradually exaggerated to reach what has now become the fabricated and completely unsubstantiated claim of 200,000 lives lost.

It is a sad fact that the tragedy that engulfed the East Timorese people after 1974 did exact a regrettable toll in human lives. It should be borne in mind, however, that two key factors contributed to any real changes in East Timor's population:

* First, the civil war that raged in East Timor in 1975-76 claimed many lives directly and indirectly. Not only did many East Timorese die as a result of the FRETILIN reign of terror, but many also delayed plans for marriage and childbearing, and many families were separated. As a result, the 1980 census showed that children younger than five years old accounted for only 14.15 percent of the total population, well below the percentage in other provinces. The hunger and disease caused by the disruption of civil war were joined by acts of FRETILIN aggression as major direct causes of loss of life. As might be expected in a violent and chaotic security situation, an abnormally low birthrate was an indirect result of the ongoing civil war.

* Second, thousands of refugees flooded across the border to West Timor during and immediately after the war. They either settled in West Timor or emigrated to other parts of Indonesia or other countries. A large number of East Timorese and Portuguese nationals have also emigrated to other countries or returned to Portugal under the repatriation and family reunion program initiated in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Careful examination of the facts by several observers, including respected Western journalists, suggests that war-related deaths

numbered around 5,000 with another 25,000 victims of malnutrition and disease brought about by a war-ravaged economy and a gross lack of health-care services. That people have died is tragic enough, but the deliberate manipulation of the number of victims is highly irresponsible and simply dishonest. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this unsavory numbers game can finally be put to an end.

How are the cultural and social traditions of the East Timorese protected?

The allegation that the East Timorese are different from other Indonesians ignores the fact that Indonesia is a land of diversity, comprising 300 distinct ethnic groups and almost as many languages. People of the same Melanesian ancestry and with the same culture, language base and customs, inhabit the western part of Timor island and the surrounding islands of eastern Indonesia.

Since East Timor was integrated into the Republic of Indonesia, the Government has worked carefully to ensure that cultural traditions are maintained, local languages are preserved and religious practices are respected. This has included support for cultural institutions and organizations, expansion of economic opportunities for those involved in commercialization of traditional handicrafts and financial support for the construction and rehabilitation of facilities of worship in all the major faiths represented in the province.

East Timor, like the rest of Indonesia, is a province of extraordinary ethnic, religious and cultural diversity – a piece of the extraordinary mosaic that is the pride of Indonesia. And in this diversity, no one group is dominant. Respect and tolerance for different cultural and religious traditions is at the heart of the national philosophy. This protection and nurturing in East Timor cannot be denied.

What were the actions taken in connection with the November 12, 1991 incident in Dili?

The tragic outcome of the demonstration that occurred in Dili, East Timor, on the 12th of November, 1991 was deeply regrettable, as was immediately and repeatedly expressed by the Indonesian Government at the highest levels. Most unfortunately, the demonstration was not entirely peaceful and indeed displayed premeditated provocation and belligerence. It triggered a spontaneous reaction by some security personnel, acting outside the control of command of senior officers, and resulted in a deplorable loss of life and a number of wounded people. It was a tragic incident and clearly not an act ordered by or reflecting the policy of the Government or the Armed Forces.

Nothing can be done to alter the facts of the incident: The test is on how the Indonesian Government and people responded – by acting firmly and swiftly to get the facts, by establishing a National Committee of Inquiry and a Military Council of Honour, and by initiating a due legal process, subjecting all those held accountable for having violated the law, whether on the part of the demonstrators or on the part of the security personnel, to trial by the appropriate courts of justice. This legal process shall be pursued in accordance with the Rule of Law, the Pancasila State Philosophy, the 1945 Constitution and the relevant Penal Codes upon which the Republic of Indonesia is based.

Is Indonesia willing to resolve the dispute with Portugal?

Although at the time of the last voting on the East Timor issue at the U.N. General Assembly in 1982, Portugal was hardly in a position of strength on the issue, Indonesia agreed to the appeal by the then-Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to start a dialogue with Portugal under his auspices. The purpose was to find peaceful, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution, under the general mandate of the Secretary-General, through dialogue rather than through continuing sterile debate in the General Assembly.

Since 1983, we have been engaged in such a tripartite dialogue between Indonesia, Portugal, and the U.N. Secretary-General, under the mandate as referred to above and not on the basis of or pursuant to any specific General Assembly resolutions. This dialogue has been, on the whole, a constructive one as it contributed to removing any earlier misunderstandings and to resolving many outstanding humanitarian issues.

We also resumed discussions between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, and the U.N. Secretary-General, in 1992 under the Secretary-General's auspices. The purpose of these discussions, of which two meetings, one in New York and one in Rome, have been held, is to strengthen the efforts to reach a solution that is peaceful, comprehensive and internationally acceptable. The next meeting is scheduled to take place in New York later this year. We are committed to the efforts of the Secretary-General as long as we believe they are being met with equal seriousness on the part of Portugal.

How does the Government of Indonesia respond to allegations of human rights groups and a group of U.S. leaders about human rights violations in East Timor?

The Government of Indonesia is well aware of the concern of a number of coun-

tries regarding the conduct of human rights in East Timor. While we believe much of the concern is without foundation, we do accept that there have been incidents that run contrary to our commitment to the universal validity of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. When we have been made aware of such incidents, such as the well-publicized tragedy in Dili in November 1991, we have acted swiftly to correct them and to bring to justice those individuals, be they civilians or military officials, who are responsible for the incident.

It is our relief that many of the unsubstantiated charges regarding human rights abuses in East Timor are being disseminated by representatives of the Government of Portugal or by organizations receiving the support of that government. Portugal's motivation in this regard stems from its profound sense of guilt in abandoning a colony it had held for hundreds of years.

It is very troubling to have the former colonial power supporting the condemnation of a country that has brought peace and stability to a region that was neglected for centuries. The Government of Portugal relinquished its responsibilities for the administration of East Timor in 1975 when its accredited representatives abandoned the territory and left a vacuum (and weapons and ammunition) which fueled a civil war that has been the source of a great deal of death and destruction.

History will show that the very foundation of Indonesia was built on a search for freedom and justice and that the commitment of the Government to ensuring rights for all has brought these basic human rights to all of the country's more than 186 million people. This is something the people of East Timor did not have under Portuguese colonial rule and only gained as peace and stability have replaced civil war in this important part of Indonesia.

INDONESIA'S BRASS POLISHES ITSELF

By Michael Shari. Special to the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 18, 1995. Front page.

JAKARTA – Indonesia, a large Southeast Asian nation often targeted in Congress for its brutal occupation of tiny East Timor, showed unusual restraint during recent riots on the island, Western diplomats say.

The Army, long criticized for rights abuses, appeared to have gone "by the book" in ending the latest strife in the former Portuguese territory, they say.

The new restraint toward dissent in this nation of 192 million people may be due to Western-trained generals having risen up the ranks, eager to avoid blame for bloodshed

caused by low-ranking soldiers. Even broader say Jakarta-based envoys, the Army may be shifting from a day-to-day political role in Indonesia to a more professional defense role.

The shift may be due partly to Indonesia trying to improve its international image. But also the Army is anticipating President Suharto – himself a former general – possibly ending its long rule.

“My impression is they’re willing to allow greater democratization, bring the Army out of politics, and allow politics to be handled by civilians,” says Marzuki Darusman, a former parliament member belonging to Golkar, the ruling party, and now vice chairman of the government-sponsored National Commission on Human Rights.

East Timor has been in relative turmoil since 1975, when Portugal abandoned the colony and the Indonesian Army, fearing a leftist takeover responded with an invasion that killed thousands. Since then tensions have simmered and the 700,00 predominantly Roman Catholic residents have resented the influx of Muslim migrants from the rest of Indonesia. “The tension is certainly there, and when you take the lid off, it doesn’t take much to ignite it,” a Western diplomat says.

All it took on Sept. 8 was for an Indonesian justice official to drop an anti-Catholic slur in a speech (details of which are unclear) to inmates at Maliana Prison near the East Timor capital of Dili. For two days, angry mobs torched houses, schools, and police cars around Dili. Soldiers and police responded by arresting more than 100 people and releasing all but 10 “masterminds.”

But in a departure from what was once standard procedure in Indonesia’s youngest province, they did not open fire on the crowds, according to Dili residents and Western diplomats in Jakarta. Among those arrested was the justice official, Sanusi Abubakar, who police say will face charges and stand trial.

That incident would follow a recent pattern. In June, a court martial sentenced 1st Lt. Jeremias Kasse, an intelligence officer and Priv. Rusdin Maumere to 4-1/2 years in prison for the murders of six villagers in the remote district of Liquisa, East Timor, last January.

The trial followed an investigation by the National Commission on Human Rights, which over-turned earlier findings by Army investigators that the six victims were guerrillas of the separatist Fretilin (a Portuguese acronym for Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor), who had been killed in a firefight. The commission determined that a summary execution had taken place and that the victims were unarmed and innocent.

Military officials confirmed that in mid-1992, in response to the killing of unarmed demonstrators at Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili in November 1991, 10 soldiers, including four second lieutenants, were given prison sentences ranging from eight to 17 months, and six officers were dismissed or demoted.

“Now 18 months may look ... light given the nature of the crime, but that’s more than Lt. Calley got for doing My Lai,” says a Western diplomat referring to the American soldier who led a unit accused of massacring a group of Vietnamese civilians.

The courts-martial brought out little known fact that often the troops implicated in the most appalling human rights violations are native East Timorese.

Army generals hope that cracking down on their own troops – and letting the world watch – will put an end to the cruelty for which the entire Indonesian military establishment and Suharto himself have taken the blame. They see this as essential for Indonesia’s political system to become acceptable to the tens of millions of increasingly vocal, middle-class Indonesians.

“The only way [the generals] feel they can still enjoy public recognition is to adjust to the new reality,” says Mr. Darusman.

The Army is painfully aware that East Timor has tarnished Indonesia’s international image. And it overshadows Suharto’s role as an elder statesman of the third world and champion of free trade.

Still, Suharto, has ruled out suggestions from the military that the province be granted limited autonomy, and has categorically rejected calls for a referendum on independence. The military occupation is symbolic of the president’s 30-year-old campaign against ethnic strife in a country of 13,700 islands and 300 ethnic groups.

The Army recently bowed out of this debate and marked its distance from day-to-day politics by agreeing to reduce the number of parliament seats reserved for active generals from 100 to 75 at the end of the current session in 1997.

The diplomats say this could play into Suharto’s hands in the next presidential vote in parliament in 1998 – and could well be intended to shore up his popular support. Despite ruling for 30 years, Suharto has yet to name a successor and is known to harbor ambitions of ruling well into the 21st century.

“The one thing that Suharto does not lack is confidence,” says a Western diplomat.

HOW BAD IS BAD IN EAST TIMOR?

Letters to the editor, The Christian Science Monitor, Friday, October 6, 1995

[These letters relate to an article by Michael Shari, whose name was edited out of Terrall’s letter and does not appear with the “writer’s note.” Full text.]

The author of the front-page article “Indonesia’s Brass Polishes itself,” Sept. 18, misrepresents the situation in East Timor by accepting the arguments of his sources – Indonesian government officials and unnamed “Western diplomats.”

Since the Indonesian military invaded East Timor in 1975, there has been one clear policy from on high: genocide. To date, more than 200,000 Timorese have been killed. Though I have no doubt Indonesian generals are eager that the world think otherwise, the bloodshed in East Timor is not “caused by low-ranking soldiers.”

To imply that the failure to open fire on crowds demonstrates “unusual restraint” is shoddy journalism.

Ben Terrall, San Francisco

As one who has visited East Timor, I was dismayed by the words of an unnamed Western diplomat who characterized the behavior of Indonesian security forces toward recent protests in East Timor as “unusual restraint.”

While it appears that there were few if any deaths during these events, information I have received leaves little doubt that 100 young people or more were brutally beaten and tortured. To say, as this unnamed diplomat did, that the Indonesian Army appeared to have gone “by the book” in ending the latest strife in East Timor is unconscionable.

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.,
Former Episcopal Bishop of New York

Writer’s note: The article looked at how Indonesian security forces have changed their handling of East Timor in recent years. Some human rights advocates acknowledge that the situation has improved from the time when people were shot in the back while running and when confessions were extracted by a boot in the teeth. Police brutality in its current form in East Timor – although still brutal – now more generally follows “by the book” procedures practiced in the rest of Indonesia; it also deserves a fair comparison with police brutality in many poor nations and even some rich nations.

INDONESIAN HOUSE TO HOLD PLENARY SESSION ON EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, 26 September 1995. Abridged

The (Indonesian) House of Representatives will hold a plenary meeting this week to discuss the latest developments in East Timor. Aisyah Amini of the United Development Party (PPP) who is also chair of Commission I overseeing security and political affairs, said yesterday the House will discuss the findings of the visit to the territory made last week by herself and her colleague B.N Marbun.

The House will prepared a number of proposals including its call for the establishment of an inter-religious forum to help contain racial and religious tensions, she said. She also said that during her visit, local officials promised to help the return to the province of dozens of Muslim 'refugees' who fled following the riots. The officials guaranteed their safety, she added.

Aisyah and Marbun flew to the East Timor capital and the city of Maliana last Thursday, joining Baharuddin Lopa and Charles Himawan of the National Commission for Human Rights.

She said she hoped the consultation forum among religions in East Timor would be established soon to help people learn to live together peacefully. "People look up to those religious leaders for guidance," she said.

"No one region in Indonesia would be exclusively for one religion only. Our Constitution protects the rights of people to seek a livelihood and practice their religion in any part of the country."

She dismissed the suggestion by Bishop Belo that the government should designate East Timor "a special Catholic region."

"There is no such region in Indonesia. This notion is against the drive to establish unity. This will only create gaps and conflicts, ones which are more serious in nature. There should not be any exclusive region and there is none in this world," she said.

"People should be free to go anywhere, to the US, to East Timor. East Timorese can go anywhere they want to, so other people should be able to go there.

In an interview with Gatra, Bishop Belo said he once proposed that East Timor be declared a region of Catholic people. The proposal was rejected, he said.

Aisyah rejected the idea that migrants had not adjusted to local norms. "It's relative. Everybody has their own traits and signs of upbringing and they should indeed adapt to local norms. But this should not be a one-way process. The hosts should also strive to adapt to the newcomers," she said

JAKARTA POST: THE EAST TIMOR ISSUE

EDITORIAL, The Jakarta Post, September 28, 1995

President Soeharto is reported to have expressed his concern over the situation in East Timor during a meeting with leaders of the Indonesian Bishop's Conference the other day. He reportedly called for greater efforts to eliminate prevailing suspicions which the East Timorese still harbor, particularly of non-East Timorese.

We believe that many people share the President's concern over the East Timor issue. The rioting in East Timor two weeks ago, which lasted almost three days, was indeed a warning to all of us as to how precarious the problem of East Timor is. It is obvious that aside from social and economic problems, religion and inter-ethnic relations could trigger social instability in that province far too easily.

On the other hand we are detecting the spread of a kind of "East Timor fatigue" among many Indonesians. Questions such as, how much longer will the East Timor problem continue to haunt us, or, why does East Timor continue to be a running sore even after almost 20 years of integration, are examples of this feeling.

We are also aware that of late a small number of people, particularly activists and for reasons still unclear, have even begun to question the Indonesian "involvement" in East Timor.

Of course we can easily accuse the Fretilin or other third parties of masterminding the endless riots or incidents which are occurring in relation to East Timor. The latest event being the seeking of asylum by five East Timorese students at the British Embassy in Jakarta a few days ago.

We are of the opinion that rather than blaming those people apparently suffering from "East Timor fatigue" of harboring subversive feelings or of having links with the Fretilin, we should try to understand why such questions and opinions have emerged. Only by keeping an open mind can we get answers that could be instrumental in solving the problem.

Much has been said about the mistakes of our past East Timor policy, which put too much emphasis on physical development. Billions or trillions of rupiahs have been spent to raise the living standards of our brothers and sisters in East Timor. And much to our dismay, many of the young people who have enjoyed secondary education due to these efforts, have turned their backs on us and are opposing the government. And many people in other poor regions have begun to question the merits of

the government's policy of providing this 27th province's people with so many more subsidies than they have ever enjoyed.

We are aware that East Timor is a delicate and sensitive issue. But without a real and concerted effort from all of us to settle the issue, East Timor will continue to hamper us.

In the last several years our reputation in the international community has been badly dented by this issue. Many visiting dignitaries have raised the East Timor question during their talks with our leaders. Even some of our neighboring countries have shown a certain degree of uneasiness on the issue, as apparent during the East Timor conferences held in Manila and Bangkok last year.

On way or another, the East Timor issue has come to overshadow success of our national development. Too much energy has been spent on explaining and countering the negative campaigns on East Timor. We are afraid that without immediate and proper handling, the matter will continue to sap our energy and sidetrack us from the more important issues.

Why should the government not initiate a conference, a series of conferences if necessary, in which all parties, including intellectuals, religious leaders, Armed Forces officers, government officials, parliamentarians, informal leaders, plus scores of other noted individuals, can have open and frank discussions on how to resolve the East Timor dilemma?

We believe that a first solid step like this would help us to understand the situation better and lead to the emergence of further positive action. After all, after almost 20 years of integration, it is time the East Timor question was settled for once and for all.

INDONESIA: DEALING CAUTIOUSLY WITH RUMORS

By Andreas Harsono. The West Australian Correspondent, Sept. 29

JAKARTA – Months after squeezing its media, the Indonesian government is now busy dealing with unofficial media such as leaflets, brochures and academic papers, calling on the public to be wary of "divisive rumors" that spread throughout the country and caused a number of tension in some areas.

Coordinating Minister for Political Affairs and Security Soesilo Soedarman said in a press briefing on September 28 that leaflets had been circulated, some even found in public spaces such as pedestrian bridges in Jakarta, that exploit social gaps, short com-

ing in the national development and other sensitive issues.

"The security authorities will investigate to determine the sources of the rumors and take firm action against them," Mr. Soedarman said, adding that the government has yet to determine how widely the leaflets and brochures containing the "misleading" information have been circulating.

Chief of the State Intelligence Body Gen. Soedibyo, who was accompanying Mr. Soedarman, said the rumors were hatched by parties who are "unhappy with everything that this great and diverse nation has achieved."

"Given the availability of communication and multiplication means, those leaflets seem to be spread quite widely. If we find them, there'll be no pardon for them. They'll be punished," said Mr. Soedarman, himself a retired military general.

Political observers, however, linked the effective spreading of rumors, which are actually more reliable than the official news, to the crack down of press freedom which began last year with the closure of three leading news weeklies.

Earlier this year, the Jakarta administration jailed four media workers for distributing unlicensed newspapers. In recent weeks, the government also scrapped a popular television talk show, reprimanded dozens of chief editors, suspended some working journalists and tried to censor the worldwide Internet.

Mr. Soedarman also said that several foreign media, including BBC London and Radio Netherlands, had broadcast news about the rumors. "Almost all of those stories, including the data quoted, were unfounded. And the stories only contained dissatisfaction over the nation's achievement."

Gen. Soedibyo, the highest intelligence official in Indonesia, also condemned a news letter published by the London-based Amnesty International rights group, saying that the "Urgent Action" news letter could become a source of the rumors.

Media watcher Ashadi Siregar, however, told the West Australian that it is normal for the Indonesian public to believe in the rumors because the local media do not report the truth.

"The public should normally express their opinion through the media. But the media are scared to express the opinion. They chose to report only official information," Mr. Siregar said, adding that the result could be no more than the emergence of rumors by various means.

In a related development, Attorney General Singgih said on September 27 that he had issued a decree to prohibit the publication, distribution and possession of a memoir of Oei Tjoe Tat, a former cabinet mem-

ber of the late President Sukarno, who was jailed from 1965 to 1977.

The autobiography, entitled *Memoirs of Oei Tjoe Tat: Assistant of President Sukarno*, was launched in April mainly among Mr. Oei's close friends. It was co-edited by internationally-recognized novelist Pramodya Ananta Toer who himself served many years of hard labor for allegedly spreading Marxism.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian Armed Forces announced that they had started to develop their own Internet database, to be called *Hankamnet*, to counter "negative information" about Indonesia that circulates on the computer network.

Commodore Sri Diharto, a computer specialist of the powerful Armed Forces, said in a seminar earlier this month that the Internet had been used by "anti-Indonesia" group to discredit the government and the military.

Citing an example, Mr. Diharto said that a lot of negative criticism of the Indonesian military presence in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh had been found in the Internet.

INDONESIA ACTS AGAINST PAMPHLETEERS

*SPJ PRESS NOTES – September 29, 1995
Prepared by Steve Geimann, Secretary-Treasurer*

A flurry of subversive pamphlets in Indonesia targeting social unrest and urging people to act has raised the ire of government officials, with threats to take "tough action" against the pamphleteers, official media and newspapers reported Friday.

Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs Susilo Sudarman said: "Security officers will investigate and will take tough action against the people (who circulate the pamphlets)," he said without elaborating.

The Jakarta Post said leaflets had circulated in Jakarta but it wasn't clear if the pamphlets were also circulated in other cities. Chief of the State Intelligence Coordinating Body M. Sudibyo told the Post leaflets originated from abroad and inside the country.

Sudibyo and Sudarman said comments in the leaflets were hatched by parties who were "unhappy with everything that this great and diverse nation has achieved."

INDONESIA'S LEGACY OF SUPPRESSION CONDEMNED ON 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF COUP

From Article 19, 30 Sept. 1995

ARTICLE 19, the International Centre Against Censorship, today released a new

report condemning continuing human rights abuses against more than a million former political prisoners arrested in the wake of the 1965 failed coup attempt in Indonesia. On the 30th anniversary of the coup, which was allegedly masterminded by the communist PKI party, ARTICLE 19 says that the New Order government continues to manipulate fears of a communist revival as a means of suppressing dissent.

"Despite the implausibility of a communist resurgence, the government arbitrarily uses accusations of PKI links or 'communist tendencies' to intimidate those who advocate peaceful democratic and social reform," Frances D'Souza, ARTICLE 19's Executive Director says. Those condemned in this way range from pro-democracy activists to farmers protesting against land expropriation. In a country where the memory of the violence of the post-coup period in which at least 500,000 people were killed is strong, these accusations can have serious consequences.

The report says that the government's continuing discrimination against former political prisoners (known as ex-Tapols) acts as a powerful deterrent to dissent. The government announced in August 1995 that the ET mark on identity cards — which immediately marks out ex-Tapols for discrimination will be phased out. But Frances D'Souza stresses, "This alone is not enough. Surveillance and restrictions on their freedom of expression, association and movement must also be ended."

Former political prisoners are prohibited from holding jobs with the potential to influence public opinion, including in the civil service, law and education. They have to seek special permission to travel and must attend periodic interviews and lectures on the state ideology, Pancasila.

"The procedures are often Kafkaesque," says Frances D'Souza, "and officials are reluctant to take decisions on routine matters such as housing and travel, even when all the official requirements have been met." In one case, an ex-Tapol tried unsuccessfully for two years to get official recognition for his change of address, even though his former home had been torn down and replaced by a supermarket.

Their families suffer "guilt by association," the report says, and they are liable to face discrimination if it becomes known that they are related to a former political prisoner. Families have split up and engagements to marry have been broken to avoid the stigma of being related to an ex-Tapol.

Any material deemed to contain "elements of communist ideology" is liable to restriction. All the books of former political prisoner Pramodya Ananta Toer, one of Indonesia's foremost writers, are banned.

Following an interview with him in the Lampung Post in September 1995, five of the newspaper's journalists were suspended and are being "investigated" for PKI links.

On the anniversary of the coup each year, state television broadcasts an official film giving the government's own highly contentious version of the coup. Books which challenge this view are banned, including Wimanjaya K Liotohe's *Primadosa*, which claims that the then General Suharto may have been involved in the coup plot.

Video games and music albums have been confiscated because they contain the hammer and sickle emblem of communism. In April 1995 several copies of a Nintendo game were confiscated in Central Java because they contained the hammer and sickle emblem.

ARTICLE 19 calls for an end to the discrimination against former political prisoners and their families and for free debate about the coup and its aftermath. The organization also calls on the government to stop using allegations of PKI links to intimidate peaceful activists.

Surveillance and Suppression: The Legacy of the 1965 Coup in Indonesia is available from ARTICLE 19.

For further information, please contact Catherine Drucker Publicity and Campaigns Officer Tel: 44 171 278 9292 (office) Fax: 44 171 713 1356

ELEVEN INDONESIAN NGO'S ISSUE STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR

Republika, 5 October 1995. Abridged

Jakarta – Eleven NGOs in Jakarta issued a statement on East Timor saying that they could not accept the view that East Timor should become a special region for a particular religion.

The eleven NGOs are: Bina Desa, PGI (Protestant churches), ELSAM, LP3ES, WALHI, YLBHI, LPPS, P3M, INFID, INFIGHT and SKEPHI.

The statement issued on 2 October in response to the published findings of the National Commission for Human Rights, team said firstly that the acts of violence by one group of people against another who happen to be ethnically different must be seen as a criminal act in violation of basic rights. We demand that the law enforcement authorities carry out investigations and impose legal sanctions against everyone responsible, it said.

Secondly that the acts of violence in East Timor, like those that occurred in Aceh, Medan, Lampung, Tanjung Priok and Hoar Koneng cannot be dissociated from social disparities which favour a small group and

are disadvantageous for the majority, economically and politically. All sides should therefore put pressure on the powers that be to carry out basic reforms for the achievement of a more open, democratic and just social, economic and political structure.

Thirdly, the social, economic and political problems which caused the rioting are also the responsibility of the government so therefore the government should give access to all groups in society in the decision-making process.

Fourthly, express profound regrets for the random actions taken by the majority against the minority. They therefore press the government as well as those in the majority to work together to create a climate of harmony between the different religious groups.

Fifthly, they cannot support the proposal for the region to become the region of one religion. That is not only against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Pancasila on religious freedom but basically conflicts with the humane spirit of these religions.

Sixthly, the government should give access for all sides to obtain more objective information about problems that occur in society, both in order to exert better control against the possibility of human rights violations occurring as well as to avoid distortions that could cause unrest.

Seventhly, they appeal to all circles, whether from the government, religious circles and other social groups, to uphold the interests of the people, especially those who have been the victims of violence, by opening friendly and fraternal dialogue, treating each other as equal human beings.

SURABAYA LBH CRITICISES NGO'S ON TIMOR

In a statement issued in Surabaya on 6 October, the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute, LBH, has strongly criticised a group of leading NGOs for a statement they issued about the recent events in East Timor. The statement is addressed to the eleven signatories of the statement:

Abdul Hakim G.N. of ELSAM
Asmara Nababan of INFID
Bambang Widjojanto of YLBHI
Dedy Triawan of WALHI
Gustap Dupe of PGI
Karjono of BINA DESA
R.M. Hardo Putranto of LPPS
Masdar Farid Mas'udi of P3M
Saleh Abdullah of INFIGHT
S. Indro Cahyono of SKEPHI
Rustam Ibrahim of LP3ES

While welcoming the initiative in issuing the statement, the Surabaya LBH com-

mented in particular on the first point which reads:

"That acts of violence committed by a group of inhabitants in East Timor against another group who happen to be of a different ethnic origin or religion are clearly criminal acts against basic rights. We therefore call on the authorities to investigate these acts in order to uphold the regulations and enforce firm and just legal sanctions against anyone proven to have broken the law."

We would like to ask, says LBH Surabaya, which law will apply? Have you now accepted that East Timor is de jure part of the Republic of Indonesia so that the authorities there should be pressed to take action on the basis of the 'laws' in force in Indonesia? Have you not thereby ignored the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and is your statement not in contravention of a number of International Human Rights Covenants?

The statement then list a number of international instruments and UN resolutions which oblige states not to recognise any acquisition of territory that has come about by means of force, as well as UN Security Council resolution adopted after the Indonesian invasion of 7 December 1975 which demanded the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

In conclusion, LBH-Surabaya states: "Based on all the above instruments, it is clear that your statement ignores the basic right of the people of East Timor to determine their own future by means of a referendum which has never taken place there.

"We are extremely dismayed that for the purposes of short-term political manoeuvring and interests, you have nullified everything for which we have jointly fought, the upholding of Basic Human Rights. You should realise that such a statement will be the cause of great international concern. And what is even more important, it represents a victory for those who oppose respect for Basic Human Rights."

Munir, Director for Operational Affairs,
Surabaya LBH

THE DYNAMICS OF THE INDONESIAN PRO- DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

By George J. Aditjondro, August 1995.

(Revised version of a paper presented at the "Indonesia: Putting Democracy on the Agenda" conference, organized by Community Aid Abroad (CAA) in Melbourne on August 18-19 1995)

Introduction

It is always hard to talk or write academically about a movement in which one-

self is involved. One has to be beware of the “double pitfalls of the academic cum activist,” namely the combination of the pitfall of “insider-activists,” who often suffer from a “self-centered glorifying bias” by focusing too much on one’s own “trees” and less on the total “forest,” and by often being too optimistic, as if the “revolution” will soon happen after the next turn around the corner, as well as the pitfall of “outsider-academics” who often over-emphasize the structure while under-emphasizing the agency element in the equation, besides by attempting to be too academic – meaning more “distanced” and thereby more “objective” than the activist – they often tend to be too pessimistic, as if the present situation will not change in the near future.

The three major currents in the Indonesian pro-democracy movement.

To avoid the pitfall of the activist in which I have been trapped in an earlier paper (see Aditjondro, 1994a), I will not focus this paper on the NGO movement in which I have participated, before my current exile in Australia, nor present an encyclopedic picture of the movement’s actors. I will instead focus on the ideologies of the various streams of the movement, thereby risking to touch upon the contradictions within the movement.

Broadly speaking there are two major streams within the movement, namely the “exclusive movements,” which has its “right-wing” and its “left-wing,” as well as a broader “inclusive movement,” which attempts to incorporate the agendas of both the right-wing as well as the left-wing of the exclusive movements.

The “right-wing exclusive” movement of the reformist democrats tend to focus on fighting for justice to the ethnic and religious majority of Indonesians, especially the Muslim Javanese people, but tend to exclude justice for left-wing activists, communists as well as socialists, from the democratization endeavour in Indonesia. This ideology is most prominent among most of the members of the Petisis 50 group, which is dominated by retired (Army and Police) Generals and Admirals, as well as older Muslim leaders.

On the other hand, the “left-wing exclusive” movement of the socialist democrats tend to focus on the working class, especially urban industrial workers, as well as farmers deprived of their lands (who thereby become potential urban industrial workers), and tends to exclude activists who strive for religious and regionalist aspirations, due to their dogmatic adherence to class-struggle analysis (see SPRIM, 1995).

Meanwhile, the “inclusive” movement of the liberal democrats mainly aim at restoring liberal democracy in Indonesia, where free-

dom of expression and freedom of assembly for all (willing and unwilling) Indonesian citizens and resident are respected, regardless of their beliefs and political ideologies. This is roughly the agenda of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), the Democratic Forum (Forum Demokrasi), and the numerous organizations of the young Indonesian people which have sprung up during the last five years, which have even began to campaign for a new political party, with their own candidate for president, MS Zulkarnain, one of the current directors of the Indonesian Environmental Forum (WALHI) and their own “shadow cabinet,” which includes the radical students’ organization, PIJAR (see Tiras, September 21, 1995:25).

Those “streams” are not mutually exclusive, however, since most pro-democracy activists have “conflicting” or “complex” aspirations, with aspirations of two or three currents in their agendas, depending on the point of time and place and political issue in question. The right-wing as well as the left-wing streams are, like in a river, the ones which has the strongest chance of hitting the river’s left and right-hand banks, to be bounced back into the mainstream, and thereby making the entire river’s debit even stronger.

Hence, the challenge to the “movement intellectuals” is, according to Antonio Gramsci, to create “good sense” out of the “common sense.” To be able to do that, let us first delineate the major characteristics of the three major or “commonsensical” currents in Indonesia’s pro-democracy movement, which, in my personal opinion, can be outlined as follows:

Scheme 1: An outline of the three major currents in the Indonesian pro-democracy movement

Right-wing “exclusive” democracy of the “reformist” democrats	
Anti	Pro
Socialism, especially communism: the Socialist & Communist parties should remained to be banned	Pancasila & the 1945 Constitution, with the emphasis on Muslim revival
Abuse of military power, especially the majority Muslim & indigenous population	Dual-function of the military should against be maintained but in a more moderate way, to guard the nation-state against extreme tendencies to disintegrate it
Discrimination of Islam in politics, economy, culture, and technology	Islam should live up to its majority position in Indonesian politics, economy & technology
Domination of Chinese in the economy	Indigenous (pribumi) Indonesians should live up to its majority position in Indonesian politics, economy, culture & technology. Emphasis on representative democracy which should be balanced by direct democracy, only if the interests of the “majority” (read: indigenous & Muslim masses) are threatened. If the interests of the non-indigenous and non-Muslim minorities are threatened, they do not have the right to demand justice through collective mass action.
Separation from the Indonesian state	Inclusion of East Timor into the Indonesian state borders, for which many Indonesian soldiers have sacrificed. Continuation of Suharto’s presidency for another term in 1998

Left-wing exclusive democracy of the "socialist" democrats		"Inclusive" democracy of the "liberal" democrats	
Anti	Pro	Anti	Pro
All forms of capitalism	Socialism, ranging from Gandhian anarchism to Leninist-Marxism	Oligarchy - dominated capitalism ("palace capitalism")	Social democracy/late capitalism, with regulations against conflict of interests between business & politics
Dual function of the military	Civilian control of the political & economic arenas, and civilian rule over the military	Abusive military domination in the political & economic arenas	More civilian control of the political & economic arenas
Prohibition of free trade unions	Freedom of speech & assembly, especially for the working class. Emphasis on direct democracy, especially for the working class (workplace- or industrial democracy), but still allows space for representative democracy, through a multiparty system, where the working class can form their own party	Banning of certain political parties, mass organizations	Freedom of speech & freedom of assembly for all people, regardless of their race, ethnicity, gender and ideology except communism
Xenophobia and racism	Self-determination for all peoples who have been colonized by Western powers as well as who are currently colonized by neo-colonial non-Western states	Control of the media by the state	
Continuation of Suharto's presidency	Limitation of the next president's terms, which is not yet regulated in the 1945 constitution	Imposition of Pancasila as the sole principle (asas tunggal) of all organizations	Constitutional state, not a state based on an ideology which can only be interpreted by the state authorities and is imposed on the citizens. Emphasis on representative democracy through a multiparty system, but allows space for direct democracy, especially for the middle-class, e.g. through rallies, consumer boycotts and freedom of expression through a free press.
		Separation from an Indonesian state	Integrity of the borders of the old Dutch East Indies colony, which includes West Papua and Aceh
		Xenophobia and racism	Legal protection for the East Timorese, West Papuan and Acehnese peoples who should be able to exercise their freedom of assembly and freedom of expression in the same vein as legal protection should be provided to Muslim or communist political prisoners who should be able to exercise those basic freedoms
		Continuation of Suharto's presidency	Limitation of the next president's terms, which is not yet regulated in the 1945 Constitution

The government-supported counter-movement

The Indonesian pro-democracy movement does not live and operate in a political vacuum. Apart from overt and covert forms of repression, which differ from case to case depending on the political clout which the respective individuals or organizations enjoy in the country, a more subtle way of reducing its influence has been developed by the regime by organizing and promoting a counter-movement. This counter movement operates on five rhetorical strategies, namely

ultra-nationalism, glorification of high-technology, Muslim domination in the government, civilian rule, and anti-communism. Its power lays in the fact that this hegemony, to borrow Gramsci again, has been amplified through the government-controlled and government-supporting media:

1. Ultra-nationalism:

Indonesia's development strategy as well as Indonesia's foreign policy should be based on a chauvinistic concept of nationalism, characterized by a strong suspicion of all criticism raised by the "West," which is dominated by Christians and Zionist Jews, who envy of all efforts of non-Western/non-Christian nations to "catch up" with the West in the fields of economics and technology. This political strategy is basically meant to counter the international support for the pro-democracy activists who are often labelled as "traitors," a title which seems to be more appropriate for the regime's beggars in the annual international fund-seeking conferences in Paris.

This strategy has been quite successful in mobilizing support for the regime, especially during occasions when Indonesian nationalistic symbols were "touched" by overseas critics, e.g. during the Indonesian flag-burning incidents in Australia, recently. The blind defenders of the Indonesian regime often forget, that Indonesians have also done the same thing to other people's flags, for instance, when recently in a demonstration against the USA's support for Israel, US and Israeli flag were also burned in front of the US embassy in Jakarta.

Prior to that recent incident, several other nations, and a would-be nation — have had their flags burned in Indonesia or by Indonesian forces. During the birth of the New Order, the flag of the People's Republic of China was burned, and most properties of the PRC were destroyed or occupied by the New Order demonstrators, while during the Konfrontasi era, the British Union Jack was also burned. On top of that, during the invasion and consequent occupation of East Timor, numerous Portuguese and East Timorese nationalist flags were also burned.

So how can we expect other people to respect our symbol of nationalism, if we ourselves have shown disrespect to the symbols of nationalism of other peoples? How can we expect other peoples to respect our nationalism, if we ourselves have betrayed the Bandung spirit of solidarity with Asian and African independence movement? How can we justify our solidarity with the Palestinian people, whose right for self-determination have been violated for decades by Israel, while we ourselves have allowed our government and our armed forces to become "another Zionist state" to another

“Palestina” in our own backwaters? How can we justify Suharto to welcome Yasser Arafat as a head of state, while this same kleptocracy is imprisoning the potential head of the East Timor state, Xanana Gusmão?

How can we justify Suharto’s welcoming party for Nelson Mandela, the elected president of post-apartheid South Africa, after Mandela has been imprisoned for more than twenty years, while initially attempting to hold Xanana Gusmão for a life-long imprisonment? Are these red carpet treatments for Arafat and Mandela by someone who has legally and physically intimidated the Indonesian people from choosing other presidential candidates for more than thirty years, not making a parody of the Palestinian and Black South African people’s democratic struggles?

2. Glorification of high-technology:

Indonesia’s development strategy should intentionally be based on the highest level of technology which could be obtained in the marketplace as well as that could be developed by Indonesian engineers, which includes nuclear power, satellite communication, and various military weapon technologies. Paralleling the previous political strategy, mastering high technology will allow Indonesia to “catch up” with the Western/Christian nations and simultaneously solve all economic problems inside the country.

This political strategy’s aim is basically aimed at neutralizing the “pro-environment” and “pro-marginalized people” streams within the pro-democracy movement, which has its roots, among others in the environmental movement. For the ordinary Indonesian in the streets, this very nationalistic pro-high tech rhetoric is quite effective in building a sense of pride of “our” achievement in this field. They really felt their nationalistic ego swell, when the national aircraft industry, IPTN was sending off its first group of N-250 airplanes, named Gatotkaca according to the flying hero in the Hindu-Javanese mythology, took off to its sister company in the US. However, according to my sources inside IPTN, only the airplane’s fuselage was made in Indonesia. The cockpit, the wings, the tail, and most importantly, the airplane’s engine were made in Europe and only assembled in IPTN’s factory in Bandung.

Hence to call that plane “100% made by Indonesian engineers and technicians,” was actually an immoral way of cheating the public. Many IPTN insiders, however, know the actual story. They also know how all expatriates at IPTN have to hide during visits of foreign state guests. Hence, a new meaning for the IPTN acronym has been

born, namely “industri penipu tamu negara,” or “the industry to cheat state guests.” It should actually also be called the industry to cheat the Indonesian people, because one of the reasons of IPTN’s reluctance to reveal its books for parliamentary financial scrutiny, is that it is one of the “milk cows” of the Habibie family’s companies.

3. Muslim domination in government:

Contrary to the more secularistic approach adopted by the new Order during its first decades, when the regime worked closely with the right-wing Catholic think-tank CSIS (Centre for Strategic and International Studies) which was headed by two close confidants of Suharto (the late generals Ali Murtopo and Sudjono Humardani), during the last decade Suharto made a political salto mortale towards favoring a strong Muslim domination in government.

Under the direction of his Minister of Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie, a new quasi-NGO was founded, namely ICMI (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia, or the Indonesian Islamic Scholars Association). Also many Islamic political prisoners have been released, after Suharto himself had done the haj pilgrimage, and returned home from the Holy Land as the protector of Islam, a role which was also played by the Mataram rulers of Java. In line with this new political strategy, his oldest daughter, Mbak Tutut, has also projected herself as a pious Muslim woman by always wearing her jilbab (veil) in her public appearances.

This new Islamic image is strongly linked with the two previous political strategies, namely, the ultra-nationalist and pro high-tech rhetoric. It has been successful in wooing many former disillusioned Islamic political activists into the regime’s fold, who now feel that Suharto has recognized the role of Islam as the majority in Indonesia. Strangely enough, those who have passed over from opposing to supporting Suharto’s regime have overlooked the fact that religion is only one way to construct Indonesia’s majority, because “the Javanese people,” “the poor people,” “peasants” or “civilians” also form the majority of the Indonesian population, who still do not enjoy much power in Indonesia.

By courting his former Islamic opponents, Suharto has also found a strong ally in undermining the growing support for the East Timorese independence movement among younger Indonesian intellectuals. In contrast to Indonesia’s support for the Muslim-dominated liberation movements of the Palestinian, Bosnian, Moro and Patani peoples, the East Timorese independence movement has been painted in the mainstream as well as Islamic media as a “Chris-

tian conspiracy,” instigated by a world-wide Western-Christian human rights conspiracy, who resent the regime’s closeness with the Islamic world. A favorite media gimmick is to frame the pro-East Timor solidarity movement as a continuation of the Christian Crusade against Muslims in the Iberian peninsula.

Ironically, pro-Suharto Muslims who support the colonization of East Timor nowadays co operate, consciously or unconsciously, with the right-wing Catholic think-tank, CSIS, which encouraged Suharto’s anti-Islam attitude during the first decades of his New Order rule. For instance, in a recent conference of the Medical Association for Prevention of War (MAPW) in Sydney, the only pro-Suharto speaker was an MD who is also the director of an Islamic hospital and the rector of an Islamic university in Jakarta. His main source to defend Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor was a book written by a pro-integration East Timorese, João Mariano de Sousa Saldanha (1944a, 1944b), who had been supported by the CSIS to carry out his research. Both the Indonesian as well as the updated and revised English edition of this book were published in less than a year’s time by a Protestant daily newspaper, Sinar Harapan, which gave the blessings for the invasion in 1975.

So, the former victims of the anti-Islamic attitude of the CSIS and General Murdani’s ABRI are now co operating with the same think-tank, which has appointed the retired Catholic general as its new protector – after the death of General Ali Murtopo. Sadly enough, those reactionary Muslim intellectuals have forgotten that their political community as well as the East Timorese people had both the common victims of the repressive acts of Benny Murdani, a good friend of the Zionist generals who had clandestinely supplied the Indonesian Armed Forces with 14 American A-4 Skyhawk ground-attack fighter aircraft, two TA-4 Skyhawk trainers and hundreds of Israeli UZI machine guns, to kill all “enemies of the state,” regardless whether they were red, green or blue. In fact, according to the New York Times of December 14 1984, Israeli UZI submachine guns had been used to gun down the 1,500 Muslim demonstrators in Tanjung Priok in December 1984. The same “Zionist” weapon was used to kill the West Papuan artist, Arnold Ap, eight months earlier (Leifer, 1985: 156; Ramos-Horta, 1987: 148; Djopari, 1993: 129; Aditjondro, 1994: 43). Indonesia’s Israel connections had also watered down Indonesia’s support for the Palestinian, Moro and Patani Muslims in the Organization of the Islamic Conference (Leifer, 1985: 157)

Apart from that, the build-up of Indonesian military power after the invasion of

East Timor has blown-up the national “defense” budget from Rp 92 billion to Rp 1.9 trillion between 1969/70 and 1983/84, making it triple the national health budget. And even in 1992, Indonesia had still the lowest health budget among the ASEAN countries (Aditjondro, 1993), while the military enjoys their lucrative intra as well as extra-budgetary funding sources. This fact which did not seem to bother the Muslim doctor who came all the way to Sydney to the MAPW conference, to defend the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

4. Civilian rule:

With the promotion of Harmoko as the chair of the ruling party, Golkar, an important political position which for two decades was reserved for (retired) generals, the impression was created that Suharto is now favoring civilian rule. This image is also enforced by the shift of the three main military industries, the former Airforce aircraft industry IPTN, the former Navy shipyard PT PAL, and the former Army arms factory PT Pindad, to a civilian establishment, BPIS under the direction of another civilian minister, Habibie. Hence, Suharto’s supporters now tend to defend Harmoko’s power over Golkar as well as Habibie’s power over the military industries, by labelling the critics as influenced by “military dissatisfaction” against Suharto, who had taken the right step to “civilize” his regime.

The creation of the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) which has criticized the military and police in the cases of Marsinah, Liquiça and Timika can also be seen as Suharto’s attempt to blame many developmental problems on the Armed Forces, while boosting his “pro-civilian” image.

However, if we look carefully through this thin “pro-civilian,” we can observe the following facts to demystify this “pro-civilian” image. One, rarely have Army divisions, for instance Brawijaya in the case of the Marsinah killing, Udayana in the case of the Liquiça killings, and Trikora in the case of the Timika killings, been blamed by Komnas HAM, although there is a military motto, which says that “there are no bad soldiers, there are only bad commanders.” Two, Komnas HAM itself is directed by a retired Army general Ali Said. Three, in the case of the recent Timika killings, the Suharto appointed Komnas HAM has absolved the giant mining company, Freeport, from any complicity in the killings, which contradicts all previous reports from West Papuan sources. Komnas HAM is thereby also protecting the Indonesian interests in the giant mining operation from public scrutiny. This Indonesian subsidiary of Freeport McMoRan, in fact, involves the Indonesian

government, the family company of Labour Minister Abdul Latief, and a conglomerate close to the family, Bakrie Brothers, as shareholders or joint venture partners.

Just like in the case of Freeport, active as well as retired military units and officers are constantly still involved in business or in protecting business interests. For instance, Suharto’s son-in-law, Prabowo Djojohadikusumo, has been promoted to the second in command of the Army’s elite corps, the Red Berets (Kopassus), to protect the First Family’s interests in the coming change of guards, since his wife, Titi Prabowo, is closely involved in the business interests of the Suharto and Djojohadikusumo families in East Timor and Indonesia. Likewise, in one of the new conglomerates of the Habibie family, the head of the Armed Forces faction in the parliament, Ret. Admiral Abu Hartono, has been appointed as the conglomerate’s President Commissioner. And despite the popular image about the Suharto-Benny Murdani rivalry, the Suharto, Habibie and Murdani families share common business interests in Anthony Salim’s large piggery near Batam island, while the Suharto and Murdani families also helped to promote Robby Sumampow’s Christmas Island casino – despite the Muslim prohibitions against pork and gambling. And in North Sumatra, according to my sources, Suharto’s eldest daughter has built a new bottled drinking water factory, together with a company owned by the Minister for Administrative Reform, Ret. General T.B. Silalahi.

Therefore, taking all those facts in consideration, we seriously need to question “which civilians” are actually ruling Indonesia, and how they are (ab)using the power of the military to protect their business interests, against the military’s own Sapta Marga doctrine.

5. Anti-communism:

Finally, if all those other rhetorical weapons do not “work” then the powers that be and their supporters, resort to their oldest and most primitive weapon, which has been used constantly and periodically since the earlier days of the new Order, namely “the latent danger of communism” or “the latent danger of the new Indonesian Communist Party” (bahaya laten PKI). Intentionally, no differences are usually made between “communism” and “socialism,” because by raising the spectre of communism, the general and lay public can easily be led towards the danger of “atheism,” and thereby mobilize the support of fanatical religious groups in Indonesia.

Lately, when hundreds of Indonesian intellectuals supported the Magsaysay award for Pramudya Ananta Toer, some of the

government supporters blamed them for being leftists. In the Internet debates, critics of the Indonesian government have been accused of being “leftists” or “pro-communists” or “pro-socialists.” When the Medan branch of SBSI organized the famous public rally, which was later infiltrated and distorted into a racist rally, the then head of the Armed Forces General Staff (Kasum ABRI), General Mantiri accused this independent trade union of using “Communists tactics.” The national chairperson of SBSI, Mochtar Pakpahan was even attacked in the mass media as being the son of a Communist peasant activist whose father had been involved in the bandar Betsy uprising. Now that the Supreme Court has proven his innocence, Pakpahan should actually be able to sue Mantiri for libel.

Personally, I have also had my shares of being labelled as “communist” When I started to raise public concern in Indonesia about our occupation of East Timor, I was accused through an anonymous letter as being “a Chinese communist.” In Irian Jaya, where I worked from 1982 to 1987, defending the human rights of the Irianese people, part of whom preferred to be called “West Papuans,” the military intelligence agents in Abepura tried to alienate my Irian Jayan friends from me by telling them that I am “a Communist fugitive” from Java.

Most recently, according to my sources in Jakarta, the new Kasum ABRI my good friend General Suyono told the chief editors rounded up in the usual way for one-way briefings, not to believe all the stuff that I had put on the Internet. He also told the senior journalists that I – and a friend of mine – was using Communist agitation and propaganda tactics. Actually, be doing that Suyono did not only insult me, but also insulted Suharto, who had awarded me with the Kalpataru in 1987, with the message to keep up my good work. And keeping up my good work, which has been a critic of the government in the environmental field, that is what I have been doing, moving further away from criticizing the impact of projects and policies to criticizing the political-economic system which keeps producing and reproducing those environmental disasters. So, if I am a Communist, which the Army intelligence should have known way back in 1987, why did they allow Suharto to aware me the Kalpataru? Or, is Suharto also a Communist?

NEVERTHELESS, as it has turned out, by developing this ultra-nationalist, pro-tech, pro-Muslim, pro-civilian and anti-communist hegemony, the regime has quite successfully obtained public support for many ambitious “development” projects, which mostly benefit the business interests of the ruling families. hence apart from

struggling for their bare survival in the wake of the increasing repression in Indonesia, the Indonesian pro-democracy movement are faced with the tremendous challenge to demystify the rhetorical weapons of the pro-Suharto elements inside and outside the country.

Members of the Indonesian pro-democratic movement need to question themselves seriously, whether they themselves have not been prone to the pro-status quo rhetoric. From my own observation it seems that New Order's "pro-high-tech" and "pro-civilian" rhetoric does not seem to bother the struggling democrats, but that the "Islamic favoritism" rhetoric is more of a problem, even for liberal democrats. For instance, in a major Indonesian NGO which prides itself as the "locomotive of democratization," non-Muslim lawyers have encountered difficulties to climb up in the organization's rank, even when they had popular support in the organization. This policy, and a common practice among Indonesian NGOs to accuse non-Muslim activists of trying to "Christianize" the organizations, actually discriminate them to become second-class citizens in this republic. Although one can understand this practice as being a revenge against Suharto's practice to favor Christians over Muslims in his Golkar network during the first decades of his rule, it is unfair to vent that revenge upon fellow activists who happen to be Christians. This is what Paulo Freire calls "horizontal violence," a common characteristic of oppressed groups who do not have the guts to aim their opposition against the real oppressors.

Apart from the discrimination against non-Muslims in supposedly pro-democratic organizations, many right-wing as well as liberal Indonesian democrats have declined to support East Timor's right for self-determination, for the fear of facing the backlash from ultra-nationalists, Muslim and Christian reactionary elements, and, obviously, the military.

As far as nationalism is concerned, it may be useful to search for the historical origins of the current "ultra-nationalist" tendency, and contrast that with the ideas of the founding parents of Indonesia's nationalism. It may be interesting to remember, that during the Japanese occupation, the Japanese forces identified their war against the West with a Holy War (jihad) against infidels, and their alliance with Indonesian Muslims was symbolised on a new flag, where the Islamic crescent was superimposed on the Rising Sun (Kahin, 1959: 111; Morton, 1981:87).

In contrast, Sukarno, in one of his earlier articles (1926) stated that: "The true nationalist who loves his country bases his thinking on a knowledge of the structure of world

economics and history and his nationalist feelings do not emerge merely as the arrogant reaction of a backward people. The nationalist should not be chauvinistic, he must reject all narrow-minded views. True nationalism should not be merely a copy of Western nationalism, but it should flow from a feeling of love for the world and humanity. A nationalist who accepts this kind of nationalism as a divine revelation and practices it as a religious devotion has escaped from narrow minded thinking" (Penders, 1975: 33). So, we see here that the current ultra-nationalist wave on which Suharto is joyfully riding, is much closer to Japanese World War II fascism than to Sukarno's (early) nationalism.

Perth, October 5, 1995

(in commemoration of the Indonesian Armed Forces Day)

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ABRI NAMES FACES BEHIND INCIDENTS

The Jakarta Post, October 17, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): The Armed Forces (ABRI) announced the names of three people whom it has identified with the "formless" organizations that have been blamed for recent acts of provocation.

ABRI Chief of General Affairs Lt. Gen. Soeyono identified the three as author Pramoedya Ananta Toer, scholar George Aditjondro, and labor leader Muchtar Pakpahan.

"These are not rumours. These are the facts," Soeyono told reporters at his office.

"The organizations change their form constantly but the people behind them are always the sama," he said. "Their objective is clear: to topple the government, split ABRI and set ABRI against the people, and destroy this nation."

Asked whether ABRI intends to take any action against the three men, he responded: "Don't be surprised if one of this day ABRI declares them as enemies. If they continue with their fight, the will have to deal with ABRI.

President Soeharto and senior government and military officials in the past week have issued several warning about the existence of "formless" organizations whose activities bear the hallmarks of the now-outlawed Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

These organizations, they say, are preying on young people to spread communist teaching under the guise of democracy and human rights issues. ABRI has also linked some recent incidents of agitation to the activities of these "formless" organizations.

Until yesterday, however, they refrained from disclosing names.

Pramoedya, Indonesia's most renowned writer abroad, received the prestigious Mag-saysay award for literature last month. The award prompted criticism from some fellow writers who recalled Pramoedya's campaign in the 1960s to clamp down on writers and artist opposing communist.

Soeyono also underlined Pramoedya's membership in Lekra, the PKI's cultural wing, as one reason to be suspicious of his recent activities.

Muchtar is the chairman of the Indonesian Prosperous Labor Union (SBSI), an organization still not recognized by the government. Muchtar was recently acquitted by the Supreme Court of charges of inciting last year's labor riot in Medan, North Sumatra.

"Muchtar is a PKI," Soeyono said, adding that Muchtar's father led the bloody, PKI-sponsored worker strike in Bandarbesi in North Sumatra in the 1960s.

WANTED

George, a vocal scholar who is wanted by the police for allegedly making remarks that insulted President Soeharto, is currently teaching and conducting research in Australia.

Soeyono described George as falling into the lesser "B Category," usually reserved for hard-core communist.

After PKI was banned in 1966, the government put former PKI members into different categories. Category A for hard-core communist who took direct part in 1965 abortive coup, Category B for hard-core communist who did not have a direct role, and so on.

"Look at what Aditjondro and Pramodya wrote in the Australia-based Progress magazine as well as Aditjondro's recent comments which appeared on the Internet," Soeyono said.

Soeyono warn the three men, who are now on ABRI's black list, to stop their acts of provocation.

He also criticized those people, particularly the young, who have expressed support for or come to the defense of the three men.

Those people born after 1965 should improve their understanding of the nation's history lest they fall under the influence of these "formless" organizations, he said.

He expressed his concern with the many young people who, puzzled by ABRI's relentless warnings of latent communist dangers, have asked: "Is the communist danger really that bad?"

Meanwhile, an organizations of former student leaders whose demonstrations in 1966 led to the banning of PKI, yesterday urged the government to renew its campaign to purge the nation of communists and their sympathizers, whom, they say, have infiltrated the top levels of the bureaucracy.

The group, called Laskar Arief Rachman Hakim, said government agencies should begin now and not wait around for the military to conduct a screening.

The group's chairman, Djusril Djusan, told reporters that the group has a list of names of former PKI members and its supporters who are now holding top government positions.

He recalled that before it was banned, the PKI had three million members and over 21 million sympathizers.

"We should know where they are now and what they do," he said.

Djusril, however, declined to give any names.

UNIONIST, ACADEMIC DENY THEY ARE COMMUNISTS

The Jakarta Post, October 18, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): Labor leader Muchtar Pakpahan and academic George Junus Aditjondro denied yesterday the military's claim that they are communists.

Mochtar, a leader of the unrecognized Indonesian Prosperous Labour Union (SBSI), described the accusation, made publicly on Monday by Armed Forces General Affairs chief Maj. Gen. Soeyono, as "slanderous."

"Can he say when I became a communist?" he asked, in an interview with *The Jakarta Post*. "I'm planning to sue Soeyono," he said, adding that he is awaiting the views of SBSI leaders in the provinces as to what action should be taken.

Meanwhile, George also denied being a communist.

"I am a Gandhi-ist. I am a leftist, yes, I am a socialist, yes, but I believe more in Gandhi's socialism than Marxism," George said, as quoted by AFP, adding that he stands for human rights and freedom of association.

On Monday Soeyono said that Muchtar, George and internationally-renowned Indonesian writer Pramodya Ananta Toer were communists and were linked to recent incidents of violence which the military says are aimed at destabilizing the government.

Mochtar was recently exonerated by the Supreme Court of charges of inciting last year's labor uprising in the North Sumatran capital Medan.

George, a lecturer of the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, Central Java, is currently conducting research in Australia. He left Indonesia this year while under police investigation on suspicion of insulting the government in a seminar.

Soeyono said Muchtar was a communist because his father led a bloody communist party-sponsored strike in Bandarbesi, North Sumatra, in the 1960s.

Muchtar, however, denied that his father had been involved in the Bandarbesi riot.

Armed Forces chief spokesman Brig. Gen. Suwarno Adiwijaya told *The Post* yesterday that the three names are only part of a list of people the military believes are communists or activists of "formless" organizations who are out to undermine the government.

He said that, by announcing their names, the military means to remind the public of the latent danger of communism so that it can remain vigilant.

Soeyono's statement received mixed reactions yesterday.

Legislator A.A. Oka Mahendra of the ruling Golkar party said the military must have been armed with sufficient hard evidence

before naming names. "Otherwise the government would not have made the claims publicly."

Oka said that Armed Forces' announcement should serve as a warning to the public to remain vigilant against the latent danger of communism, as described by senior government officials, including President Soeharto.

Moslem scholar Abdurrahman Wahid dismissed the move as a trick to divert public attention away from the various problems facing the government.

"It's usual to find a common enemy when you are in trouble. There is nothing unusual about it," he said in a seminar here yesterday.

Abdurrahman said that current events resemble those of the 1970s, when conflicts within the top echelons of the political elite flared up, manifesting themselves in the well-known 1974 riots.

"It is like a cycle. The power holders are trying to put the lid on the political openness they previously encouraged," he said. "When the crisis is over, openness will be encouraged again," Abdurrahman said.

Hendardi of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation and Tohap Simanungkalit of the SBSI both argued that the military must prove its accusations in a court of law.

"Soeyono has trampled on the presumption of innocence in singling out Muchtar Pakpahan as a communist. He (Soeyono) has disrespected the rule of law," Simanungkalit said.

Hendardi said he is worried that the government will continue labeling people as "communists," adding that it is a technique for scaring people who do not share the government's views.

"There is fear that the government will brand organizations which it cannot control as dangerous 'formless organizations,'" he said.

INDONESIA ETERNALLY ON ALERT TO COMMUNIST THREAT

By Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, Oct. 22 (Reuter) — Even when President Suharto is on the other side of the world he rarely misses an opportunity to warn Indonesians of the ever-present threat of communism.

In a speech to cadres of the ruling Golkar party on its 31st birthday, he called on citizens not to forget Indonesia's experience with attempted communist coups in 1948 and 1965.

"In looking to the future we must not forget our past," Suharto, currently in New York, said in the speech read by Vice-President Try Sutrisno on Friday night.

But the continuous use of the communist bogeyman, a trademark of Suharto's New Order regime, is drawing increasing scrutiny 30 years after the then-general crushed the last communist coup attempt and outlawed the party.

In the army-backed purges that followed, at least 500,000 people were killed and more than a million members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) imprisoned.

While most have been released, former communists and their families still face official discrimination.

Suharto, aided by dozens of senior government and military officials, has issued new warnings of the communist threat, saying it was taking a new shape as "formless organisations."

"The announcement on the presence of formless organisations, including their leaders, was a Anata Toer as communists behind the formless organisations.

"They are not able any more to address their critics point by point so they are just trying to shut them up by labelling them communists," Aditjondro told Reuters from Australia.

Even Abdurrahman Wahid, the leader of Indonesia's 30-million strong mainstream Nahdatul Ulama Moslem organisation, has questioned the government's scare tactics.

"It is easier to find common enemies rather than to solve the internal problems," Wahid was quoted as saying in the Indonesian Observer newspaper last week.

"A threat to national stability always exists anywhere but it should not be exaggerated."

After riots this month on Sumatra following an earthquake, the local military commander was quick to blame "communist" elements in the deaths of a soldier and a resident.

Local newspapers blamed frustration over the distribution of aid to earthquake victims.

Justice Minister Utojo Usman warned on Thursday there were not "ghosts behind every tree," while former Supreme Court judge Bismar Siregar said legal avenues rather than public smear campaigns should be used against alleged communists.

In a front-page column this month in the Jakarta Post daily, Jesuit scholar Franz Magnis-Suseno said the 30 years since Suharto restored order had seen Indonesia as a stable, self-confident and economically solid country.

He warned the continual pleas for people to be on alert against the communist threat were being greeted cynically by young people and ran the risk of becoming counter-productive.

"We have to stop the despicable habit of accusing individuals or non-government

organisations who defend human rights, sympathise with workers or come to the assistance of farmers in land disputes as being 'infected' with communism," Magnis-Suseno wrote.

"If we don't want our youngsters to become communist sympathisers, let us stop giving them the impression communism means solidarity with the victims of injustice."

ARMY RUMBLINGS OF COMMUNIST THREAT DEEMED DIVERSIONARY

By Yuli Smartono

JAKARTA, Oct. 31 (IPS) — Indonesian army warnings that the country's communist movement is mobilising to overthrow the Suharto government is seen by political analysts as an attempt to divert public attention from the real issues facing the regime.

Ever since President Suharto on July 28 ordered the release of former foreign minister Soebbandrio and former air force chief Oman Dhani, both imprisoned for their alleged role in a 1965 abortive coup, Indonesian army officials have been warning of a communist revival that threatens the country's stability.

Most recently, Major-General Syarwan Hamid, assistant military chief in charge of socio-political affairs, said "military intelligence and socio-political analysis, including facts found in several regions, indicate that the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) is alive and has metamorphosed into many forms."

He added that latent type communism and communist type movements were difficult to detect because of the many guises they took.

Some hide behind the revival of an old cause of establishing a separate Islamic state, he said, adding that others took the form of non-governmental organisations acting "under the pretense of defending the people and democracy" using methods similar to those once used by the banned PKI.

The PKI was banned in 1966 following the bloody abortive coup the previous year that led to the eventual ouster of the late President Sukarno and the emergence of the new order under President Suharto who took over the reins of power in 1967.

The crackdown after the coup attempt saw tens of thousands of political activists imprisoned, with several thousand PKI members locked away on the faraway Buru island, off Maluku province.

Most were released during the late 1970s and 1980s, but others like Soebbandrio and Dhani, accused of masterminding the coup plot, were kept imprisoned. Indeed, about

25 of the 195 political prisoners still held in custody have been there since 1965-66.

The clemency came as Indonesia prepared to celebrate its 50th anniversary of independence from the Netherlands, and was greeted by human rights activists as "encouraging for future politics."

"What we are seeing is a reconciliatory mood from the palace and I think that's very encouraging for future politics," Marzuki Darusman, deputy chairman of the Indonesian Commission of Human Rights was quoted saying by the 'Far Eastern Economic Review.'

But Suharto's show of clemency has not gone down well with the military which, according to analysts, is seeking to perpetuate the perception of a dangerous communist threat to protect its own pride of place in government.

Parliamentary seats reserved for the military have been reduced and questions over their dual role in the military as well as in civilian affairs are increasingly being raised.

Also, there is growing discontent among Indonesia's middle and lower classes who are complaining that they are not getting a fair share of the economic pie in a country which has shown impressive economic growth in recent years.

Muslim scholar Abdurrahman Wahid believes that these factors are at the root of the anti-communist rhetoric. "It's like a cycle. The authorities are trying to put the lid on the (impact) of political openness they previously encouraged," he said.

Students in particular are becoming more vociferous in their criticisms of government's economic policies which are credited with bringing growth, but which have also seen an increasing gap between the rich and poor.

Eky Syahrudin, a student leader, was recently quoted by the 'Jakarta Post' as saying that the best way to prevent communism from spreading, would be for the authorities to address the social and economic inequities in Indonesian society.

These are words the military does not want to hear. They insist the communist threat is real.

According to East Java military commander Major-General Imam Utomo, pictures of the hammer and sickle, as well as a kite bearing the communist symbol were confiscated from some students in East Java. Graffiti on a number of school walls hailed the PKI as okay, he added.

"We want to remind the public that communists, with their peculiar tactics, are back among us," he said.

Lieutenant-General Soeyono, the military head of General Affairs, went even further when he named author Pramoedya Ananta Toer, exiled scholar George Aditjondro and

labour leader and activist Mughtar Pakpahan among those trying to stir up political unrest.

"Their objective is clear: to topple the government, split the armed forces and...destroy this nation," Soeyono charged.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer, a literary award winner, was a member of PKI's cultural wing called Lekra during the 1960s. He was detained at Buru island for about 15 years before being released.

Both Aditjondro and Pakpahan have denied Soeyono's accusations of their communist links.

Public officials have chided the army official for calling names, since it could lead to a political witch-hunt. But this does not mean the army is wrong to be on guard, said Justice Bismar Siregar.

"We must be on the alert (to the communist threat)...but their names should not have been mentioned," said the supreme court judge.

INDONESIA SCHOLAR SAID IMMUNE FROM EXTRADITION

[abridged]

Jakarta, Oct. 28 (Reuter) – Indonesia's Justice Minister Utojo Usman has ruled out the extradition from Australia of George Aditjondro, an outspoken academic who is accused of insulting the government, a newspaper said on Saturday.

The *Jakarta Post* quoted Usman as saying that Aditjondro could not be extradited from Australia because the Indonesia-Australia extradition treaty did not cover political crimes.

"George Aditjondro, who is wanted by the Indonesian government on political charges, cannot be extradited from Australia," he said, without elaborating.

Aditjondro told Reuters in June he had no immediate plan to return to Indonesia to answer the charges because his teaching contract at Perth's Murdoch University had been extended from August to December.

INDONESIA HOLDS NAVAL WAR GAMES

JAKARTA, Oct. 29 (Reuter) — Indonesia is holding a three-week naval war exercise in the eastern Molucca Sea involving 3,000 personnel, 24 ships and 20 aircraft, the official Antara news agency reported on Sunday.

"The war games involved 24 ships and 20 aircraft, including Skyhawks, and submarines," Eastern Armada Commander Rear Admiral Bambang Suryanto, was quoted as saying when the exercise entered its sixth

day on Saturday, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) northeast of Jakarta.

Antara said Indonesia held naval war exercises four times a year. Foreign military sources said Indonesia's navy fleet comprises 117 ships and 43,000 personnel.

EAST TIMOR AT BEIJING CONFERENCE

A MESSAGE TO THE BEIJING CONFERENCE FROM THE EAST TIMORESE WOMEN

Courtesy CNRM, 6 September 1995

Dear Conference Participants,

Greetings from East Timor!

In the middle of the night amidst a great silence in Dili, I'm thinking of you all, and I imagine how many you must be, how strong you are, how free you talk to each other, and how wonderful that is! I congratulate you for what you are, and for what you achieved or will achieve in this Conference.

Nearly twenty years ago, on Dec. 7th, Indonesia invaded my country East Timor, planes dropping paratroopers from the skies and boats vomiting fire and hatred from the waters of the raped East Timorese northern "female sea." We have since known war, rape, violations of the most basic human rights, a military occupation regime, oppression, imprisonment and death. We have lost more than 1/3 of our population And the list of our sorrows could go on.

As women we have gone through anything a military invasion and a military occupation machine sets up: rape, imprisonment and death. In twenty years, an untold number of women went through the horror in the Indonesian prisons all over East Timor. Many of us died of starvation and exhaustion in the mountains in the attempt to escape the Indonesian hordes; others died cremated by the napalm bombs; others shot in the battlefield; others languished in military controlled prisons until raped and executed. Many of us carry on our bodies the scars of the interminable days and nights of prison. Our men and our children went out one day to fight the Indonesians, many did not come back. Others are still fighting. Many are in hiding, carrying out clandestine duties. As wives and mothers we are worried about them all the hours of the day. We paid, and continue to pay, a heavy price for the liberation of our homeland.

The Indonesian military have done the most terrible things against us, as women and as mothers. During the most difficult days back in the late seventies and early

eighties, the Indonesian military used to kill husbands and children in front of the wives and mothers and literally asked them to smile and yell "viva Indonesia," and then bury their own husbands and children. Little unborn babies were dislodged from their pregnant mothers with a knife and in the fury of their "anti-communism" the Indonesian military would smash them against the rocks! It was and it is, and it remains the horror! We were even prohibited to cry! Would you believe it? Yes, it did happen! That is the price we paid and continue to pay for the liberation of the "land of the rising sun!"

We are taking care of our men and our children in this long. We hope in human solidarity and believe in the solidarity of the women of the world. We have survived, and for all these nearly twenty years kept the struggle alive and strong, fundamentally because there is a total national resistance to the invasion and the military occupation.

Indeed international support has been crucial.

We appeal to you, as women, as mothers, as sisters and as wives, to say a word and to act in your own countries, in all your capacities, power and strength, for the dignity and freedom of the people of East Timor, for the dignity and freedom of all the East Timorese Women. You will indeed help save East Timor from total disaster, and that is being left to the free will of the Indonesian military. If you understand what is a military dictatorship in the cultural setting of Indonesia, you understand the implications of what I'm saying.

To the Indonesian women in this Conference we appeal for courage and for dignity: Indonesia should recognise it has committed a very big mistake, the real mistake of its fifty years of independence. Twenty years out of fifty, Indonesians have been killing East Timorese, denying them the most basic human rights, chiefly among these, the right to self-determination and independence which is also recognised in the Indonesian Constitution, as a right of all the peoples of the world, including, indeed, the people of East Timor. As a great nation, that aspires to a place in the Community of the civilised nations of the world, it is time to say stop to the butchery carried out in East Timor against innocent people, whose only crime is to love their mother, East Timor. It is time to be "sources of the cool" and say to your men: respect East Timor, and the best way to do it, is to leave East Timor. It is time for Suharto to sit down with Xanana Gusmão, and solve the question of East Timor, once forever. And there will be peace, we will be good neighbours. A great nation would be able to recognise errors

made and go the right way: that is to say, Indonesia should leave East Timor.

Your men, your children, your soldiers in East Timor will be doing nothing but killing innocent people, our children. In spite of the official rhetoric, that is the crude reality. Remember November 12th, 1991, the Santa Cruz massacre! The killing fields are no more in the rugged mountains alone. For us, the towns and the villages have become battlefields for freedom. For you, only killing fields everywhere! Development projects, fully controlled by the Indonesian State apparatus. Any solution short of the unconditional recognition of the fundamental right of our people to self-determination and independence will be no solution. We are on the right track of the struggle for humanity, for dignity, for womanhood and for freedom. On December 7th, 1995, it will be twenty years of invasion and military occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian military. Our fight for freedom will go on as long as there is no freedom to live as free human beings, as women, as individuals, as a nation and as "ema" or people of East Timor. Suffering won't deter and discourage us on the road to freedom. Women are source of life, women are mothers and we will deliver life, we will deliver freedom and dignity.

Dear Friends, in the freedom you live in the free world, in the peace of your families, in the dignity of your work in small and big cities, don't forget East Timor, don't forget the East Timorese Women, their plight, their struggle and the struggle of the people of the "land of the rising sun," Rai Timor Loro Sae.

On behalf of the East Timorese Women
IRA LAFAI LIGHUR
Of the Clandestine Resistance

OMOMO MELEN PACIFIC

(Women from the non-self-governing territories and colonies of the Pacific), Beijing August 1995

(A 42 page publication on Pacific women's organisations for the World Women's Conference currently being held in Beijing)

Excerpts from article: "Still Fighting for our Freedom" by Ines Almeida (Representative at UN intra-East Timorese talks and member of ETRA (East Timor Relief Association, Australia):

Statistically, we don't know how many have been raped or subjected to killings and torture — we cannot do independent statistics, because everything is controlled by the Indonesian military. But I know that in East Timor there are about 20,000 orphans. So a lot of lives have been lost.

About 51% of the population are women, although it is very difficult to con-

firm that. As for the rape of our women, it takes place in different cases. For example, when a woman is suspected that she is supporting the resistance, she is immediately taken into questioning and then subjected to rape and other various things that happen in the military headquarters.... There are women who participate actively in the political field. They not only participate in the guerrilla front, but in the education of our children to take up the struggle, to continue on with the struggle for as long as they can. The role of women is very important in the struggle, according to our commander, who has recently sent an interview that he gave, when he talks about the role of the woman. He himself could not be specific, but he stressed that they are very much part of the resistance as well as the men. For example, nowadays, you see women organizing clandestine meetings. It is they who are basically carriers of information to the local people. They carry information to the guerrillas about the situation, what is happening in the occupied areas. ...

Based on the experience that I had in Nairobi [at the previous World Women's Conference, 1985], I would like to suggest some concrete proposals. For example, we don't have any documentation about East Timorese women. How they live, how they would live in the future. We should really look into having more comprehensive research amongst the people fighting for the liberation of their country...

There have been UN envoys visiting East Timor, but their findings tend to be general. They never send a UN woman who can investigate the rape details. ...If we are to send a UN envoy to investigate rape, then we should send a woman. So many rapes are going on that people don't know about. The women feel so traumatized about it. I say this because recently there have been a lot of Timorese escaping from East Timor, asking for political asylum in Australia. Some of them have been raped, and only at 18 or 19 years old. They wouldn't tell you their story until you talk to them for a lengthy period of time. And we want the UN to conduct a population census because we don't have one ourselves. With the invasion and occupation, over 100,000 transmigrants in East Timor take over the jobs and the economy. They take also the fertile land of the Timorese. So it's a total control. Not only by the military but also by the transmigrants, in Dili, mainly.

Also, perhaps, we should urge Amnesty International and Asia Watch, because I see a lot of Amnesty International reports, but these have been too generalized as well. There's no such thing as specific cases, and there are many specific cases they can tar-

get. And they have resources; they have funds for it. Why shouldn't they do it?

For copies of the above publication, send NZ\$5.00 to Corso Inc, PO Box 1905, Otautahi (Christchurch), Aotearoa (New Zealand). For more information: David Small email: d.small@educ.canterbury.nz

IFET'S GAL AT THE BEIJING NGO WOMEN'S FORUM

By Jean Inglis, IFET, September 19

Kiyoko Furusawa, representing the International Federation for East Timor, joined six East Timorese women at the NGO Forum at Huairou to raise the plight of women in East Timor at the world gathering and to build ties with other women suffering under foreign occupation.

The Timorese women represented two groups based in Australia, East Timor Relief Association (ETRA), and the East Timorese Women's Group. The ETRA women, Ines Almeida, Ceu Brites, Benilda Brites, and Marid Odette Gonçalves, held a workshop on Sept. 2 on the theme: "East Timor: Women in the Struggle for Self Determination and Independence," while Milena Pires and Fernanda Varudo, who are also members of UDT, sponsored a workshop on "Violence Against East Timorese Women" on Sept. 4. In spite of steaming heat, the workshops were packed and vibrated with heated discussion.

The Timorese presented actual cases of brutalization of East Timorese women at the hands of the Indonesian forces and also delivered a message appealing for "the solidarity of the women of the world" from Ira Lafai Lighur, a member of the clandestine resistance in East Timor. The message also appeals to Indonesian women at the conference "for courage and for dignity." "It is time to be 'sources of the cool' and say to your men: respect East Timor, and the best way to do it, is to leave East Timor."

Some Indonesian NGO women working in East Timor who attended the workshops, Kiyoko reports, generally spoke up to defend Indonesia's presence in East Timor as being "for the good of the East Timorese," but the other participants raised a storm of protest over what they regarded as "the same kind of paternalistic attitude the West has toward the developing countries." "I think that by the time the workshops were over a few of the Indonesian women had gotten the point," she said.

Throughout the NGO conference ETRA staffed an East Timor table in the "Global Tent" where visitors picked up information, shared concerns, and signed a petition on East Timor to UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali. Kiyoko reported that con-

versations with women who dropped by revealed that many had had some contact with IFET member groups. She found, however, that with several notable exceptions, in general women from the "South" had far less information than those from the "North." "This time I had some materials in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean which I could share with women from East Asia. I also distributed an IFET backgrounder on the issue in English, but more work is needed to get the message to non-Western and non-English speaking countries."

IFET's unique contribution to the NGO forum was the organization of a workshop, held on Sept. 5, entitled "Women Living Under Foreign Occupations." IFET originally planned a Timor-specific workshop on "East Timorese Women Under Indonesian Military Occupation," but it became clear to Kiyoko as she listened to and talked with women from other areas under foreign occupation that everyone's interests would be well served by a joint workshop. Women from other occupied areas responded enthusiastically and the jointly sponsored workshop that resulted took the form of a panel discussion, moderated by Kiyoko, with panelists from Bougainville, Cyprus, East Timor, New Caledonia, Tibet, Western Sahara, and West Papua. Again, the workshop was packed, and as was the case with the other two workshops, covered by radio, TV, a

One outcome of the workshop was a Joint Statement on Occupied Territories for submission to the UN Conference. Pointing out that "historically, the concerns of women living under foreign occupation have been ignored and silenced by occupying nations, who claim that such issues remain the internal affairs of the occupying nation," the statement calls on the UN "to take certain initial steps towards recognising and addressing" these problems. One such issue was the subjecting of women living under foreign or 'family planning programs,' abortion or sterilization, ostensibly in the interest of health and economic advancement, but intended to reduce the population of the occupied to minorities in their own lands." One measure, which the statement urges the United Nations to implement, is to "create a position of Special Rapporteur on Occupied Nations, to monitor the implementation of the Platform For Action by occupying nations and the rights of those living under foreign occupation."

Back in Japan, where she is a lecturer in economics and international politics at Tokyo Women's Christian University and Yokohama City University and active in human rights advocacy, Kiyoko told me that her experience at the conference convinced her of the importance of women from occu-

pled areas working together. "Like in East Timor," she said, "women in other occupied areas—Western Sahara, Palestine, etc.—though they have right on their side in terms of international law, face very tough political obstacles. They can only gain by working together, wherever possible

JAPANESE TV COVERAGE OF BEIJING

From Jean Inglis, Sept. 29

The East Timorese women who participated in the UN women's conference in Beijing were prominently featured on a Japanese TV documentary this week.

On Sept. 26 the second of a three-part series on the conference was aired on the NHK educational channel at prime time. The 40-minute program focused on the plight of women in occupied areas, East Timorese and Tibetan women in particular, as well as the efforts of the Chinese Govt. to suppress the expression of views they oppose.

An East Timor workshop and a workshop that East Timorese women participated in on women in foreign occupied areas were highlighted as well as a demonstration. The program also showed Indonesian women's comments at the workshop (patronizing as a whole) and the critical reaction of the women who crowded in the workshop rooms.

There was some commentary by Kiyoko Furusawa, who helped organize the latter workshop.

UNITED NATIONS

UNSG PROGRESS REPORT

A/50/43. 6 September 1995 ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Fiftieth session Item 94 of the provisional agenda

QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. Since the resumption of talks between Indonesia and Portugal on the question of East Timor in 1992, I have held, in the context of my good offices, six rounds of discussions with the Foreign Ministers of the two countries aimed at finding a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor. I have reported to the Assembly annually on the progress of these efforts. The last two rounds of talks were held since I submitted my last progress report (A/49/391), and I

will highlight here the salient points that emerged from those discussions (see press releases SG/SM/5519 and SG/T/1974).

2. The fifth round of talks with the Foreign Ministers of the two Governments was held at Geneva on 9 January 1995. At that round, the Ministers, inter alia, noted positively my intention to facilitate and offer the necessary arrangements for the convening of an all-inclusive intra-East-Timorese dialogue. The objective of the dialogue was to provide a forum for continuing the free and informal exchange of views to explore ideas of a practical nature that might have a positive impact on the situation in East Timor and assist in the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a solution to the question of East Timor. It was understood that the East Timorese dialogue would not address the political status of East Timor and would not constitute a parallel negotiating track or be a substitute for the ministerial talks. In the interest of creating and maintaining a propitious climate for a fruitful dialogue, I issued an appeal to all East Timorese to exercise restraint and refrain from actions that could have a detrimental impact, prior to and during the course of the dialogue. I also expressed the need for the two Governments to cooperate with me in my initiative and to encourage all East Timorese to respond constructively to my initiative and appeal.

3. The Ministers further agreed to consider at the subsequent round of talks substantive issues identified by me regarding possible avenues towards a solution to the question of East Timor.

4. On human rights, the Ministers recalled the statement issued following the previous round of talks, in May 1994, in which they had concurred, inter alia, on the need to improve the human rights situation in East Timor, and the relevant Chairman's statements adopted by consensus by the Commission on Human Rights, in particular, with regard to access to East Timor, the early release of the East Timorese imprisoned and the full accounting for the persons dead or missing as a result of the violent incident at Dili on 12 November 1991. The meeting took note of the intention of the Government of Indonesia, in the terms conveyed at the meeting, to take further steps for the implementation of the undertakings contained therein.

5. The first meeting of the All-Inclusive Intra-East-Timorese Dialogue was held at Burg Schlaining, Austria, from 2 to 5 June 1995 and brought together 30 East Timorese of various shades of political opinion residing inside and outside East Timor. Two representatives of the United Nations attended the meeting without taking part in the discussions. The gathering, the first of

its kind, was held in a positive and constructive atmosphere and adopted, by consensus, the Burg Schlaining Declaration, which inter alia, proposed to me that further meetings be held within the same framework; reaffirmed the need to implement the necessary measures in the field of human rights and other areas with a view to promoting peace, stability, justice and social harmony; reaffirmed the necessity for the social and cultural development of East Timor on the basis of the preservation of the cultural identity of the people, including tradition, religion, history and language, as well as the teaching of Tetun and Portuguese; and expressed the need to create the basis for the involvement of all East Timorese, without discrimination of any sort, in the development of East Timor in every sphere of human life in a climate of mutual understanding, tolerance and harmony.

6. The participants paid tribute to Rev. Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, for his contribution to the debate, such as the proposals that were agreed upon with a view to improving the physical and spiritual conditions of the lives of the people of East Timor. They also expressed appreciation for the consultations undertaken by the United Nations with East Timorese of various shades of opinion, aiming at the gradual involvement, as well as the availability of the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia for direct dialogue with East Timorese personalities. I am encouraged by the result of this first meeting, and it is my intention, with the consent of the two Governments, to facilitate a further intra-East-Timorese meeting following the seventh round of ministerial talks on 16 January 1996.

7. I convened the sixth round of talks between the two Foreign Ministers, also at Geneva, on 8 July 1995, a few weeks later than the time originally envisaged, in order to allow for the meeting of the All-Inclusive Intra-East-Timorese Dialogue to take place.

8. At that round, the Ministers discussed developments since the previous round in January, including the implementation of the chairman's statement on the situation of human rights in East Timor, agreed upon by consensus by the Commission on Human Rights at its fifty-first session, the importance of which was stressed.

9. The Ministers welcomed the convening of the All-Inclusive Intra-East-Timorese Dialogue, which constituted a positive effort to help create an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a solution to the question of East Timor. They also welcomed my view on the need for convening a further meeting or meetings of that Dialogue and my intention to pursue the matter with the two parties.

10. Also at the sixth round, the two sides, without prejudice to their respective positions of principle regarding the political status of East Timor, began discussions on the substantive issues identified by me regarding possible avenues for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution. In that context, they discussed issues related to an eventual framework for the achievement of such a solution and other related issues, including the preservation and promotion of the cultural identity of the East Timorese people and bilateral relations between them. They agreed to continue to discuss these issues.

11. I will hold a seventh round of talks with the two Ministers on 16 January 1996 in London.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT MENTIONS EAST TIMOR IN OPENING STATEMENT

From John Miller, ETAN/US

The new President of the UN General Assembly, Diogo Freitas do Amaral, in his inaugural statement, on September 19, made note of East Timor. While the statement is relatively mild, it is unusual for such a specific issue like East Timor to be highlighted in a GA president's speech. Freitas do Amaral is a former Portuguese vice-prime minister and foreign minister and will serve in the largely ceremonial post for a year. Overall, his speech praised the U.N. role in fostering human rights, democracy and decolonization.

"In the particular case East Timor, and without abandoning the impartiality that I am called upon to display as President of the General Assembly, I would like to express my wish for the success of the mission of mediation and good offices which the General Assembly has expressly entrusted to the Secretary-General, who, I am fully confident, will continue to try to solve this problem through dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations."

EAST TIMOR: U.N. PICKS UP THE PACE

UNITED NATIONS, Sep. 20 (IPS) – The disputed status of East Timor is moving up once again on the U.N. agenda.

In recent days, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights has announced his intention to visit East Timor, while the new president of the General Assembly has lent his voice in support of U.N.-backed mediation efforts on the Timor dispute.

Those statements are new signs of greater attention at the United Nations to East Timor, the former Portuguese colony which was invaded in 1975 by Indonesia and formally annexed by Jakarta a year later.

José Ayala Lasso, the human rights commissioner, declined to specify Wednesday what his specific agenda would be during his planned visit to the territory.

"I plan to be there before the end of this year," he added. "I hope that my presence there will contribute to the better observance of human rights."

Although the commissioner had no comment on specific charges of human rights abuses by the Indonesian troops occupying East Timor, he took special offense at reports that children had been beaten during a recent troop crackdown against protests.

"Violations of the human rights of children ... are especially atrocious and negative," Ayala Lasso said. He admonished all nations to implement the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a U.N. protocol which, among other provisions, forbids state harassment of children.

Other U.N. officials have recently spoken out on East Timor, as well.

In his speech opening the 50th session of the General Assembly Tuesday, the newly-elected president, Diogo Freitas do Amaral, broke with normal diplomatic practice by citing Timor explicitly.

"In the particular case of East Timor, and without abandoning the impartiality that I am called upon to display as President of the General Assembly, I would like to express my wish for the success of the mission of mediation and good offices" the United Nations now provides, Freitas said.

Freitas said he hoped Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali will continue "to try to solve this problem through dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia."

As an expression of interest, Freitas's words were welcomed by activists seeking independence for the territory. But John Miller, spokesman for the U.S.-based East Timor Action Network (ETAN), doubted the small flurry of new U.N. rhetoric on Timor amounts to much.

Freitas "reiterated part of what is General Assembly policy ... to urge the secretary-general to facilitate discussions between Indonesia and Portugal.

"Unfortunately, those discussions leave out the Timorese, whose lives are at stake," Miller argued.

Nor are the United Nations' member states likely to bring up the dispute more forcefully next month when Indonesian President Suharto is slated to appear before the General Assembly, Miller added.

"I doubt in that context that there will be many critical words from the governments

and the General Assembly president,” he said.

The U.N.-backed negotiations on East Timor most recently featured a discussion between Portuguese Foreign Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso and his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas, mediated by Boutros-Ghali in Geneva July 8.

In a report to the Assembly released Wednesday, Boutros-Ghali said the two foreign ministers agreed to further meetings between all Timorese groups – from pro-independence to pro-Indonesia – in the coming months.

Boutros-Ghali said Alatas and Durão Barroso also discussed a framework to preserve Timorese cultural identity and to improve bilateral relations between Jakarta and Lisbon. He said he will meet with the two sides again next Jan 16.

In June, 30 members of several Timorese parties met in Burg Schlaining, Austria, to discuss social issues – although not the political status of East Timor. They agreed by consensus to hold further meetings, to reaffirm the need for human rights improvements, and to preserve Timorese cultural identity, including use of the indigenous language Tetum and Portuguese. The meeting, which was unexpected cordial, reportedly left Indonesian officials fuming.

Even as that process is continues, however, reports increase of riots in East Timor, and a resurgence of activity by the Indonesian Army forces there.

“East Timor in the past year has become ungovernable in every sense,” Miller said. The ETAN spokesman argued that that factor would prod the drive for democratization in East Timor, and set the agenda for further U.N. action.

COMMENT FROM: PEDRO COELHO

As a Portuguese citizen living in the US, and having been involved with the fight for the self-determination of the East-Timorese people for some years now, I would like to comment on the recent comments by John Miller as an ETAN spokesperson on the subject of the newly elected President of UN’s General Assembly Diogo Freitas do Amaral’s brake from normal democratic practice by directly referring to the tragic situation in East-Timor.

Diogo Freitas do Amaral is a Portuguese citizen of exceptional ability who was directly involved in the changes that brought about democracy to Portugal after the 1974 revolution in that country. He is a fighter for democracy and human rights. His election to such an imminent position in the UN hierarchy should be thought off as a victory for East-Timor and for all of us who are aware of East-Timor’s struggle for survival and self-determination.

I understand John Miller’s skepticism, but I believe it necessary for us to support, and not undermine, the efforts of all those who truly want to help the cause of the Maubere people. We all know that Indonesia herself has made it impossible for the East-Timorese to be fully represented in any talks with its Indonesian oppressors, and so to argue that their absence from UN-sponsored talks between Portugal and our enemy Indonesia only plays into Indonesia’s designs.

Portugal still is recognized by the UN as the administrative power of the territory of East-Timor and that it was in that capacity that it tried to give independence to East-Timor in 1975, an attempt that was subverted by Indonesia’s brutal invasion of the island. Since then Portugal has been, even if with limitations proper to a small country, on the forefront of the fight for human rights respect in, and self-determination of, the East Timorese. Remember, for instance, Portugal’s suit in the International Court of Justice against Australia & Indonesia’s exploration of Timor Gap, Portugal’s constant interventions in the European Community, in the UN, and in all other international fora against Indonesia’s economic and political interests and in favor of the people of East Timor. Finally, please realize that the Portuguese constitution itself has a clause imposing upon the Portuguese citizens and government the duty to fight secure East-Timor’s self determination.

So, won’t you please cut Portugal a little slack, so it can fight against our true enemy THE CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT, and support it in the pursuance of East Timor’s best interests and self-determination?

RESPONSE FROM JOHN MILLER, SEPT. 28

I’m not sure what in my remarks as partially quoted by the InterPress service set off Pedro T. Coelho impassioned defense of Portuguese policy on East Timor. Neither my remarks nor the IPS article as whole addressed Portugal’s policy. Therefore, the issue of “cut[ting] Portugal some slack doesn’t seem to apply in this instance. Since reporters tend to selectively quote, I’ll take this opportunity to expand on what was in the article.

Because of his position as President of the General Assembly, Diogo Freitas do Amaral’s statement can not and should not be taken as a statement of Portugal’s policy. His position is largely ceremonial and requires him to be above national politics.

I did praise the fact that he made the remark on East Timor, but its content does not go beyond one of the least controversial aspects of General Assembly policy (that

Portugal and Indonesia should talk), as embodied in the eight resolutions the GA has passed on East Timor. These resolutions, either directly or indirectly (by citing previous resolutions) call for more – East Timorese self-determination for example.

While granting the limitations of his position, I hope Freitas will find ways to make similar remarks on East Timor in the future.

I also expressed a pessimism that the remarks by the themselves would help resolve the basic problem behind the UN-supervised talks – that the East Timorese are not directly involved. Pedro is right that this is because Indonesia does not want them to be. I did comment to the reporter on several factors that might move Indonesia to take Timorese wishes more seriously. Some of these were noted in the article, some not. These included international pressure, the taking up of the issue by the democracy movement in Indonesia and the continuing turmoil in East Timor.

Finally, I think it is possible to support actions that we consider praiseworthy, while arguing, indeed urging, that they could have gone further. This is the way to progress.

UNGA FOURTH COMMITTEE DISCUSSION BEGINS

Excerpts from a Press Release issued by the U.N. Department of Public Information, courtesy UNIC/Sydney. It describes the October 11 session of the UNGA Fourth (Decolonization) Committee.

Comment from Charlie Scheiner, IFET: There seems to be an effort underway by the UK and others to change the Fourth Committee’s mandate, which is decolonization. If we feel that East Timor remains a “classic colony” – that is, a nation under unwilling rule by force from another country – than there is still a place for the Fourth Committee, notwithstanding that ET is an anomaly because its the official Administering Authority (Portugal) is not the de facto one (Indonesia). It might be useful to sound out or pressure your own government on the question of maintaining true decolonization as high-priority issue for the UN.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DECOLONIZATION BURDENED BY ARCHAIC, IRRELEVANT LANGUAGE, UNITED KINGDOM TELLS FOURTH COMMITTEE

ANTONIO NORONHA GAMITO (Portugal) said his Government was seeking to improve human rights in East Timor and was engaged in direct talks with Indonesia, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, to bring about a peaceful and negotiated

settlement with respect for the legitimate rights of the people.

EMILIO IZQUIERDO (Ecuador), speaking on behalf of the "Rio Group" (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela), said although much progress had been made, there were still people suffering under colonialism. ...

He expressed support for negotiations under way on the question of East Timor, and bilateral relations between Argentina and the United Kingdom aimed at resolving the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The presence of military bases on Non-Self-Governing Territories was becoming increasingly questionable, he continued. Due to significant progress made towards peace, the time had come for the Territories and adjacent areas to be free from nuclear testing, storage and stockpiling. The complete eradication of colonialism remained a challenge that was within reach.

GUSTAVO ALVAREZ (Uruguay) said now was a time for reflection with regard to decolonization. There was a need for concrete conduct by the administering Powers to eradicate colonialism. He appealed to the parties of Western Sahara to implement the settlement plan and allow for a referendum on self-determination. Also, the parties of New Caledonia should be invited to determine their future destiny in accordance with the Matignon Agreement. He commended the progress made towards self-determination in Tokelau and current efforts to find peaceful solution to the question of East Timor. The United Nations should be allowed to send visiting missions to the Territories. The international community must commit itself to a year 2000 free of colonialism.

EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK CALLS FOR MORE FORCEFUL UN ACTION ON EAST TIMOR

Media Release from ETAN/US, Oct. 21

As ceremonies celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations began, the East Timor Action Network/US called on the world body to take a more active role in support of the rights of the East Timorese.

"Since its founding, the United Nations has facilitated the independence of nearly all of the world's colonies. It is long past time for the UN to be more assertive in defending the rights of the East Timorese, especially their right to self-determination," said Charles Scheiner, coordinator of the East Timor Action Network (ETAN).

"World leaders and the Secretary-General should make clear to President Suharto that they will no longer tolerate Indonesia's blatant disregard for the UN Charter and resolutions. If Indonesia wants to be considered a respected member of the world community, it must withdraw its troops from East Timor and allow the UN to arrange a referendum. The East Timorese should decide their own future," said Scheiner

"Recent events dramatically demonstrate the need for UN observers in the occupied territory to safeguard the human rights and lives of the East Timorese people," Scheiner continued. "The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has promised to visit East Timor during 1995, but it will take more than a one-time visit to ensure that international agreements are obeyed. The UN should set up a permanent office in East Timor." During the past week, violence has escalated, with several East Timorese being killed by Indonesian soldiers, and house-to-house searches resulting in hundreds of arrests.

President Suharto of Indonesia is scheduled to address the UN General Assembly Monday, October 23. He will meet with President Clinton in Washington later in the week. ETAN is planning protests in Washington and New York at public appearances by the Indonesian dictator.

The U.N. does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, a former Portuguese colony. East Timor is the largest (by population) territory on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories. Two UN Security Council resolutions and eight by the General Assembly call on Indonesia to withdraw its troops and recognize the right of the East Timorese to self-determination. Since 1983, the UN Secretary-General has facilitated talks between Indonesia and Portugal, the UN-recognized administering power of East Timor.

December 7 marks the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. The military assault came after a year of covert destabilization by Indonesia. In one of the worst cases of genocide since World War II, Indonesia has killed over 200,000 people – one-third of the population – since it invaded East Timor.

ETAN/US was founded in November 1991, following the massacre of over 271 peaceful demonstrators in Dili, East Timor. ETAN/US supports genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor. ETAN/US currently has a dozen local chapters.

PROTESTORS FLOCK TO U.N. ANNIVERSARY GATHERING

by Farhan Haq

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 23 (IPS) — The United Nations' 50th anniversary is now more than just the world leaders' speeches that run from Sunday through Tuesday. Protests outside the world body are a major feature.

While the causes differ, many are calling for an end to civil war or mistreatment of minorities.

At one nearby park, Tamils protesting their minority status in Sri Lanka are selling videotapes that accuse President Chandrika Kumaratunga of causing the deaths of innocent civilians. A few blocks away, 'mohajirs' (Indian-descended Pakistanis) level similar charges against Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

Turkish President Suleyman Demirel is not spared: Ankara's crackdown on ethnic Kurds is being loudly disparaged this week on New York's streets by Kurdish protesters.

One New York-based radical group, the New Alliance Party (NAP), directs protesters shouting against Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko. But several Cuban-American right-wing groups, notably the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), have drowned them out with louder demonstrations against President Fidel Castro.

Some groups are not even protesting specific governments. One demonstrator was forced down from the air after attempting to hang-glide past the United Nations in a craft bearing the emblem, "Stop nuclear testing." "We don't think it was a threat of any kind," U.N. spokesman Joe Sills said of the hang-glider, which was forced to land at nearby Roosevelt Island.

The largest of the demonstrations, involved thousands of people both for and against Castro. Anti-Castro protesters wearing "No Castro, no problem" placards have chanted against the Cuban leader outside Cuba's U.N. mission.

In contrast, 1,300 Castro supporters greeted him at a Harlem church Sunday and hundreds more protested the U.S. embargo against Cuba Saturday.

As Castro spoke at the U.N. General Assembly Sunday, both pro-Castro and anti-Castro flotillas sailed on the East River right outside the U.N. headquarters. U.S. Coast Guard ships also patrolled those waters to prevent the boats from attacking each other or the building.

But Castro was not alone in sparking controversy. Bhutto was greeted by sup-

porters of Pakistan's Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) with cries of "Bhutto, go home!" The NAP-led Zaire protesters chanted for Mobutu to go home, as well, while the Sri Lankan Tamils yelled, "Out, Chandrika, out!"

The Tamils, including supporters of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), came complete with videos purportedly showing Sri Lankan troops attacking civilians in the largely Tamil Jaffna Peninsula. As one onlooker said of the Tamil information tables, "They really have their act together."

For their part, the NAP sponsored advertisements in local newspapers saying, "We, the undersigned, together with Americans across the country, will fight the current efforts of Mobutu's friends ... to overturn the visa restrictions and allow Mobutu to visit Washington, D.C., and lobby on his own behalf."

Mobutu has been restricted from visiting the country on a U.S. visa since 1993, when President Bill Clinton and Congress censured Zaire after Mobutu rebuffed a democratic transition.

One leader who had been blocked in the past, Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), now easily receives U.S. visas since signing peace accords with Israel in 1993. But Arafat still faces protests from pro-Israeli groups who accuse him of continuing to foster or abet terrorist attacks against Israel.

As a result of such opposition, Arafat and Castro were the only two major leaders here to be snubbed at a Saturday dinner for world leaders held by New York's mayor, Rudolph Giuliani. Undaunted, Arafat held a fund-raiser with 1,000 Palestinian-Americans at a hotel across the street – and was rewarded with 35,000 dollars for two hospitals in the West Bank and Gaza.

Demonstrators are also on the street to harangue other world leaders as they seek to reap business deals and high-level contacts while in New York.

The East Timor Action Network (ETAN), a U.S. group opposed to Indonesia's 1975 invasion of East Timor, is planning to shadow Indonesian President Suharto as he visits the country. ETAN is planning protests in both New York and Washington, where Suharto is to go after addressing the General Assembly Monday.

"If Indonesia wants to be considered a respected member of the world community, it must withdraw its troops from East Timor and allow the U.N. to arrange a referendum," ETAN coordinator Charles Scheiner said. "The East Timorese should decide their own future."

Some leaders have decided not to risk the storm of protest waiting for them here.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who narrowly avoided an assassination attempt July at an Organisation of African Unity summit in Ethiopia, quietly cancelled his visit here last Friday.

Gen. Sani Abacha, Nigeria's president, also cancelled his U.N. trip, U.N. officials acknowledged Monday. Abacha faces considerable opposition in the United States from pro-democracy groups.

SOARES BLASTS "OUTRAGEOUS SITUATION" IN EAST TIMOR

United Nations, Oct. 22 (Reuter) — Portuguese President Mario Soares sharply criticised on Sunday the "outrageous situation" in East Timor whose decolonization he said had been "brutally interrupted" by 20 years of Indonesian occupation.

His comments on the Portuguese-ruled territory which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year, were made during a speech to a special session of the General Assembly marking the 50th anniversary of the United Nations.

Soares said the strength of the principles enshrined in the U.N. Charter and the resolutions that flowed from them represented a powerful stimulus in favour of democracy, human rights and peace.

"Outstanding examples of this are the decolonization movement in which a democratic Portugal participated actively and, subsequently, the struggle to abolish apartheid," he said.

"For that reason, allow me to refer to the outrageous situation that continues to prevail in the non-self-governing territory of East Timor, which still awaits – notwithstanding the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council – the conclusion of a decolonization process brutally interrupted by 20 years of occupation by Indonesia."

ALATAS' RESPONSE TO SOARES' UN SPEECH

*Translated from the Portuguese, abridged
Quotes may differ from the original*

United Nations, NY, Oct. 23 (LUSA) — Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, in response to questions by LUSA today, said that the statements by Portuguese President Mario Soares referring to East Timor in his 5-minute speech before the UN General Assembly were "totally inappropriate" and "factually incorrect."

"With all due respect to the President of Portugal, I must say that he has his facts wrong when he states in his declaration that the East Timor decolonization process was brutally interrupted by Indonesia. Facts are

naturally very different." In Alatas' perspective, the decolonization process was interrupted by the Portuguese colonial administration who "packed up and left" the territory in August of 1975. According to Alatas, Portugal left the territory in a state of civil war and never returned, despite that in November 1975 Indonesia requested that Portugal return to ET in order to proceed with the decolonization process. "I believe it is important to underscore this point which, to us, is of crucial importance. It is necessary to admit the facts," said Alatas.

When asked about the recent incidents in Dili, Alatas said he regretted them, but minimized their importance. In his view, these were nothing more than "small incidents, contrary to what the foreign press, especially the Portuguese press, would lead to believe. "These were small ruffles. There was tension between 'gangs' who all belong to the same groups. These weren't even between pro-and against-integration groups," he said. According to Alatas, the conflicts have been duly solved by the police which, he said, "now has the situation under complete control." Alatas stated that there had been arrests during the incidents, but that all prisoners had been "released immediately after." "The incidents were not very important," in Alatas' opinion.

Alatas guaranteed that Indonesia continues to support the efforts by the UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali, to find a solution to ET that is "all-encompassing, just, and acceptable to the international community." "Indonesia remains interested in co-operating in the negotiation process," he said.

Alatas rejected the idea that ET problem is also of religious nature. "I must say most categorically that ET may be a multi-faceted problem, but it is not a religious problem," said Alatas. "Indonesia is a country of large Muslim majority, but it has no problems with other religions," said Alatas, adding that the Indonesian people "lives in peace, side by side with Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists, and Hindus." "The facts demonstrate that religious tolerance is a reality in Indonesia," he concluded.

UNITED NATIONS AT 50 AND EAST TIMOR: IT'S TIME FOR CHANGE

by Matthew Jardine, Distributed via Knight-Ridder, 30 October 1995

The celebration of the United Nations' 50th anniversary seems to be a rare occasion of global unity. But behind the festive facade is the reality of a world body that has utterly failed in its pledge "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and

to “reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights.” The saga of East Timor helps us to understand why.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded newly independent East Timor—with U.S. weaponry and consent. Five days later, the U.N. General Assembly overwhelmingly passed a resolution deploring the invasion, calling upon Indonesia to withdraw immediately and upholding the former Portuguese colony’s right to self-determination. The United States abstained, and voted “no” on each of the seven resolutions that followed.

The United States also ensured that the more powerful U.N. Security Council — whose resolutions are binding on all Member-States — did not take any meaningful steps against Indonesia. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, bragged about stymieing U.N. action on East Timor, “The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me, and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success.”

Such diplomatic success translated into increased human suffering within East Timor. At the height of the assault, Indonesian forces engaged in “indiscriminate killing on a scale unprecedented in post-World War II history,” an Australian government reported noted. By the early 1980s, over 200,000 East Timorese—about one-third of the pre-invasion population—had died as a result of Indonesia’s aggression. Today, the occupation and the repression continue.

The United Nation’s paralysis on East Timor is inherent to its structure. The World War II victors ensured that the new global body would allow them to pursue their narrow national interests on the global stage without collective constraints.

A number of countries in 1945 advocated the establishment of a world legislature and a world court with compulsory jurisdiction. A 1946 Roper Poll showed that 63 percent of the U.S. public supported the creation of a democratically elected world congress with binding decision-making power. The World War II powers, however, ignored this post-nationalist sentiment and laid the basis for a U.N. oligarchy. As the Mexican delegate to the founding convention in San Francisco in 1945 noted, the U.N. Charter assured that “the mice would be disciplined, but the lions would be free.”

But history has shown that mice with whom the lions are on good terms are also free. As a State Department official explained in 1976 while “more or less condoning” Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor, “The United States wants to keep its relations with Indonesia close and friendly. We regard Indonesia as a friendly, non-aligned

nation—a nation we do a lot of business with.”

The United States and other Western powers did more than condone Indonesia’s atrocities in East Timor; they’ve been complicit in it. Successive U.S. presidents, for example, have provided Suharto with hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic assistance since 1975.

The Clinton Administration has largely continued the policy of its predecessors, despite some positive steps like banning small-weapon sales to Indonesia. Over the last three years, the administration has provided Suharto with almost \$300 million in economic assistance and has sold and licensed the sales of tens of millions of dollars in weaponry to Indonesia. And now, the Clinton administration is trying to unload 17 U.S. F-16 fighter jets on Jakarta.

United Nations-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal resumed in 1992, spurred by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali. While encouraging, the negotiations are not likely to move the Suharto regime to withdraw from East Timor barring radical change within Indonesia or significant pressure from the United Nation’s ruling powers, most notably the United States.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, East Timor serves as an example of the betrayal by the global body and the national powers behind it to realize the common dreams of humanity for a world free from war and oppression. It is time to move beyond nationalism and perhaps the United Nations as well.

Matthew Jardine is a writer and researcher on human rights and the author of East Timor: Genocide in Paradise, Odonian Press, 1995. He wrote this commentary for the Progressive Media Project.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

NEON METIN IS BACK

Timor Leste (monthly publication of the CDPM), July 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon — Neon Metin, the newspaper of the National Resistance of East Timorese Students (Renetil), published in Portuguese, is back after circulation was interrupted last November on account of the repression which followed the occupation of the US Embassy premises in Jakarta.

As the Editorial states, “there is no doubt about it — Neon Metin is one of the hardest to catch of all resistance publications. However, there is also no doubt that Neon Metin is one of the few publications that manages

to put up a resistance to Indonesia’s furious avalanches.”

The editorial later states: “Furthermore, in order to contribute to the implementation of our strategies of ‘Indonesianisation of the War of East Timor’ and ‘Organisational Consolidation,’ the editorial team launched Larigutu and Loriku Lian, two further voices of the student Resistance movement. The first is published in Indonesian, and is intended for the Indonesian Solidarity movement. The second is in Tetum, and is destined for the Asswains (meaning the ‘glorious ones’ in Tetum, — the name commonly used to refer to the guerrillas).”

Neon Metin contains (and is often the sole source of) a wide range of information on the life of the Timorese in both East Timor and Indonesia, and is obtainable from the Autonomous Overseas General Delegation of Renetil in Portugal.

Renetil’s address in Portugal is: Associacao 12 de Novembro, Rua do Comercio n.8, 1, 1100 Lisboa.

OPEN LETTER TO NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER

Following is the text of an open letter sent by an East Timorese woman exiled in Australia, to the Prime Minister of Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland, on the eve of her state visit to Indonesia.

From Maria Silva, Australia
September 15, 1995

Dear Madame Prime Minister,

I am an East Timorese woman, mother of two children, living in exile in Australia since 1985. Like thousands of East Timorese, I was forced to leave East Timor by the repressive military regime which has ruled my people for the last two decades.

Madame Prime Minister, I’m writing to you on the eve of your visit to Indonesia. As you well know, Indonesia, under the leadership of President Suharto invaded my country on December 7, 1975. It was an illegal act still not accepted by the United Nations to this day. Since then, the East Timorese People have lived through horrors perpetrated by the occupying armed forces. More than one third of the East Timorese population, estimated at 700.000 people in 1975, have perished as a consequence of a brutal and unjust war.

Western weaponry sold to Indonesia has contributed to the genocide of a defenceless people. Massive bombardments and Napalm bombs have wiped out entire villages and their inhabitants. The environment has been severely damaged, causing widespread famine, malnutrition and the outbreak of

diseases previously unknown by the East Timorese people. Despite all this, the Indonesian government claimed to the World that they went into East Timor "to protect their brothers and sisters from the Communists!" During the last twenty years, the East Timorese population have to face daily arbitrary arrests, enforced disappearances, torture, rape, confinement in resettlement camps, repression and violation of the most basic human rights.

Yet the international community shamelessly turns a blind eye to these horrendous atrocities, for the sake of profitable trade with the corrupt government of President Suharto and the exploitation of the underpaid Indonesian labour force. The continuing of foreign economic aid and the sales of Western arms to Indonesia regardless of how ruthlessly the regime uses brutal force to repress its own people, is an affront to human decency and justice.

In spite of all tribulations, the East Timorese people continue to resist heroically all attempts by the Indonesian military to crush their spirit. We refuse to yield to brutality and inhumane treatment. We continue trying to uphold human dignity. Above all, we refuse to give up our right to Self-determination and Independence.

By invading East Timor, Indonesia has violated not only International law but also its 1945 Constitution which states "That independence is the right of every nation and therefore colonialism must be eliminated from the world as it is incompatible with humanity and justice."

Madame Prime Minister, I was 18 years old when the Indonesian army invaded my country. Words fail me to express or describe my true feelings about the tragedies that I have witnessed along these years.

One of my cousins was arrested the day after the Indonesians landed in Dili, the capital of East Timor. She was taken to the military intelligence quarters for intensive interrogation, following torture with cigarette butts on her pregnant body. Her fiancée had been shot dead the previous day in front of her. A high school colleague had her head chopped off by the invaders and hung on a tree facing her house, in order to terrorise her family and the neighbourhood. The reason for this barbaric behaviour was that the two women were members of the 'Fretilin' pro independence movement.

Thousands of East Timorese women have faced similar and even worse circumstances. Three other acquaintances of mine were thrown out alive from a flying army helicopter, to their deaths, because their husbands had fled to the mountains to fight against the occupying forces. Many of our women are presently being held in inadequate prisons set up by the Indonesian

army all over East Timor. They have been tortured, raped, abused, and deeply humiliated.

Madame Prime Minister, in 1980, more than six thousand East Timorese prisoners of conscience were transferred to the Island of Atauro, which is located 45 km North of the capital Dili. Eighty per cent of this number was comprised by women and children! These people were sent to the Island by the Indonesian military after being accused of supplying food for the guerrillas. The Indonesian military seemingly forgot that the guerrillas were fathers, husbands, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters of those people.

Their transfer to Atauro was carried out without any humane consideration. The Indonesian army shifted these people like cattle. They were forced to leave their homes, traditional land, and belongings behind, without being told about their destination. Worst of all, there were no basic housing, sanitation and hygiene facilities awaiting them. The consequences of this policy were horrendous.

Nursing mothers lost their breast milk, which dried up suddenly as result of shock and trauma. Their babies were screaming of hunger! Inevitably, diseases such as diarrhoea and dysentery broke out and the babies died like flies. I helped to bury the innocent babies who passed away ahead of time. At the peak of the crisis, we buried 5 babies in one week! At the time I almost lost faith in humanity. The horrific situation settled down a few months later, after the International Red Cross arrived on the Island with basic human necessities, medicines and food.

Madame Prime Minister, how can such crimes against humanity be perpetrated with impunity in the 20th century? How will those mothers ever forgive and forget the loss of their children in such macabre circumstances? How can they recover from the depth of their sorrows and trauma with their sanity intact? You madame, as a woman and mother of 4 children, will probably understand my feelings regarding this. I will never be able to forget the mothers' state of desperation and anguish at breaking point, holding their screaming babies against their dried breasts. This painful memory is engraved in my mind for the rest of my life. It gives me all the strength I need to fight till justice is done.

Madame Prime Minister, you will be visiting a nation whose leaders kill their own people including their women and children, as well as the populations of smaller neighbours.

You will shake the blood stained hands of the President and the Vice President of Indonesia, and toast them. You will surely not

forget that Suharto is responsible for the death of more than one million Indonesians, killed by his troops after the alleged 'Communist' coup of 1965. Sutrisno was the commander of the Indonesian army in 1991, when his troops gunned down hundreds of East Timorese youths at Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili, during a peaceful demonstration. After the massacre, he publicly stated that the "delinquents," the East Timorese protesters, "must be shot. And we will shoot them."

Suharto's son in law, Prabowo, who currently holds the post of vice commander of the Indonesian elite troops, Kopassus, ordered a cold blooded massacre of more than 300 hundred civilians in the village of Kraras in East Timor in 1983. The pregnant women of the village had their unborn babies ripped from their wombs with knives which then had their heads smashed against rocks! Heavens must have wept!

Madame Prime Minister, last week, East Timor was once again rocked by riots caused directly by mass anger over the action of an Indonesian jail official at the jail in Maliana. This official made defamatory statements about Catholicism, the religion embraced by the majority of the East Timorese. He is typical of the attitude of many other Indonesian transmigrants. Demonstrations erupted in many cities of the territory and in most suburbs of the capital Dili. Indonesian officials arrested 80 people most of them junior and senior high school students.

The attack against the Catholic Faith in East Timor by Indonesian Muslim settlers, is another strategy fomented by the Indonesian military to crush the last bastion of East Timorese resistance. The Catholic Church in East Timor has consistently denounced the violation of human rights perpetrated against the Timorese. In the darkest hours of our tragic history, the Church has stood up against the aggressor as a symbol of hope for its oppressed people.

In 1989, the Suharto government opened the doors of East Timor to the world after 13 years of complete isolation. This happened as a result of international pressure. Ever since, news and accounts about the tragedy that has been going on in East Timor has reached the outside world. Unable to conquer the minds and hearts of the East Timorese, Indonesian authorities encouraged mass colonisation by transmigrants from Indonesia to East Timor.

The majority of the new settlers are Muslim traders, 'bugis' from the island of Sulawesi. They take over the traditional lands of the natives, they occupy most of the public service positions and are granted business deals and financial assistance with support from the local military authorities.

The East Timorese are discriminated against in job applications, the allocation of scholarships for tertiary education, housing subsidies, and relevant government social and economic policies. In a short period of time, the East Timorese have found themselves at the bottom socio-economic stratum.

Madame Prime Minister, these new developments have created increasing ethnic tensions between the locals and the settlers. These regularly erupt into riots and demonstrations, staged by the East Timorese in response to insults and provocation from the settlers. Why East Timor has to become the reservoir of Indonesian ethnic and religious problems?

Having said all this Madame Prime Minister, I humbly appeal to you to raise the issue of East Timor when you meet the Indonesian leaders. Please suggest to President Suharto that allowing the East Timorese people to assert their Self-determination, does not mean acknowledging a failure for Indonesia. On the contrary, Indonesia will raise its international profile as a respectable leading Asian Nation which contributes to world peace. Respecting international law, and acting justly, allowing the people of East Timor the independence they will continue to try to pursue, will not result in 'winners' or 'losers.' All will win, including Indonesia.

Madame Prime Minister, as a leading figure on issues of World Security, Disarmament, Environment and Development, you have the authority to remind the Indonesian leaders, that the problem of East Timor is an obstacle to political stability and peace in the Asia Pacific region. Oppression and abuse of human rights are not tools normally used by wise governments to achieve lasting development for a nation. They will backfire, as history has repeatedly shown.

Before I end, I would like to thank you profusely Madame Prime Minister for devoting part of your busy time to read this letter. I sincerely wish your trip to Indonesia will be a successful one bringing fruitful results for the Peoples and Governments of Norway and Indonesia.

On behalf of the East Timorese people, in particular the Timorese women I thank you beforehand, hoping very much that East Timor will not be forgotten during your Indonesian visit.

With great respect, Sincerely yours,
Maria Silva 15 September 1995

NORWEGIAN PM MEETS SUHARTO

Abridged translation of an article distributed by the Norwegian news agency NTB, received by CNRM on 21 September from an East Timor supporter in Norway.

Jakarta – The Norwegian Prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland raised the question about Indonesia's occupation of East-Timor when she met the Indonesian president Suharto for a one and a half hour long meeting on Monday.

"I tried to communicate something about what kind of uneasiness and negative situation this gives, and also how important it is that a solution is reached that both the international community, Indonesia and Portugal can agree upon," the prime minister said after the meeting.

The meeting went on in an open tone. There was room for saying that the situation in East Timor is of concern.

The Norwegian Prime Minister is with this placing herself among the group of western leaders raising the occupation of East-Timor during visits to Indonesia.

The rest of the article is about labour rights in Indonesia (an issue which the Norwegian prime-minister promised to raise), and about Norwegian economic cooperation with Indonesia.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION

Translated from Portuguese, summarized

Strasbourg, France, Sept. 21 (LUSA) — The European Parliament issued a resolution today in which it appeals to the 15 member countries of the European Union to suspend economic cooperation, arms sales, and military assistance to Indonesia while occupation of East Timor persists.

The EP resolution condemns "severely" the repression by the Indonesian military in East Timor, and expresses solidarity with its victims. The resolution reiterates EP support for the East Timorese right to self-determination, and calls for the participation of East Timorese representatives in the UN-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

The EP resolution also appeals to the Indonesian government to revoke the death sentences given to at least 24 political opponents, some of which are pending since the 1960's.

Reaffirming a EP decision of November 1991, the EP expresses the wish to send a delegation to East Timor to evaluate the current political and human-rights situation in the territory. The EP appeals to the In-

donesian government that it not oppose the visit to East Timor of EP parliamentarians.

The EP expresses concern for the repression by the military of civilian demonstrators, namely in Manatuto. The EP resolution takes into account the events that took place in Dili in July, that resulted in 3 dead and 14 wounded, and the 33 to 66 arrests since September 8. [...]

INDONESIA CONDEMNED BY MEPS

The Irish Times, September 23 1995

STRASBOURG – A strong resolution condemning "Indonesia's military oppression" and supporting East Timor's "right to self-determination" has been passed in the European parliament by 134 votes to 59, writes David Shanks. The resolution expresses shock at a recent decision by Indonesia to implement the death sentence on two 67 year old sergeant-majors who have been imprisoned since 1965 when President Suharto came to power in a bloodbath.

It calls for "the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners" and respect for religious freedom. Reaffirming a 1991 decision to send a fact-finding delegation to East Timor the resolution urges the Indonesian government "to refrain from placing obstacles in the way of the delegation."

Among the proposers of the resolution was Mr. Niall Andrews, MEP. There were five abstentions.

OH TIMOR! (PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS COMMITTED TO ET)

Publico, 6 October 1995. By Adelino Gomes. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – "I ask God to help me to defend our brothers who have suffered so much," implored Antonio Guterres on the night of his electoral victory, referring to the East Timorese people. This gesture, which was enthusiastically received by crowds of his supporters, went some way towards reassuring those who had not forgotten the record on Timor of previous Socialist government ministers — the last one being Jaime Gama.

Jaime Gama, who is now the newly appointed Foreign Affairs Minister, was the head of Portuguese diplomatic corps at the time of the Central Block, left Timorese leaders, militants and supporters with disappointing memories. It was during his mandate, when the matter had already been transferred from the UN General Assembly to the bilateral talks table, that Timor was on the brink of being removed from the list of non-autonomous territories, on the promise of respect for a degree of autonomy and

a series of cultural and religious values. Portugal had even begun to calculate the cost in dollars of the BNU (bank) agency in Dili, and the Sociedade Agricola Patria e Trabalho, and to refer to the costs incurred by the Timorese refugees.

Although it was not publicly stated, this was, to a certain extent, the attitude that prevailed among Portuguese politicians. It is also true to say that the person chiefly responsible for government policy at that time was Mario Soares who, later, became one of the fiercest defenders of self-determination for the East Timorese, and the most tenacious international adversary of Suharto's dictatorship. There had to be a Santa Cruz massacre before public opinion in Portugal would adopt Timor as a national cause.

This does not seem to have been the case for Jaime Gama, however. The ambiguity of his last known stated position — during a speech on 30 May before the Inter parliamentary Conference on Timor — shocked the Resistance, as is was considered the most backward of all the views held by the parliamentary parties.

In statements made to *Publico*, the Resistance representative José Ramos Horta expressed the hope that, in one or two years time, the Timorese will be paying the same tribute to this new Foreign Minister, Jaime Gama, as they did a few months ago to Durão Barroso.

BISHOP BELO NOMINATED FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

Republika, 6 October 1995, *Abridged. Some of this report is datelined Oslo, from AFP*

Bishop Belo is one of the favourites to win the Nobel Peace Prize this year. According to AFP, he is one of six of this year's favourites which include former US President Jimmy Carter, a Kurdish leader Lelya Zana, the Russian human rights activist Sergei Kovalev, and the Mexican bishop, Samuel Ruiz.

The announcement will come on 13 October. There were 120 nominations from which one hundred were first excluded, leaving a short list.

The *Republika* report mentions the names of those who nominated some of the other favourites but says that nothing is known about who nominated Belo.

Reacting to the news of Belo's nomination, chairman of Muhammadiyah Amien Rais said: 'This isn't surprising.' In his opinion, the criteria used by the Nobel Committee are not usually based on a sense of justice. 'We shouldn't be too influenced by it,' he said.

The Dili Diocese yesterday denied that Bishop Belo had said he wanted East Timor

to become a special Catholic region. In a press release, the Vicar-General said that what Bishop meant by a special region was 'a special region in which the Catholics are predominant and where there are also Protestants and Muslims. But special attention should be given to the religious, historical and cultural identity of the East Timorese people'

"THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING"

Publico, 14 October 1995. By Adelino Gomes. Translated from Portuguese

Norwegians "compensate" Ximenes Belo.

A few hours after the announcement of the Nobel Peace Prize winners (which was like a bucket of cold water for the CNRM leader), José Ramos Horta received a message of congratulations from a high-ranking Norwegian Foreign Office official in Oslo: "This is just the beginning," the official said, referring to the high profile achieved by Ximenes Belo and the Timorese cause in his country's media. At the same time, the Norwegian Government announced its decision to award one and a half million Krone to Bishop Belo.

Ramos Horta rejected the idea that this award was a kind of compensation from the Oslo Government to the Bishop, who even yesterday, according to all the media, was the favourite to win this year's prize.

"This financial award has been announced only now, but it had already been discussed during the Bishop's visit to Norway last summer," explained the Timorese representative. He refused, however, to reveal the name and position of the "high-ranking official" who had contacted him, and congratulated him on the strong impact the Bishop's candidacy had made on the public.

Yesterday afternoon, Oslo's intellectual and journalistic circles — taken by surprise by the Nobel Committee's decision — speculated about the reasons behind the U-turn. The most popular theory (nothing had managed to seep through the Committee's customary wall of silence) attributed the choice of the British physicist and the anti-nuclear movement to last-minute pressure brought to bear by the Norwegian Government itself. Given the impossibility of publicising outright criticism of French nuclear testing, Norway and the other Scandinavian countries, where the pacifist movement is very considerable, saw in Joseph Rotblat and Pugwash the ideal way in which to deliver a slap in the face for Jacques Chirac's nuclear policy, which would resound throughout the world.

Questioned in Rome, shortly after the announcement of the Prize winner, about what he intended to do once back in Timor,

Mnsgr. Belo said "If there have been abuses, we shall continue our work." The Bishop of Dili expressed his agreement with the statements made moments before by the Portuguese President of the Republic. Mario Soares said that the fight should continue both within and outside Timor. He also promised to raise the issue of Timor at all the forthcoming meetings he will have in Argentina and at the UN "against the scandalous occupation of East Timor" and the "truly intolerable" repression which the Indonesian regime exercises over the people in the territory.

Xanana Gusmão's spokesman believes that the high profile which the Timorese cause has recently attracted has created the conditions for "the start of a new phase." The first test will be in New York, next January, when the Indonesian and Portuguese diplomatic chiefs meet for a further round of direct talks. Ramos Horta said the next meeting would be "extremely important" because it had been agreed at the last meeting that the two Ministers and the UN Secretary General would be discussing "specific proposals relating to the essence of the problem" at the next round of talks — that is, the question of self-determination. He also believes that Jakarta is going to use the recent violent disturbances (instigated by Jakarta itself) to undermine the intra-Timorese dialogue, scheduled for after the ministerial meeting.

PEREZ DE CUELLAR ON INDONESIA

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Lisbon, Oct. 26 (LUSA) — The former UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar [visiting Lisbon] today condemned Indonesia for "continuing to resist" the UN resolutions regarding East Timor.

"I very much regret that Indonesia not make a final political decision of complying with the [UN] decisions," said Perez de Cuellar. "Unfortunately, I haven't seen progress in [Indonesia's] efforts" to resolve the East Timor problem, Perez de Cuellar regretted.

For Perez de Cuellar, who was UN's Secretary General for two mandates, Indonesia's defiance of the decisions by the UN Security Council, together with the disregard for UN's decisions by other governments also, "has led to the loss of credibility" of the organization. For the UN to be credible "it is important that the member countries have the necessary political will for that the [UN] decisions be complied with," he stated.

TIMORESE SEEK ASYLUM AT UK EMBASSY

TIMORESE SEEKING ASYLUM AT UK EMBASSY IN JAKARTA

TAPOL Report, 25 September 1995

Five East Timorese entered the British embassy in Jakarta today and asked the British authorities for asylum.

We have no idea yet of their situation inside the embassy or the response of the British authorities but for the time being here is the biodata of the five men, following by their Petition:

1. T.J. Temotio

I am Temotio José Fernandes, native of Asalaino, Fui Loro, Los Palos and born on 25 May 1972. My parents are Felicidade and Afonso José Fernandes, both of whom were killed by the Indonesian forces in Los Palos, along with many other members of my immediate family. I was raised by a Belgian priest in the Don Bosco orphanage of Los Palos. During my time in the orphanage, I and the priests were constantly intimidated by the Indonesian armed forces, the excuse being that the orphanage was a well known refuge for children of Fretilin resistance fighters.

After leaving the orphanage, I continued by studies at the SMA Negeri II in Dili. Even in the capital I was not free of persecution by the military who would come regularly to the school and make demands upon the headmaster, Dr. HMR Soemardjo, to expel me for being the child of an anti-Indonesian Fretilin fighter.

In 1990 in Dili, I was kidnapped by ABRI at night, was beaten, had my face burnt, my hair pulled out of my head and the palms of my hands were slashed. The experience strengthened my resolve to actively engage in activities aimed at guaranteeing the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and to be free of Indonesian barbarity. These were some of my activities:

- On 1990 I was appointed Sabalae's courier, operating between the areas of Las Palos-Larimau.

- On 12 November 1991 I took part in the procession which moved from Motael Church to the Santa Cruz cemetery.

- On 17 November 1994 I participated in the demonstration at Dili Cathedral.

- On 15 August 1995 on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition in Los Palos to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Indonesian Independence, I was tortured and

almost killed by Indonesia's Special Territorial (Red Beret) Forces. I managed to flee and escaped to the jungle where I lived among the guerrillas for one week. After that I made my way to Dili and from there fled to Jakarta (I have been here for approximately one month) where I am now seeking political asylum. My reasons and specific demands are as follows:

- * That the UN demand the immediate release of our leader Xanana Gusmão in order to participate in dialogue on the future of East Timor with President Suharto and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

Even if Indonesia were to exterminate all the young people of East Timor, I am convinced that this will not be the end of the struggle and that it will be continued by future generations.

2. Name: Antonio Baptista Sequeira

Date of birth: Dili, 13 April 1971

Father's name: Manual Sequeira

Mother's name: Maria Sequeira.

Two members of my family, i.e. Eduardo João Sequeira and Victor Manuel Sequeira, were killed at the time of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

I am one of a group of activists who demonstrated at the time of the visit of the US ambassador to East Timor (January, 1990). At that time, I sought refuge in the Motael Church. When the church was raided by the Indonesian security forces, my friend Sebastião Gomes was killed. I managed to escape and was able to take part in his funeral procession and the demonstrations on 12 November 1991.

I was detained in Viqueque, and after my release was closely watched by the military.

During the recent violence provoked by the Ninjas in Dili, I became involved in anti-Ninja/vigilante group activities in an attempt to curb their violence. When efforts were made to try to arrest me in connection with these activities, I fled to Kupang, West Timor. Fearing that I had been followed, I left Kupang for Bali and carried on to Jakarta on 29 August 1995.

3. Name: Nelson Turquel

Date of birth: Dili, 3 June 1973

Father's name: José Trocel

I took part in the demonstration of 12 November 1991. Earlier this year, I took part in the anti-Ninja vigilante group activities and was consequently pursued by the security forces. I managed to avoid arrest and fled to Kupang, then Bali and finally Jakarta where I have been for the past month and a half. My father was arrested in Dili on 9 September in connection with the disturbances there.

4. Name Joaquim Alim

Date of birth: Dili, 20 March 1971.

Father's name: Joaquim Antonio

Mother's name: Maria Isabel Moniz

I took part in the demonstrations of 12 November 1991 but managed to escape from St Cruz cemetery at the time of the massacre. Earlier this year, I and a number of other friends participated in anti-Ninja activities in Dili. At that time, I managed to capture two Ninjas who were members of the army's elite red beret forces and I handed them over to Bishop Belo. Because of the Intelligence Force's attempts to arrest me in connection with these activities, I had planned to sail to Australia with the other 18 refugees now residing in Australia but at the last minute was unable to join them and fled instead to Kupang, Bali and finally arrived in Jakarta about one and a half months ago.

On 9 September my younger brother, Paulo, was arrested and was questioned by the Intelligence forces regarding my current whereabouts. Because he refused to answer their questions and also denied his own involvement in the demonstrations of 9 September, he had both his ears slashed with knives by ABRI soldiers.

5. Name: Egas Soares

Date of Birth: 25 March 1970

Father's name: Domingos Soares Faria

Mother's name: Maria da Silva

I am one of the activists who took part in the demonstrations at the time of Pope John Paul's visit to Dili in 1989, and also that of 12 November 1991. I was forced by Simbolon, now the Regional Military Commander, to act as a spy for Indonesia, and specifically to report on the activities of the Bishop, but also at the time of the visits of the Swedish and Australian ambassadors. I informed the Bishop of my special 'assignment' in October 1989.

Attempts were made to arrest me after I organised youths to demonstrate in front of the Mahkota Hotel in Dili. I fled to Kupang and came on directly to Jakarta where I have been for about 18 months.

PETITION AND REQUEST FOR
REQUEST FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM
MADE ON BEHALF OF

Joaquim Antonio Alim

Antonio Baptista Sequeira

Timoteo

Egas Soares

Nelson Turquel

TO THE EMBASSY OF GREAT
BRITAIN Monday, September 25 1995

I. INTRODUCTION

Honoured and respected Ambassador and officials of this Embassy, we come to you in the name of the youth of East Timor who live under Indonesian military occupation and constant threat to their lives and well-

being. We request your protection in the sincere belief that the government of England holds in high regard the value and dignity of human life in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We come to you as witnesses to the Indonesian military brutality which since December 7 1975 has become a fact of every day life in East Timor; a military brutality which has consisted of sudden arrest, rape, intimidation, terror and slaughter of the kind the world witnessed on 12 November 1991 in Dili; a military brutality which has robbed us of the right to an education, has made us prisoners in our own country, and has now forced us to leave our beloved homeland and our families and friends.

We are here today, therefore, not as youths seeking adventure or a free trip out of this country (as no doubt the Indonesian government will attempt to convince you of in the days to come), but as persecuted individuals who fear for our lives. We trust that the government of England will assist us with our bid for political asylum, in accordance with International Law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 14, Clause I of which states that "Every human being has the right to seek and be granted refuge in another country for the purpose of avoiding persecution." Article 15, Clause I of the same Declaration states that "Every person has the right to citizenship," and Clause II "No human being may be arbitrarily denied citizenship of a country or be refused their right to alter their citizenship."

II. BACKGROUND

In order that you may be aware of the reality of East Timor and our situation, we would like to inform you of the following facts:

After losing our beloved friends on November 12, 1991 (many died immediately in front of the St Cruz cemetery, many in the hospital, many of them were arrested and most of them disappeared) and for the purposes of protesting against the abuses of human rights taking place in East Timor, against the use of "divide et impera" tactics and operations such as those recently conducted by the Ninjas, we resolved to continue this struggle and to fight against the abhorrent political tactics and attitudes of the Indonesian military up until the time we left East Timor in July 1995.

Between November 12 1991 and the time we left East Timor, we have seen our people forced into hiding for fear of capture and imprisonment, as has happened recently with Sabalae, Rimisio and others. Others have been shot dead as happened during the Liquiça incident, in Walaikama (Baucau) and in other places but which nobody knew

about. The victims are everywhere, all over the territory, but out of fear, fail to protest to the local authorities. The East Timorese people have been economically marginalised due to the influx of Indonesian immigrants who occupy the most fertile zones and who dominate the economy and business opportunities. Employment within the civil service is monopolised by migrants from other provinces, therefore our people are growing poor. The young people are exiled, sent to work in Indonesia, with false promises of skills training, schooling, employment, social welfare and so on.

Such a situation is what has pushed us to act against the violations committed by the Indonesian military in our homeland. The consequences of such involvement are that we are pursued by the SGI and by the East Timorese mobilised by the Indonesian military as spies or informants. And even today, our families are being pressured physically and psychologically by the Intelligence to reveal our whereabouts. So we are constantly on the run, moving from place to place to evade arrest.

We five, today present in the Embassy, have experienced directly the atrocities of the Indonesian military. Two of us were captured, imprisoned and exiled after the Santa Cruz massacre. They forced us to cooperate with them to be their informants, and we were forced to report weekly. Three of us managed to escape, but nonetheless continue to be pursued by the SGI. This situation has robbed us of our freedom to grow up as other young people in other parts of the world, and we feel we have no future.

To save our lives and to escape the bleak future which threatens to overcome us and our people, we have opted to seek political asylum in this Embassy. We are fully aware of the diplomatic repercussions which our request for political asylum will have for you and your government in relations with Indonesia, however, in the interests of Truth, Justice, the upholding of International Law and human rights conventions, in addition to our own personal safety, we strongly appeal to you to give due consideration to our request and to act in a spirit of democracy and freedom to defend our rights as prescribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

III. PETITION

In the interests of upholding the true meaning of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and of defending peace and freedom, justice and truth in East Timor, we request the following:

1. The implementation of all of the Resolutions or Joint Resolutions stated in the Tri-Party Dialogue (between Indonesia and

Portugal) under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary General, specifically the nine points contained in the declaration of the All Inclusive Intra Timorese Dialogue, signed in Burg-Schlaining, Austria.

2. The unconditional release of all East Timorese political prisoners, including the East Timorese Resistance Leader, José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão.

3. The inclusion and involvement of East Timorese Leader, Xanana Gusmão, in negotiations towards a settlement of the East Timor problem, and specifically in future Intra Timorese Dialogues.

4. Peace, Freedom, Justice and Truth, as the ideals to which all human beings aspire.

In the name of the peace-loving and martyred people of East Timor, we thank you for your kind attention.

Jakarta, September 25, 1995

Signed by the petitioners:

1. Joaquim Antonio Alim
2. Antonio Baptista Sequeira
3. Timoteo
4. Egas Soares
5. Nelson Turquel

BRITISH COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR PRESS RELEASE

September 25, 1995

Five East Timorese seek asylum in British Embassy in Jakarta

Early this morning, five East Timorese youths entered the British Embassy in Jakarta, asking for political asylum in Great Britain.

The five presented a petition to Embassy officials stating that they were survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre of November 21, 1991, and had faced persecution and intimidation by Indonesian authorities since that time. Their petition states, "To save our lives and to escape the bleak future which threatens to overcome us and our people, we have opted to seek political asylum in this Embassy. We are fully aware of the diplomatic repercussions which our request for political asylum will have for you and your government in relations with Indonesia, however, in the interests of Truth, Justice, the upholding of International Law and human rights conventions, in addition to our own personal safety, we strongly appeal to you to give due consideration to our request and to act in a spirit of democracy and freedom to defend our rights as prescribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The five have also made several political requests, including the implementation of all points which have been agreed to in the Indonesia-Portugal talks and the intra-Timorese talks, held under United Nations

auspices, and the release of Timorese political prisoners.

The British Coalition for East Timor has written to the Home and Foreign Offices urging that the request of the five youths for asylum should be quickly granted. "The appalling human rights situation in East Timor and Indonesia is well known," said Maggie Helwig of BCET. "It is clear that these young men have had no choice but to take such desperate measures; and if their request is not granted, or they are forced to leave the Embassy, their lives will be in very great danger."

This is the latest of several dramatic bids for asylum by East Timorese. Earlier this year, a number of "boat people" managed to reach Australia after a harrowing sea voyage. They have been allowed to live in the community while their asylum requests are considered, largely on the grounds that most of them require specialist treatment for the torture and abuse they have suffered at the hands of the Indonesian authorities. Several other foreign embassies have been occupied by Timorese dissidents and survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre, requesting asylum, since 1991. So far, these cases have always ended with the Timorese being sent to Portugal, where they have been freely received.

The British Coalition for East Timor believes that the British government should make good on its expressed concern for human rights in East Timor by accepting these five men, not by refusing responsibility or passing it on to some other country.

For more information: Maggie Helwig, British Coalition for East Timor, 0171-252-7937

Carmel Budiardjo, TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, 0181-771-2904

ASYLUM BID 'UNDER CONSIDERATION'

AFP, 25 September 1995. Abridged

Jakarta – Five East Timorese youths sought asylum at the British embassy Monday, saying they feared reprisals from Indonesian authorities for their support of East Timorese independence.

"We received their request for asylum and we are considering it, we have sent it to London for consideration," John Virgoe, Second Secretary told AFP inside the British embassy compound in Central Jakarta.

The five asylum seekers, who entered the embassy just before noon, remained late in the day. Virgoe declined to comment on what the embassy planned to do with them. Embassy staff expelled journalists who tried to interview the five youths in the embassy grounds.

One of the youths, Soares told AFP he was involved in organising a demonstration and had been among several youths who demonstrated in front of the Mahkota Hotel in Dili while several foreign journalists were in town in April this year. "My friends were arrested but I escaped," Soares said.

ANN CLWYD: ASYLUM MUST BE GRANTED

Press release, 25 September 1995, From Ann Clwyd, MP

The Foreign Office is being urged by Labour MP Ann Clwyd to grant political asylum to five East Timorese young men who sought refuge in the British Embassy in Jakarta early this morning.

"I have written as a matter of urgency to the Foreign Office," said Ann Clwyd. "I support the applications for political asylum and I have stressed that the five men would be in very grave danger if they fall into the hands of the Indonesian authorities. The government in Jakarta are amongst the world's most brutal and repressive regimes," she said.

The men, believed to be independence activists, managed to escape from East Timor where they had, for some time, lived in real fear for their lives. The 5 asylum seekers entered the embassy just before dawn and it is under that journalists who tried to speak to them were thrown out of the grounds by Embassy staff.

"The Indonesian authorities kept these men under continuous surveillance," said Ann Clwyd. "Their 'crime' is that they oppose the illegal occupation of their country by the Indonesian government.

One of the men had been involved in organising a demonstration against the occupation. Many of his friends were arrested by the para military police. Most of them disappeared. Many of Indonesia's para militaries have been trained by Britain.

The British Embassy in Jakarta has confirmed that the men are seeking asylum and that the requests have been sent to London. I urge the Foreign Secretary to grant them asylum as a matter of urgency.

Ann Clwyd, Labour Member of Parliament for the Cynon Valley, is a leading campaigner against Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and against human rights abuses in that country. The National Audit Office confirmed last week that they are investigating evidence submitted to them by Ann Clwyd that there has been an illegal linkage between British Aid funds and arms sales to Indonesia.

TIMORESE PLEAD FOR UK ASYLUM

The Independent, London, September 26. By Michael Sheridan, Diplomatic Editor. abridged

Britain was last night considering an application for political asylum from five East Timorese men who took refuge in the British Embassy in Jakarta, saying they feared for their safety at the hands of the Indonesian security forces.

A Foreign Office spokesman in London said they would "certainly not" be asked to leave the Embassy while the asylum request was being decided.

The five, all aged between 22 and 24, said they were activists in an underground movement dedicated to resistance against Indonesian rule.

The incident was a new embarrassment for the Indonesian government, which faces continued opposition to its occupation of East Timor and international concern over its human rights record. The five asylum-seekers said they had witnessed atrocities by the Indonesian security forces, including an incident in 1991 when the army fired on mourners and protesters at a funeral in Dili, East Timor's capital.

The men's petition called for a renewed dialogue between Indonesia, the UN and Portugal about East Timor.

EAST TIMOR REBELS ASK BRITAIN FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM

The Times, London, September 26. By Catherine Napier. abridged

[This article is accompanied by a photo of three of the young men in the lobby of the Embassy]

Jakarta – In a move likely to infuriate Jakarta, five East Timorese yesterday entered the British Embassy and requested political asylum, claiming that they feared for their lives from the Indonesian security forces.

The men, all in their early twenties, said that they were on the run from the Indonesian military in East Timor. Two of them said they had been orphaned by the army in the occupied territory.

In recent weeks anti-Indonesian protests have been held in East Timor, sparked by an Indonesian prison official's alleged insult against Roman Catholicism, to which the majority of East Timorese adhere. This led to the burning of mosques and several markets and attacks on Muslim migrants. Since then, more than 1,000 migrants reportedly have fled the territory. In a statement, the five asylum-seekers said they had requested protection from Britain "in the sincere belief that the [British] government holds in high

regard the value and dignity of human life in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”

The East Timorese said that they saw Indonesian military brutality which, since troops invaded in December 1975, “has become a fact of everyday life in East Timor.” They said they had taken part in demonstrations “for the purposes of protesting against the abuses of human rights taking place in East Timor.”

Their supporters said two of the asylum-seekers claimed that they had relatives who had been killed by Indonesian soldiers. Te-motio José Fernandes, 23, claimed that he had acted as a courier for the leader of an underground resistance network and said he had been tortured twice by the security forces in East Timor.

The five East Timorese said they had no future in the territory, and while they said they were aware of the repercussions which their request would have for British-Indonesian relations they appealed to Britain to “act in the spirit of democracy and freedom to defend our rights.” The document ended with a request for the release of all East Timorese political prisoners including Xanana Gusmão, and his inclusion in United Nations-sponsored negotiations between Lisbon and Jakarta to resolve the status of East Timor.

In November last year, 29 East Timorese scaled the walls of the American Embassy, on the eve of a trade summit in Jakarta attended by President Clinton, to protest against Indonesian rule in East Timor. Eventually, they were granted political asylum in Portugal after 12 days. In 1993 seven other East Timorese left for Portugal after approaching the embassies of Sweden and Finland.

TIMORESE FLEE TO EMBASSY

The Guardian, London, September 26, By Nicholas Cumming-Bruce, slightly abridged

Bangkok – Five East Timorese, claiming to be members of an underground resistance movement, took shelter yesterday in the British Embassy in Jakarta and appealed for asylum abroad. The five said they were not leaving until they received asylum.

Embassy staff said the five would be allowed to stay until a decision had been reached on their application.

The incident showed little sign yesterday of escalating into a diplomatic row between Indonesia and Britain, a major arms supplier to the Indonesian regime. The Indonesian authorities have made no comment.

ASYLUM SEEKERS LEAVE TO PORTUGAL

translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Jakarta, September 28 (LUSA) — The five Timorese that took refuge on Monday in the British embassy in Jakarta will leave to Portugal tomorrow, Friday, the spokesperson for the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced today.

The five were scheduled to leave today, but the KLM flight was full. Tomorrow’s flight will be aboard an Air France plane. The trip will involve a change of plane, and the day and time of arrival in Lisbon was not announced.

The official of the International Red Cross in Jakarta who made the flight arrangements specified that the five will not be received as refugees but as Portuguese nationals.

Timorese ambassador Lopes da Cruz, who collaborates with the Indonesian government, declared today that the five were not persecuted and hence should not have requested political asylum.

“One has the right to political asylum only when one is persecuted by the security forces or when one believes one’s life to be in danger,” Lopes da Cruz told Indonesian news agency Antara.

According to Lopes da Cruz, the five should have resorted to the International Red Cross, or some other humanitarian organization, and in that case, should they have opted for Portuguese nationality, the Indonesian government would not have prevented them from leaving Indonesia.

BCET REPORT, SEPT. 26

We must continue to monitor the situation and ensure that the transfer takes place safely and as quickly as possible, but the central decision has now been made. It is disappointing that Britain has shuffled responsibility on to Portugal rather than dealing with the case themselves, but not particularly surprising. At any rate it seems that the five will be safe.

EVENTS IN ENGLAND

BRITISH AID TO INDONESIA UNDER FIRE

Press Release from the office of Ann Clwyd, MP, 7 September 1995

Evidence which suggests illegal use of British aid funds and of a linkage between aid and arms sales to Indonesia, is published today in an extensive study of Brit-

ain/Indonesia’s bilateral aid programme, carried out by Labour MP Ann Clwyd.

Information from the report, which suggests the possible misuse of overseas aid money, has been sent by Ann Clwyd, MP for the Cynon Valley, to the National Audit Office. She has asked the Auditor General to conduct an investigation as a matter of urgency.

“I have provided the National Audit Office with information and I can provide further evidence they may need for the investigation,” said Ann Clwyd.

The original investigation into the Pergau Dam was started as a result of a letter sent by Ann Clwyd to the National Audit Office when she was Shadow Secretary of State for Overseas Development.

Ann Clwyd has asked the Auditor General to pay particular attention to the following aided projects in Indonesia and East Timor:

- Short-wave Transmitter Project, installed with an ATP soft loan of almost 27 million. It is doubtful that this project was properly appraised. The lead contractor was GEC-Marconi Communications Limited, part of GEC’s electronics systems division.
- Training for the para-military Indonesian National Police was paid for with Overseas Aid money. ODA’s own guidelines restrict aid to non-military security organisations. (At least one Indonesian para-military officer who received this training has been shown to be responsible subsequently for severe human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor, according to a sworn statement from an East Timorese.)
- Projects funded by Overseas Aid money in East Timor may have been unlawfully sanctioned by the then Foreign Secretary, through a misuse of powers in the Overseas Development and Cooperation Act 1980.
- The Transmigration Planning Project is officially a scheme to reduce overpopulation in Java and Bali. It received a 2.5 million grant from the British Aid budget. The essence of this programme is to colonise areas far from Indonesia’s population, such as East Timor, by Javanese peasants, who are fiercely loyal to the regime.

The report shows that there is an intriguing link between controversial aid contracts, former Tory ministers and unaccountable quangos.

It exposes the myth of Britain’s concern for human rights by revealing that just six days after the infamous Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991 in East Timor, where up to 270 people died, the government

signed a memorandum of understanding relating to defence contracts with the government of Indonesia.

Evidence is provided that aid expenditure on certain Indonesian projects fails in terms of the ODA's own test of economy, efficiency, effectiveness and developmental soundness. The role of the British electronics giant GEC and former Trade Minister (and recently appointed GEC director) Richard Needham is also put under the microscope.

Ann Clwyd completed the inquiry after tabling hundreds of Parliamentary questions in the face of consistent government secrecy.

"I have tabled very specific questions," said Ann Clwyd, "but as so often in the past, the Foreign Office has refused to answer the questions on the grounds of 'disproportionate cost.' I find this incredible that millions of pounds have been poured in to supporting a regime which has just been named as the world's most corrupt, and yet government ministers refuse to spend 450 to give honest answers to straight questions.

I urge the Auditor to investigate the findings which I have drawn to his attention and to bring to account those responsible for the apparent misuse of British aid."

EAST TIMOR AND ARMS TRADE ON STAGE

From British Coalition for East Timor, Sept. 18.

The story of a young British peace activist's campaign against the sale of Hawk aircraft to Indonesia has been staged by Dublin's leading radical theatre group, Calypso Productions. Chris Cole, who has served two prison terms for opposing British Aerospace deals with Indonesia, is the inspiration for *The Business of Blood* which opened to a packed house in Dublin on 14 September.

The play by Kenneth Glenan and Donal O'Kelly gives a faithful and dramatic portrayal of Chris Cole's campaign to highlight the despicable role of British Aerospace in providing the Indonesian regime with weapons of war, in disregard for its illegal and brutal occupation of East Timor. At the heart of the drama is Chris's one-man invasion of the British Aerospace factory in Stevenage in January 1993 when he succeeded in wrecking cones and computer equipment related to the production of Hawk aircraft before security personnel discovered him at work.

Chris Cole, who was present at the world premiere, later spoke to TAPOL:

'I'm not thrilled at the thought of becoming a public figure,' he said, 'but if the play

helps to raise issues to a broader public, then I welcome it. For me as a Christian, it is essential for individuals to recognise that they have a personal responsibility to do something against things they don't like. We can't leave it to governments.'

Chris was recently released after serving four months of an eight-month sentence for breaching a court injunction not to trespass on British Aerospace premises. Would he do it again?

'Each time, the stakes get higher,' he said, 'and I don't want to spend all my time in prison. I need to be more creative about what I can do, like Tempo journalists in Indonesia who branched out in other directions after their journal was banned. I'm often invited to speak at meetings and I need to deepen my own understanding of peace issues, so I've decided to take a course in theology to refresh myself. I must find ways of supporting others; I needn't be in the front line all the time.'

Had he ever thought of visiting East Timor?

'I would like to but it's not essential to the work I do. I want to convey to people the enormity of the crimes of a company like British Aerospace. Just think of it! UN annual assistance to war-ravaged Cambodia amounts to \$1.8 billion but British Aerospace sells war equipment worth \$4 billion a year, most of it to countries like Indonesia.'

Performances in Scotland and London

The play will run for three weeks in Dublin, tour Ireland and then tour the UK. It will perform at The Artist, Glasgow from 7 — 9 November, at the Union Chapel Project in London on 12 November, the fourth anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre, and at the Traverse Theatre, Edinburgh from 15 — 19 November.

Contact the British Coalition for East Timor for more information: Phone/fax: 0171 252 7937.

IRISH PRESIDENT ATTENDS PLAY

From ETISC, Sept. 24

On Thursday 21st September, the Irish President, Mary Robinson, attended a performance of Donal O'Kelly's play, 'The Business of Blood. Based on the actions of peace activist Chris Cole, the play deals with Chris Cole's efforts to stop the supply of weapons to the Suharto regime in Indonesia. Afterwards the President met with members of the Calypso company who staged the play. The play will tour Ireland and the UK in October and November. Details, posters and flyers from ETISC.

RIGHT LIVELIHOOD AWARD FOR CARMEL BUDIARDJO

TAPOL Report, 4 October 1995

The Right Livelihood Award Foundation today announced the names of the four recipients of the 1995 Right Livelihood Award. They include Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign.

The citation states that Carmel "has found, in spite of the repression suffered by her, her husband and her co-prisoners at the hands of the Indonesian Government, the energy and dedication to campaign for over twenty years for Indonesian political prisoners and the oppressed and slaughtered people of East Timor. The Jury honours her for 'holding the Indonesian Government to account for its actions and upholding the universality of fundamental human rights.'"

The other recipients of the Award which comes along with US\$250,000, shared between the four, are: The Serb Civic Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina which "maintains support for a humane, multi-ethnic, democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina"; Andras Biro and the Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance for "resolute defence of Hungary's Roma (gypsy) minority" and Sulak Sivaraksa "for his vision, activism and spiritual commitment in the quest for a development process that is rooted in democracy, justice and cultural integrity."

The Right Livelihood Award states in its Press Release that the Awards are often referred to as 'the Alternative Nobel Prize.' "They were introduced in 1980 'to honour and support those offering practical and exemplary answers to the most urgent challenges facing us today.' The idea came from Jakob von Uexkull, a Swedish-German philatelic expert who sold his valuable postage stamps to provide the original endowment. Alfred Nobel had wanted to honour those whose work 'brought the greatest benefit to humanity.' But von Uexkull felt that the Nobel Prizes have tended to ignore much work and knowledge vital for the survival of humankind. The Awards are traditionally present in the Swedish Parliament in the days before the Nobel Prize presentations."

A Press Conference with the recipients will be held in Stockholm on December 6th, 1995.

Carmel Budiardjo's memoirs of her three years as a political prisoner in Indonesia, from 1968 till 1971, entitled "Surviving Indonesia's Gulag: A Western Woman Tells Her Story," will be published by CASSELL in January 1996.

'ALTERNATIVE' NOBEL PRIZE TO HONOUR FOUR ACTIVISTS

By David Dahmen, *Excerpts*

STOCKHOLM, Oct. 5 (IPS) — The theme of this year's Right Livelihood Awards, often referred to as the 'alternative' Nobel prizes, is human rights.

The four winners will divide 250,000 U.S. dollars in prize monies awarded by the Stockholm-based Right Livelihood Award Foundation (RLAF) in recognition of their efforts to preserve or create democratic institutions for oppressed peoples.

The four honoured groups or individuals are: the pro-democracy Serb Civic Council in Bosnia-Herzegovina; Carmel Budiardjo, a campaigner for human rights in East Timor; the gypsy support group the Hungarian Foundation for Self Reliance and Thai social rights campaigner Sulak Sivaraksa.

Unlike the dignitaries behind the real Nobels, the founder and chairman of the RLAF Jakob von Uexkull — a Swedish-German writer, philatelic expert and member of the European parliament — is not shy to speak his own mind.

The second award winner this year is Carmel Budiardjo, a British-born human rights activist who has spent 20 years fighting for the oppressed people of East Timor in the archipelago of Java in Indonesia.

"Ms Budiardjo has been very instrumental in addressing human right issues in Indonesia — also stressing the responsibility of the government," said the jury in its motivation statement.

Budiardjo has run the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign (TAPOL) for 22 years. TAPOL — a contraction of two Indonesian words meaning "political prisoner" — has campaigned for the release of hundreds of thousands of political prisoners jailed without trial by the Indonesian government during East Timor's battle for autonomy.

Budiardjo is married to a former Indonesian government official who was imprisoned for 12 years in the 1960s. Budiardjo herself endured detention — without charge or trial — for three years before being forced to leave the country in 1971.

JAKARTA: AWARD FOR CARMEL BUDIARDJO 'A POLITICAL JOKE'

The Director for Information of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DEPLU) issued the following statement on 6 October 1995:

Some newspapers have reported that an Indonesian citizen has been chosen to receive an award from The Right Livelihood Award Foundation in Sweden. The Right Livelihood Award Foundation says that Carmel Budiardjo, an Indonesian citizen and

the founder of TAPOL, a human rights organisation, has campaigned for the release of political prisoners in Indonesia and has actively pushed for social reforms in East Timor, and that she and her husband have been under pressure from the Indonesian Government.

It is necessary to state that Carmel Budiardjo is not an Indonesian citizen although she was once married to an Indonesian. The aforesaid person returned to Britain in the middle of the 1960s and has no right to claim to be an Indonesian citizen. It is very strange indeed for her to claim to have played a role in various developments in Indonesia which have nothing whatever to do with her.

The release of political prisoners on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Indonesian independence came about as the result of a normal legal process and had nothing whatever to do with efforts for the release of this group of people, the communist political prisoners.

Even more ridiculous is the opinion that her activities have led to social reforms and developments in East Timor. The recognition that will be given to her is nothing but a political joke that has been engineered in order to discredit the Nobel Peace Prize, whose prestige is recognised internationally.

Comment by Carmel Budiardjo:

I take this rather silly statement as recognition of the effectiveness of everything I and others associated with TAPOL and indeed all of us in solidarity groups around the world have done to expose human rights violations by the Indonesian regime.

Of course I have never claimed to be an Indonesian citizen, nor did the Right Livelihood Award Foundation say any such thing. I gave up my Indonesian citizenship in November 1971 when I was released from prison after serving three years as a political prisoner. Indeed one of the conditions of my release was that I give up Indonesian citizenship and leave Indonesia for good. I was happy to do that as it gave me the opportunity to campaign in Britain for those I had left behind in prison, beyond the clutches of the repressive Indonesian state.

If the Foreign Ministry find many things about me 'strange,' what could be stranger than the fact that their statement makes no reference to the fact that I left Indonesia after spending three years in detention, without charge or trial as a political prisoner. Oh and by the way, I left Indonesia in November 1971 at the end of this three-year stint in prison, not in the mid-1960s. The Foreign Ministry ought to know this because I was formally handed over by a senior official of the Ministry to the British Consul in Indonesia on 9 November 1971,

the day of my release and departure for London.

Everything relating to that event is explained in my book, 'Surviving Indonesia's Gulag' which is likely to hit the bookshops before the end of the year.

Everything that happens in Indonesia that is not to the liking of those in power is said to be 'direkayasa' or 'engineered.' To make such charges against such a well respected and honourable body as the Right Livelihood Award Foundation is the height of folly.

Indonesian press reports

The Press Release of the Right Livelihood Award Foundation was reported at some length in Suara Pembaruan of Saturday, 7 October 1995. The heading, across two columns reads: Carmel Budiardjo To Get the Alternative Nobel Prize. Most of the report summarises the backgrounds of the four recipients, the amount of the award and the background of its initial endowment. The last three paragraphs report the Foreign Ministry's riposte.

Coverage in other papers is not known but it is highly unusual for any section of the Indonesian press to publish reports except in the most derogatory terms to anything connected with my work.

INTERVIEW: RLA LAUREATE CARMEL BUDIARDJO

Peace News, Oct. 24.

"I had to do something about the people whom I had left behind."

Carmel Budiardjo is one of the winners of the 1995 Right Livelihood Award, the "alternative Nobel Prize," which this year went to human rights campaigners in four very different situations (see sidebar).

Carmel, the founder and permanent staffperson of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, richly deserves her award after years of determined and persistent work on behalf of Indonesians in prison (the name "Tapol" is short for Tahanan Politik; political prisoner); East Timorese, West Papuans, and others resisting Indonesian military occupation; and the active but vulnerable trade union, student, and environmental movements in Indonesia itself.

Carmel spoke to LORNA RICHARDSON about her political roots, her nearly 50-year association with Indonesia, and her forthcoming autobiography.

Carmel's political activity began while a student at the London School of Economics. Her family, while not actively political, was sympathetic to the left: "I tend to think my father used to vote communist, because he thought everyone else was awful. Well, it was during the war period. There was a lot

of despondency about the lack of interest in what was happening to Jewish people in Europe ... I think there was a lot of dissatisfaction about the establishment, and quite rightly too: what did the government ever do here about the Holocaust?" Student activism led her to Prague in the '40s, where she helped to establish the new International Union of Students. During this time she met her then-husband, an Indonesian, and in 1950, they left Prague for Indonesia, and settled down to have a family. Carmel continued her involvement in the politics which had taken her to Prague: "I had been in the British Communist Party, so I got involved in left-wing politics in Indonesia. It was all rather on the fringes of the Indonesian Communist Party. But I wasn't really heavily involved in any particular organisation until 1963, when I began to work with the Indonesian Association of Graduates (HSI)."

Surviving the terror

After the military took power in Indonesia, all left-wing organisations were banned, including the HSI: "Everything went topsy-turvy. Numerous arrests. It was just like a nightmare, it was very, very bad. After October 1965, everything just went haywire, mayhem ... Basically you were liable to get arrested. They didn't get everybody. If they'd have got everybody they would have had about thirteen million people in prison. It's sort of luck of the draw. Very arbitrary." Carmel lost her job as an economist, and began teaching to support her family. Her husband was then arrested and spent most of the next two years in prison.

Carmel herself was also arrested, but escaped detention on this occasion, because the intelligence officer who dealt with her was a secret sympathiser: "There were people like that, it's not too unusual. He was not happy about what the army was doing. Of course, he wasn't openly opposed, but if he thought he could help somebody out, he would do it. So he didn't hold me. The thing that helped me was at that point I had a letter from a doctor. I had discovered a lump on my left breast, so I showed him this letter, and said I had to go to hospital, 'it may be cancer' and so on, and he used this to tell his commander, 'Just let her go home.' So I was allowed to go home. He was arrested himself, some years later."

When her husband was released, they decided to leave Indonesia, since it had become impossible for them to continue with their political activity. Before they could make the arrangements to leave, however, the police came to their house again. This time it was to arrest Carmel, but when they found her husband at home, they took him too. It

was the start of a three year-stretch for Carmel, and a ten-year one for her husband.

Nothing outside ...

Survival became very difficult both for the prisoners and their families. Carmel believes the treatment she received in prison was slightly less awful than that many others received ("I was bullied and shouted at, but never hit"), because she was English, but nonetheless, prison life was very isolating: "There was nothing outside, no human rights organisations. It was quite dreadful, this whole crackdown on the communists, there was a tremendous political stigma. Nobody, and I really do mean nobody, wanted to do anything, because everybody was afraid. Terrible fear about coming to the aid of people who were in prison as communists. There was no support mechanism, apart from occasionally wives of detainees might try to help each other a little bit. You know, you need a sewing machine, I will try to help you, on a very very personal basis.

"What was so shocking about this was that even the family structures didn't function, because relatives were afraid. I'm not going to say that everybody behaved like this, but by and large families were too afraid to take in the children of political prisoners. My own brothers-in-law wouldn't come to the house ... At the same time you have other heroic stories about people who did help their neighbours, or help their relatives, but in many cases social cohesion just broke down."

Carmel's eventual release was brought about with the help of a young article clerk in Britain, who fought to persuade the British government that Carmel was still a British citizen, despite being married to an Indonesian, and that therefore the British Government had to take an interest in her fate. Eventually the British Government intervened, and the Indonesian authorities agreed to release Carmel, on the condition that she leave Indonesia.

"Please talk about what's happening"

Back in Britain, Carmel began working to support the people she had been forced to leave behind: "I had the privilege of being English. The other people who I had spent time with could not possibly have got released like this, so I felt in a way, almost guilty, because I could get out, and they could not ... I just felt that I had to do something about the people whom I had left behind. I had a very strong sense of a kind of obligation. At one point, when I was in prison, I heard about the likelihood that this might happen. I spoke to some of my closer friends there, and I said: 'do you think this would be an awful thing to do, just to leave you all.' 'Oh, no, no,' they said, 'that's ridiculous, of course you should go, get out

of here, don't feel any sense of guilt, because you can talk about us.' Prisoners always say 'please, talk about what is happening.' I was in a supremely favourable position to speak out, since I came to England. I've not even got the constraints of being a refugee. It didn't need any particular courage to decide to work for the Indonesian prisoners here, it just needed a sense of commitment."

Although at one point Carmel had given up her British nationality, and had expected to spend the rest of her life in Indonesia, the motivations for her work did not include feelings of chauvinism: "I usually put it down to my Jewishness. I never particularly feel rooted anywhere. I'm all right here. I'm second generation immigrant: I don't feel a particular affinity to England. It's a nice country, and I can work here, and sometimes it's not a nice country, and so on. If I were planted in another country, I'd probably get on all right as well. I lived for many years in Czechoslovakia, and I was fine there. For me that's quite a healthy thing. I don't have any roots of nationalism, actually, let's put it like that! I have a yearning for Indonesia, because I have many friends there, but I don't have a desperate homesickness. I'd like to see my ex-in-law family, and my friends there, but I don't feel that I belong there, any more than I feel I belong here."

Public Enemy No.1 or 2

Carmel's reaction to actually winning the Right Livelihood Award is a mixture of pragmatism and delight. She describes the prize money as "terribly interesting," because it will enable TAPOL to develop some projects that they wouldn't otherwise have been able to do. The granting of the award has also clearly rattled the Indonesian authorities, which pleases her: "I'm very glad the Indonesian government put out a statement the other day. A very stupid statement. It said that I was misleading people that I was an Indonesian citizen, which is absolute rubbish ... But anyhow, I thought that was really good news. And they were accusing the Foundation of being used. There is an expression in Indonesian; in English it comes out as 'engineered,' 'manipulated' ... This regime always thinks like this: if anything happens, it doesn't happen naturally, it's a plot." The press coverage in Indonesia has also surprised her, since she is regarded by the Indonesian authorities as "public enemy No.1 or No.2," and news of her activities is not often allowed in the press.

Carmel, not unnaturally, also speaks warmly of the Right Livelihood Foundation. She has especial regard for the Foundation's habit of picking smaller, less well-known

groups to give awards to: "None of us are high-fliers ... It seems they go for organisations that don't have a high profile, and that's Tapol as well. I quite like that the Foundation does that ... It gives us a bit of a boost. I'm very proud to be a laureate, you might say."

Carmel's prison memoir, Surviving the Indonesian Gulag, is published by Cassell in January 1996.

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EVENTS IN IRELAND

PLAYING THE GAME AND RESISTING BRITISH ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

by Stephen Hancock, *Peace News*, Oct. 24.

The United Nations Day for Children – 2 October – was the occasion of the most recent act of civil disobedience against British Aerospace's government-backed deal to supply Indonesia with 24 Hawk ground attack aircraft.

Twenty-five of us gathered at BAe's London headquarters and then carried a child's coffin, first to the cenotaph for a minute's silence for the victims of Indonesia's war in East Timor, and then to the Foreign Office where six of us staged a symbolic die-in for half an hour in the vehicle entrance. Police turned away vehicles and made no arrests. As an ending to the action a letter calling on the Foreign Office to revoke BAe's export licence was handed in along with wreath, and a final minute's silence was held.

Nonviolent direct action against the Hawk deal has been taking place regularly for the past two and a half years, initiated by Chris Cole's "BAe Ploughshares" action of January 1993, in which he broke into BAe's Stevenage factory and, with a household hammer, disarmed various military components, including a Hawk nosecone. Lower risk actions have since taken place at the main factories involved in Hawk production – Stevenage, Brough, and Warton – at BAe offices in London and Farnborough, and at various BAe events including shareholders' meetings and the Hawks' contribution to the VE-Day celebrations in Hyde Park. Actions have included painting, blood-pouring, flyposting, occupations, the dyeing red of ornamental fountains, die-ins, blockades, factory incursions and – at the recent peace camp at Warton, a short-lived football match within the factory perimeter, to

which management, security, and workers were all invited.

There are several groups which campaign against the Hawk deal as part of their activity on arms trade, human rights, or peace issues: among them the British Coalition for East Timor, Campaign Against Arms Trade, TAPOL — the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, and the London-based antimilitarist group ARROW. Separate from these groups, but overlapping with them in places, is a coalition which oversees a "Pledge of resistance" for individuals prepared to engage in civil disobedience to stop the Hawk deal.

What's going wrong?

Unfortunately, the numbers – both organising and taking part in nonviolent resistance to the Hawk deal – have not been as hoped. With the first of the 24 Hawks due to be shipped from Warton early in 1996, and with a possible further 120 in the bloody pipeline, we have been faced with some searching questions about both our organisational abilities and about the theories and practices of civil disobedience. Much focus has been on the point of production, in terms of mild disruption and visual protest, with some attempt at communicating with workers. Although there has been some sympathy expressed by workers, no significant action has followed – without the offer of concerted and comprehensive union or peace and human rights movement support, this is hardly surprising. In resistance terms, the government has largely been let off the hook.

With the clock ticking away towards the days when the first Hawks are shipped out, there we could see either despair or frenzied activity among the nonviolent resisters.

However, given that other groups are engaged in parliamentary lobbying and some individuals are mounting a legal challenge to the deal, it is vital that nonviolent resisters create calmer spaces in which to work out how best to use their energies in support of the overall campaign. I think that two larger-scale actions in the first half of next year, one high-profile one at the Foreign Office in London and a mass rally and civil disobedience at Warton, could contribute significantly to creating political and public pressure to reverse the deal. Whatever we decide in the coming months, we need more people willing to organise, mobilise for, and enact the sort of protest and resistance the people of East Timor deserve.

The next round of protest and NVDA around the Hawk deal will happen on 11 November, the day before the anniversary of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. Actions are planned for BAe Warton, near Preston (0161 834 0295 for info); BAe Brough, near

Hull (01482 470621); and BAe Farnborough, near Reading (01865 793820). Pledge of Resistance, c/o Stop the Hawk Deal, One World Centre, 6 Mount St, Manchester M2 5NS

NEW WEST PAPUA CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND

ETISC are delighted to announce the launch of a new support group for West Papua. Details are as follows: Contact, Mark Doris. West Papua Action C/O 5 Coote Street, Portlaoise, Co. Laois, Ireland. Tel 00 353 502 61035/61185. FAX 00 353 502 61185. At the moment E-mail messages to the group may be sent through ETISC.

SPRING AND ALATAS CUT SHORT MEETING

R.T.E. Radio News, Programme; Morning Ireland 26th September 1995.

Newsreader: In New York a meeting between the Tanaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) and the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, was cut short after a stormy exchange between the two men over Indonesian rule in East Timor. Afterwards Mr. Spring said Mr. Alatas had taken a very strong line when told of Irish concerns about the situation in East Timor and the meeting ended after a few minutes. (Interview with Tanaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Spring carried on programme).

SPRING WALKED OUT ON INDONESIAN MINISTER OVER TIMOR

The Irish Times, 27th September 1995. By Conor O'Cleary.

The article was accompanied by a photograph of Mr. Dick Spring, with the caption "Making the case for East Timor."

New York – An article in the *Irish Times* written by the Tanaiste, Mr. Spring, in which he criticised Indonesia for its suppression of East Timor was at the centre of a stormy exchange between Mr. Spring and the Indonesian Foreign Minister in New York on Monday, it has been learned.

The row, in the United Nations building, has left Ireland's relations with the South East Asian country in tatters.

Mr. Spring walked out of the meeting after he was berated by Mr. Ali Alatas over the article, which appeared in the *Irish Times* of July 13th.

Headed 'Ireland to the fore in seeking international action on East Timor,' the article took issue with Indonesia's military occupation of East Timor and the denial of human and political rights to the people there..

Mr. Alatas (62), also apparently accused Mr. Spring of refusing requests for a bilateral meeting with the Indonesian ambassador in London, who is accredited to Dublin, during the last two months.

His main complaint however, voiced in extreme terms, was that the Tanaiste had gone public where other Foreign Ministers had made similarly strong criticism in private meetings.

Mr. Spring confirmed yesterday that the *Irish Times* article was raised when he met Mr. Alatas as part of his round of meetings with Foreign Ministers at the 50th UN General Assembly..

“The Indonesian Foreign Minister took offence at the fact that I stated my views and the views of the Irish government in that way,” he said. “If offence is taken there is a diplomatic way of communicating that. I just wasn’t prepared to take the tenor or the tone or the manner... I made suggestions how the meeting might continue and they were not accepted and the meeting just terminated.”

Mr. Spring said he wanted to discuss ASEAN/EU co-operation and the meetings which will take place next year when Ireland has the EU presidency. Asked how relations might be patched up, he said; “In all these situations you let the dust settle. We have our views, they have their views.”

In his article Mr. Spring said that Ireland was and would be one of the foremost advocates of East Timor’s case. “A small territory has been invaded and annexed by a powerful neighbour in defiance of international law,” he wrote.

“The Indonesian military administration of East Timor has been widely condemned, including by the Irish government, for its gross abuses of human rights. He cited the “cold blooded killing” of up to 270 people by Indonesian troops at a peace demonstration in 1991.

“We want Indonesia to end its illegal occupation of the territory,” said Mr. Spring. “We want to see a political solution based on international law and justice. We want to see the people of East Timor enjoy their full human and political rights.” He also called for an arms embargo on Indonesia and the release of political prisoners..

In a reply, published in the *Irish Times* on August 1st, an Indonesian embassy official disputed the number of dead in the 1991 shootings, saying an official commission had concluded 50 died...

President Suharto had expressed “profound grief” and soldiers had been jailed, wrote Mrs. Hendrati Munthe, information councilor to the ambassador. Ireland’s concern, she said, only served the narrow factional interests of particular East Timorese group...

A spokesman at the Indonesian mission declined to comment on the row yesterday.

Deaglan de Breadun adds.

The Labour whip in the Seante, Mr. Pat Magner, applauded the stance taken by Mr. Spring. Mr. Magner pointed out that the Senate had tabled a motion on East Timor last June which was signed by all the political parties and by the Independent Senators. It endorsed the Declaration made in Lisbon at the International Conference on East Timor calling for the Indonesian government to comply with international norms of human rights.

David Shanks adds

Apart from the all-party consensus in Ireland on the East Timor issue several events earlier this year may have contributed to the row in New York.

In May the London-resident Indonesian ambassador to Ireland Mr. Junus Habibie was forced by the presence of East Timor Solidarity protestors at the Dept. of Trade and Tourism in Dublin to leave by the back door. Mr., Habibie said afterwards Mr. Kenny apologised. (From ETISC; Mr. Kenny’s office denied any such apology was given).

Ireland has a small but growing trade with Indonesia. Semi-state companies, such as, ESB international, FAS international and CIE international have had contracts in this growing South East Asian economy.

ALATAS ATTACKS IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER

The Irish Times, 29 September 1995

Spring comments on East Timor ‘almost like declaration of war,’ says Indonesian Minister.

[Intro] The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, told Connor O’Clery in New York of the displeasure Mr. Spring’s opinions on the situation in Timor caused in Jakarta

The Tanaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Spring, was responsible for an act which was ‘almost like a declaration of war’ in writing an article for *The Irish Times*, attacking Indonesian policy in East Timor, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Ali Alatas said in an interview in New York.

Mr. Alatas was giving his version of a heated meeting with Mr. Spring at United Nations headquarters on Monday, which ended when the Tanaiste walked out because he said he was not prepared to accept the manner or the tone of the Indonesian Foreign Minister’s complaints.

Mr. Alatas said it was unacceptable that his country should be made the ‘whipping boy’ by Mr. Spring.

“I started to convey to my colleague, Minister Spring that we found it highly unusual and in fact quite unacceptable that as a foreign minister, he would choose this way of not only criticising but attacking another country, that is by way of a signed article in a newspaper,” he said.

In his eight years as a foreign minister, he said, he had seen differences between ministers in many forms and constantly received expressions of concern and even criticism from other foreign ministers about East Timor.

“But I never have I experienced this kind of an approach, a public, signed article. So that’s what I conveyed to him. I was not querying his right to have a different view or his right to express his concern,” Mr. Alatas said.

In the article published on July 13th, Mr. Spring accused Indonesia of human rights abuses in a territory “invaded and annexed by a powerful neighbour” and called for an end to Indonesia’s occupation, freedom for political prisoners and an arms embargo.

“I have the article in which he says not only are we critical of the Indonesian Government but we will make sure that this is done and this is done, we should prevent Indonesia from getting this and we should work with other governments to do this and do this,” he said.

He said Mr. Spring has told him he wrote the article to reply to concerns raised in Ireland, but there were other ways of doing this, through interviews or in parliament.

“Other ministers don’t make a signed article and attack another government,” he said.

At one point, Mr. Spring said: “I am not prepared to accept you lecturing me,” and Mr. Alatas had replied: “I am not lecturing you, Mr. Minister. In fact, talking about lecturing, you have been lecturing us in public.”

“One remark perhaps made Mr. Spring a bit irritated or angry,” Mr. Alatas said.

“I said to Mr. Spring, ‘How many times have you been to Indonesia?’ And he thought that was not a fair question because he said: ‘You know that I have never been to Indonesia.’”

“I said: ‘I don’t because you speak with so much conviction and knowledge about Indonesia that I thought you had been to Indonesia.’”

“I would think twice before commenting on the Irish situation,” said Mr. Alatas. “I would simply look silly if I don’t know what is happening there. I read a lot about how certain things are not good apart from many things that are very good in Ireland.”

"I am not saying that we are as pure as just-fallen snow. We have made our share of mistakes. But we have tried to correct our mistakes.... We have perhaps a human rights problem in some remote parts of Indonesia. We are a large developing country. Which country is completely free of human rights abuses?" America and many European countries were not," he said.

"So all I'm saying to critics such as Mr. Spring: please sit down with us, also make sure that you have the facts correct," said Mr. Alatas.

Reacting to the suggestion that there was a crisis between Indonesia and Ireland, Mr. Alatas said: "I hope it will not become a crisis., of course. But it is to be regretted that this had to happen but I think that we should, now, as he himself said, let the dust settle for a while."

Mr. Spring told the Irish Times on Tuesday that "in all these situations, you let the dust settle."

The Indonesian Foreign Minister said he fully understood that Irish foreign policy put great store on human rights and democracy, but Ireland should try to hear both sides of the story. He accused Timorese nationals living in Portugal of orchestrating a campaign of misinformation.

Commenting on the situation in East Timor, Mr. Alatas said that human rights allegations were addressed immediately when they arose.

He said the territory had been "integrated" after the Portuguese left 20 years ago. There were two dialogues taking place about East Timor, one between Indonesia and Portugal and under UN auspices, another to promote reconciliation.

Asked if there was a policy of planting people from other Indonesian islands in East Timor, which has a population of 812,000, he said this was not the case. Indonesia country (sic) had 195 million people living on 6,000 islands of whom 100 million live on Java, he said.

Since Dutch colonial times, there was a policy of persuading people to populate the other islands, on the lines of 'Go West, young man.'

People got two hectares of free land, guaranteed incomes for one year and free farm implements.

"We are trying to persuade them to go to Sumatra and Borneo but not to East Timor. I repeat, not to East Timor," Mr. Alatas said.

"The transmigration programme does not apply to East Timor because we know that it is a very sensitive issue."

The only people who moved there when East Timor was opened up as part of Indonesia, were traders," he said.

This has caused problems and we are stopping that now. "Many of the people have now left," the Foreign Minister said.

CORRECTING ALATAS'S "INACCURACIES" ABOUT "TRANSMIGRATION" IN EAST TIMOR

By George J. Aditjondro, Oct. 4

IRISH TIMES, in its September 29, 1995 edition, published a statement of the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who said that "the transmigration programme does not apply to East Timor, because we know that it is a very sensitive issue. The only people who moved there when East Timor was opened up as part of Indonesia were traders. This has caused problems and we are stopping that now."

From one perspective, what Alatas has said is correct. Yes, there are no Indonesian transmigrants in East Timor, because the word "transmigrant" only applies to people who have moved, or have been moved, from one part of Indonesia – mostly Jawa, Bali and Lombok – to another part of Indonesia. And East Timor, according to international law, is not part of Indonesia. So, the Indonesians who are in East Timor, or who were there before the latest uprising which has left hundreds of Indonesians stranded in Kupang and Surabaya, are not "transmigrants." They are "immigrants."

From another perspective, however, it can be safely said that the Indonesian Foreign Minister is not telling the truth. The following statistics, which are adopted from a book on East Timor, written by a pro-integration East Timorese, are self-explanatory:

Evolution of Transmigration in East Timor 1981/82 — 1992/93			
Fiscal year	Families (persons)	Location	Origin
1982/83	50 (214)	Tunubibi (Bobonaro)	Bali
1985/86	96 (402)	Salele (Covalima)	Bali
	142 (567)	idem	East Java
	3 (10)	idem	Central Java
	9 (16)	idem	Jakarta
	96 (274)	idem	Bali
	3 (3)	Beco (Covalima)	Jakarta
1990/91	120 (413)	Raimean (Covalima)	Bali
1991/92	75 (274)	Culuan (Covalima)	Central Java
1992/93	50 (170)	Raimean (Covalima)	Bali
1993/94	75 (235)	Weberek (Manufahi)	Central Java
	50 (163)	Abatoan (Manatuto)	Bali
	18 (67)	idem	Central Java
Total	662 (2,808)		

João Mariano de Sousa Saldanha, 1994. The Political Economy of East Timor Development. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, p. 355.

These statistics, which themselves are adopted from the official Indonesian statistical bureau in Dili as well as an Indonesian-sanctioned newspaper, Suara Timor Timur, show that Balinese "transmigrants" were already brought into East Timor in 1982-1983, long before East Timor was officially opened by the Indonesian government. But indeed, they are also not called "transmigrants," probably because of the sensitivity of this programme, but "petani teladan" (pioneer farmers). So, Alatas is correct again, there are no "transmigrants" in East Timor, only "pioneer farmers."

The numbers of these Javanese and Balinese "transmigrants" are indeed much lower than the number of the economically much more aggressive trader-migrants from South Sulawesi (from the Makassar and Buginese ethno-linguistic groups). The number of these "pioneer farmers" may also be much lower than the number of the migrants from West Timor, who move over land from West to East Timor, thanks to the improved roads and transportation system developed by the occupation forces. These people are physically of the same stock as the East Timorese, speak Tetun, and are mostly practicing Catholics, and hence could become Indonesia's "Trojan horse" in the case of an eventual UN-supervised referendum in East Timor.

So, who has not done his homework before speaking about East Timor, Mr. Dick Spring, the Irish Foreign Minister, or his Indonesian counterpart?

Nevertheless, please be assured that not all Indonesians support Alatas's propaganda, or the entire policy of denying the East Timorese right to self-determination. Hundreds of younger and older Indonesians have since 1991 openly declared their sympathy with the lot of the East Timorese, and have appealed for the withdrawal of the Indonesian troops from the territory, to enable the East Timorese people to exercise their right for self-determination. I am one of them, and had to flee the country for fear of a military-backed trial being prepared to put me behind bars, supposedly for "insulting the Head of State" in an academic seminar in the beautiful cultural city of Yogyakarta in the Java. Unfortunately, the Indonesian press is muffled, so that their voices are rarely heard outside the country. So, dear sisters and brothers, keep up your support for the struggle of the East Timorese people, who would once see the sun of independence rise above their sacred mountains, Ramelau and Matebian. May God bless their struggle.

ALATAS UPSET AT SPRING'S TIMOR WORDS

Jakarta Post, October 1, 1995

DUBLIN (AFP): Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas has accused his Irish counterpart of publicly attacking his country in a manner that was 'almost like a declaration of war,' according to press reports here.

Alatas said Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring had attacked Indonesia over its policy in East Timor, according to *The Irish Times* on Friday.

Alatas said he found the attack unacceptable and unprecedented in his many years as diplomat and foreign minister.

The Indonesian minister was referring to an article Spring wrote in *The Irish Times* in July in which he accused Indonesia of human rights abuses in East Timor. In the article, Spring also called on Indonesia to release political prisoners [see article below — Najouan].

Alatas and Spring discussed the article at the United Nations in New York on Monday, *The Irish Times* said, but the meeting ended abruptly when the Irish minister walked out.

Alatas told the paper it was unacceptable that his country should be made a 'whipping boy' by Spring.

He said he asked Spring if he had ever been to Indonesia and when he received a

negative answer, he told him that he (Alatas) would think twice before commenting on the conflict in Northern Ireland.

'I am not saying we are as pure as just-fallen snow,' Alatas told the paper.

'We have perhaps a human rights problem in some remote parts of Indonesia. We are a large developing country. Which country is completely free of human rights abuses?' he asked, adding that the United States and European countries also abused human rights.

OFF THE BUS AND ON TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ROAD

On Saturday 30 September, 1995, the Irish Times published the following article, written by David Shanks. (Slightly abridged.)

How Tom Hyland made oppression in distant Timor an issue in Irish politics

"I would suggest to Mr. Ali Alatas," said the East Timor activist Tom Hyland of the Indonesian Foreign Minister, "that if he is serious about the issue of East Timor, he open it to Amnesty International, United Nations humanitarian organisations, Asia Watch, independent journalists and observers and then we'll know if he is telling the truth."

Hyland says that the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign started "by accident" in 1992. A neighbour in Ballyfermot, who didn't have cable TV, asked, could he watch an ITV programme called *In Cold Blood*, the Massacre in East Timor.

Two things struck him, that one third of the territory's people had been killed since Indonesia's invasion, and that there had been a deathly international silence since. In the massacre, 270 died, according to the Indonesians (sic), 500, if you talk the East Timorese resistance. And there was the visual image of Max Stahl's film of the Santa Cruz cemetery carnage carried out by the troops. And there was the story of the five journalists who were murdered by troops in the invasion aftermath.

A former Dublin bus driver, Hyland had already taken voluntary redundancy.....

At the time of the ITV film, Hyland was looking for something in which to invest his energy. He heard an echo in history — the Great Famine, in which a million died and millions left, and the place where one third of the people had been killed since 1975.

He rang up Yorkshire TV and was advised to get in touch with the UK-based Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, Tapol and with Amnesty. With some neighbours, Mick and Martina Cranny, Jim Hurley and Shirley Moran, he set up a campaign.

Nowadays there is an informal advisory committee which includes Joe Murray of

Afri. But apart from a loose group of volunteers who monitor the phone, it's Hyland who does most of the work. He gives talks to schools, media interviews, speaks to news solidarity groups and 'networks' on e-mail. Now there are organisations in Galway, Belfast, Carlow, Portlaine and Cork and new ones are being set up in Limerick and Wexford.

Maubere, meaning brotherly in Timor's Tetum language, is the Ballyfermot group's quarterly newsletter, with a print order of 2,000.

Hyland, 42, sees himself politically as middle of the road, a social democrat. "But I always felt from an early age that we have to weigh in on the side of the underdog... against the bullyboys." He believes that everyone should try to do something useful with their lives. "The tragedy is that it is great suffering that has given us the opportunity to do that." His heroes are Bishop Tutu, Gandhi and Martin Luther King, whose works he turns to for comfort and fortitude.

Respected international and at home, the solidarity group co-ordinator can get front-door access to Iveagh House. The British-based journalist, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, tells of accompanying Hyland to a Seanad debate on East Timor earlier this year. "As they spoke, all the politicians made sure they tipped their forelocks to Tom." A Foreign affairs source speaks of the group's "admirable" work.

Figures such as Noam Chomsky, the US linguistics professor and John Pilger, the Australian journalist whose film, *Death of a Nation*, helped put East Timor issue before the world — are in regular contact.

The group now links with the British Coalition for East Timor, and activists and intellectuals in several countries in several countries. Contact with the Timorese resistance, or National Council of Maubere Resistance is "loose." "We receive information from them as we do from the Indonesian embassy but we are not controlled by any outside force," Hyland said.

He showed something of this sense of independence yesterday when reacting to the "brave" stand taken this week by the Tanaiste in his row with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas over the *Irish Times* article by Mr. Spring.

He pointed out that the article was mainly in response to a previous one critical of Mr. Spring by Tom Kitt, the former Fianna Fail Minister of State at Foreign Affairs. Hyland said that he would like to see Mr. Kitt who had criticised Mr. Spring for not doing enough about East Timor, now publicly support the action of the Tanaiste, who was, after all, just "upholding international law" and the UN's will.

Mr. Kitt said yesterday that credit should be given where credit is due. "I asked the Tanaiste to stick his neck out and he certainly did that." Mr. Spring had succeeded in making Mr. Alatas more sensitive to the strong feelings in Ireland and the EU in general and it was "a good day's work," he added.

This is an example of Hyland's capacity to get politicians to pull together on his single issue.

"In this way we are trying to talk some sense to the Indonesian government, that they realistically consider the issue and cut out the propaganda. This can be solved without any loss of face on any side." He says the group has tended to campaign in a way that casts no aspersions on the Indonesian people "but we could not say the same of the Indonesian military and we now see what we have taken on."

But he says that taking on the fourth largest country in the world was "like taking on the former Soviet Union with all the mechanism they had in place to control the people and the media, but with the added disadvantage that, by and large, the West is on the side of Indonesia."

The group has not yet decided on broadening its campaign to include calling for an Indonesian trade ban. Total merchandise trade is small at 37 million in 1992, but it has grown tenfold since the 1980s.

Trade in services is seen as another political growth area. Hyland says of contracts won by semi-state companies: "I think they should look elsewhere."

EVENTS IN ASIA-PACIFIC

APCET PROPOSAL: "LIGHT A FIRE" SYMBOLIC ACTIONS

The Asia Pacific Coalition on East Timor (APCET) co-ordinator has posted the following appeal regarding proposed symbolic "light a flame" actions on November 12 (or 11).

For further info. contact APCET Co-ordinator at email address below or by fax at 63-2-9216774 or Max Lane via LINKS@peg.apc.org or by fax at 02-6901381.

Ahi Naklakan
23 August 1995

Dear Friend of East Timor,

A flame will be lit this November.
It will kindle waiting torches in all corners of the world.

The light will carry a message of hope, a blaze of justice and freedom that the Maubere people have been struggling for.

On November 12, the 4th year of the Dili massacre, peoples supportive of the East Timorese cause will spark the light and will watch over it until our immediate demands are met.

We are inviting you to accompany us in this endeavor.

If you can, please prepare torches also on November 12 and from these beacons ignite as many candles to symbolize both the lives that have been spilled in their struggle for self-determination and their continuing and burning hopes for freedom and justice.

It would be best if these torches and candles be planted outside any symbolical entity in our respective locales to remind the Suharto regime of their genocide and the world of its conspicuous silence over this heinous crime.

It is time to break the silence.

The simultaneous lighting of our torches and candles will show that the world's peoples do not condone what their governments have allowed Indonesia to scamper away with.

Depending on each group's capacity, a vigil can ensue that will activities on East Timor.

The light can be kept a-burning until demands are met or until December 10, Human Rights Day. Since it is also the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, and December 7 being the 20th year of Indonesia's cowardly invasion of East Timor, perhaps we can lend significance to these twin occasions by declaring December 7 as International Day of Solidarity for East Timor.

Let us also continue to pressure our respective governments to make the United Nations likewise declare this as such.

For this campaign, the East Timorese are seeking for the release of all political prisoners and the application of the Geneva conventions in their resistance to Indonesia rule. They also seek that international groups such as the International Red Cross/Crescent or Amnesty International be given access into Dili. Maximum demand is for the United Nations to open a Human Rights office inside East Timor or send regular missions into the bleeding country.

APCET will issue a logo, poster, slogan and possibly compose a song to identify this campaign. We have tentatively dubbed the endeavor as "AHI NAKLAKAN." It is the Tetum term for "light."

Ahi Naklakan should not in any way distract any other planned activity by groups around the world for November and December. Ahi should instead complement and help weave the international thread of all efforts. We hope you also take this as such.

Please feel free to let us know how you feel or what you think about Ahi Naklakan.

We will be issuing bulletins and updates to keep you posted.

Viva Timor Leste!
Gus Miclat, Coordinator
Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor

NGO PARALLEL CONFERENCE TO THE APEC OSAKA SUMMIT

From: *Pacific Asia Resource Center*
<parc@jca.or.jp>, Oct. 17.

November 1995, Osaka Japan

The NGO Forum on APEC, a coalition of Japanese NGOs, citizen movements, and labor unions, will hold a series of events parallel to the official Osaka APEC Summit which is scheduled to take place in November of 1995. The purpose of these events will be to add new momentum to the ongoing process of formulating a new paradigm of development from a people's perspective.

The APEC Meeting itself, like other official multinational forums such as GATT and the World Trade Organization, will focus entirely on pushing its own neo-liberal agenda, through the promotion of trade and investment liberalization. On the NGO side, we will work both to advance our own parallel vision, by holding our own sessions and by working with the press, and to lobby the official forum, pressing the official delegates to address issues such as environment, human rights, and labor rights, which they have so far refused to put on the table. We will thus create a momentum on the NGO side which will help to advance a people-oriented position as we move toward the next ministerial meeting scheduled for Manila in 1996, and beyond.

This parallel process will be a very important chance for regional NGOs to become involved in the APEC process, which up until now has been quite closed to voices from the grassroots level. NGOs and citizen's movements were not very successful in their work concerning the 1994 Summit in Bogor, Indonesia, at least in part because of the repression of the Indonesian government, so the Osaka meeting will give us a crucial chance to begin a process of participation. In 1995 a choice will be made between whether the APEC process will be a participatory one or whether the decisions will continue to be made in the official corridors of power without consultation with the people of the region.

APEC, despite its nebulous nature, will prove to be an important issue for the future of people in the Asia-Pacific region, and yet it has not yet become either a transparent or participatory process. It will have signifi-

cant impacts in the region, just as NAFTA has for North America, and these effects must be seen as particularly important given the size of the region encompassed by APEC. In fact, the ability of NGOs and other organizations to respond to this challenge will have a significant effect on the future of popular mobilizations in other international issues such as the GATT and World Trade Organization.

The origins of APEC can be found in a desire from Japan to foster technical cooperation in the Asian region, but the initiative was seized early on by Australia, which hoped to use the Forum to strengthen the ties between its economies and the dynamic growth of other nations in the region. Beginning in 1993, in Seattle, the United States in turn began to exert its dominance over the process, hoping by doing so to pry open the economies of East Asia to its own trade and investment.

At the APEC Bogor Summit in November 1994, a declaration was issued by the states of the forum calling for the creation of free and open trade and investment in the region by the year 2020. There are still, naturally, contradictions between the interests of the different state parties, including the United States, Australia, Japan, and the ASEAN nations.

This is a very important issue as far as the people of the region are concerned. The achievement of the target of free trade by 2020 would have a variety of serious repercussions for these people, as can be seen by what has been brought about by NAFTA in the North American region.

Despite the importance of this question, however, there has been a paucity of debate between the official APEC process and people at the grassroots. The voice of the people has never been heard in the corridors of power during this APEC process.

During the 1994 Summit in Indonesia, NGOs in the region met and discussed the necessity of strengthening their ability to carry out joint activities to participate in regional processes such as APEC. This resolve was further strengthened on the occasion of the ADB annual meeting in New Zealand in April, 1995.

The NGO Forum on APEC was formed by Japanese NGOs, citizen groups, and labor unions (see list below) in order to hold a parallel NGO meeting to the APEC Ministerial Meeting and Summit scheduled to be held in Osaka in November 1995.

The preparatory discussions for the formation of this coalition began in 1994, immediately following the Bogor APEC meeting in Indonesia. At that time, Indonesian NGOs such as INFID and WALHI worked hard to make the opinions of NGOs visible in the process, and many regional groups,

including ACFOD, PARC, as well as New Zealand, American, and Canadian researchers, joined in this process. The oppressive character of the Indonesian government, however, served to severely restrict these activities. The Japanese NGOs who were present began to feel a strong need to use the Osaka Meeting as an opportunity to pick up what had been started in Bogor.

The process of organizing for the Osaka Summit proceeded smoothly in December and early January, but then on January 17 the Kansai region (including Osaka) was struck by a devastating earthquake, which killed more than 5,500 persons. The NGOs responded to this crisis by pouring their energies into rescue and recovery activities, and as a result the preparations for the Osaka Summit had to take a back seat and have been greatly delayed. It was not until May 8 that we were able to organize ourselves to form the Forum.

The Pacific Asia Resource Center in Tokyo and the Kansai NGO Council will take responsibility for secretarial functions. PARC has agreed to carry out most of the coordination at the international level, whereas the Kansai office will work mostly on domestic preparations.

Activities:

The specific range of events we will conduct in parallel to the official summit will all serve to promote the objectives listed above, and will include specifically:

1) An NGO Conference to run parallel to the official event

The purpose of the first event will be to have NGOs from the Asia Pacific region gather to continue formulating an alternative vision of development and regional cooperation. This will be part of an ongoing process that developed both in tandem with World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank, and other international meetings, and most recently with the declaration issued by NGOs at the time of the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen.

The official APEC meeting will itself focus on its own view of "cooperation," including its own neo-liberal values, and it will be essential for groups representing people as the grassroots to come together and work to articulate a new vision.

2) Organized lobbying of the APEC process by regional NGOs

The purpose of this lobbying of the official process will be to enable the voices of the grassroots to be expressed more strongly in the official process. We will do this by working to create more transparency and participation in the official APEC process, and by creating dialogues between official delegates and people from the NGO side. We will conduct this activity at the time of

the official meeting, but will also carry out lobbying at the national level both in the preparation and follow-up process, and will encourage NGOs in other countries to work to lobby their own official delegates.

3) Citizens' Public Meetings in both Tokyo and the Kansai area

These public forums will be a crucial part of our efforts to make the APEC process more open and democratic. We will gather large numbers of Japanese citizens and initiate a dialogue on APEC, and by doing so will add legitimacy and energy to the ongoing process of formulating a people's alternative to the neo-liberal model of development. In addition, we will use these meetings as a place to build ties with the mass media to counter what has often been one-sided coverage of the official process.

4) meetings to carry out studies of the APEC process and the formulation of alternatives

Finally, we will hold a series of study meeting, which will be conducted mainly by the Japanese side, both during the process of preparation for and follow-up to the November meetings. These meetings will serve to give the NGO side a stronger position during the lobbying and alternative meeting processes, and will also help us to keep issues such as the environment, human rights, and labor rights, on the official agenda in future summits. We will also expect groups in other countries to hold their own study meetings.

Schedule of Events:

November 11-12 Citizen's Public Meeting, Tokyo
November 12 Citizen's Public Meeting, Kansai (Osaka, Kyoto, and surrounding areas)
November 13-14 NGO International Conference
November 16-17 APEC Ministerial Meeting
November 19 APEC Government Summit

APEC OSAKA ET PRESS CONFERENCE

Press Release from the Free East Timor Japan Coalition, Nov. 2.

The Free East Timor Japan Coalition organizes a press conference and a public lecture by CNRM Special Representative José Ramos-Horta. Please inform journalists you know who are going to cover APEC Osaka about these programs.

1. Press Conference

Title: East Timor Seeks Observer Status in APEC

Speakers: José Ramos-Horta and Tomiko Okazaki, MP, secretary of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor

Day: November 11, 1995, 12:30-13:30

Place: Osaka Prefectural Central Public Hall

Note: Also attended by CNRM Representative for Australia and Southeast Asia José Adriano Gusmão, RENETIL Overseas Representative Domingos Sarmiento Alves (the leader of the 29 East Timorese students who occupied the US embassy in Jakarta last year), and torture trauma specialist Maria Bernardino.

Special Attention !!

We organize a demonstration after the press conference.

2. Public Lecture

Title: East Timor; A Scenario to the Solution

Speaker: José Ramos-Horta

November 15, 1995, 19:00-21:00

Place: Osaka Prefectural Labour Center (L-Osaka)

The press conference marks the commencement of the 10th East Timor Speaking Tour in Japan which covers more than 60 cities and towns between 11 November and 7 December.

For further information and interview appointments, contact: Akihisa Matsuno, secretary of Osaka East Timor Association tel. +81-6-321-5579 fax. +81-6-370-8314 e-mail: amatsuno@igc.apc.org

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

REALPOLITIK V: THE LAW OF NATIONS

(from a paper presented to Peacemaking Initiatives for East Timor Conference in Canberra, 10-12 July, 1995 by Retired Justice George E. Lambert)

"Real-Politik" is the practice of promoting and protecting perceived national self-interest in international relationships in a manner and in circumstances contrary to the principles of international law ... It has been a constant feature of international relations throughout history..

As a result of two of the most cataclysmic of wars in the first half of this century, and the generation of the destructive capability of the atom, the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter were developed as a means of achieving peace between States through collective condemnation of the unilateral practice of real-politik.

In the case of the "Timor Question" they have failed to date to do so because of the collective practice of real-politik by permanent Member States of the Security Council holding the balance of power, through veto, with respect to their enforcement."

Justice Lambert's paper draws three conclusions:

1. That the State of Indonesia has perpetrated a "war of aggression" — "a crime against international peace," by its armed invasion of East Timor in 1975 and its continuous military occupation of the territory. Its purported exercise of sovereignty over the territory and jurisdiction over its peoples since 1975 has been at all times "unlawful" under the Law of Nations.

2. At all relevant times the peoples of the Territory of East Timor were, and are recognised by the U.N. General Assembly to remain "Colonial Peoples," within the meaning of that term in the 1960 U.N. "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Territories and Peoples," with an inalienable right to self-determination pursuant to the Declaration, which has been frustrated by the continuing act of aggression by the State of Indonesia.

3. That the fundamental causes of the continuing conflict in East Timor are the continuing "act of aggression" by the State of Indonesia, and the failure of other U.N. Member States to act in conformity with their individual and collective responsibility to bring that aggression to an end.

Justice Lambert based his paper on the premises:

a. that the evidence that there has been no peace in East Timor but persistent and gross abuses of human rights since 7 December 1975 is overwhelming, and

b. that that state of affairs has occurred through defiance by the State of Indonesia and other United Nations Member States of the obligations imposed upon them by the principles of international law developed in pursuance of the United Nations Charter.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION

Resolution on East Timor approved at the Socialist International Asia-Pacific Committee meeting, Sydney, Sept. 1-2, 1995.

Noting that the forcible takeover of East Timor by Indonesia has led to continuing conflict in the territory;

Considering the Socialist International resolution of October 1993 in Lisbon, the Tokyo resolution of May 1994 and the Manila Declaration of February 1995 and UN efforts to initiate talks between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General;

Deeply deplores the continuing violation of human and political rights in East Timor and notes with particular concern the disturbances, arrests and killings which have taken place in recent weeks;

Noting that the Indonesian government has not yet developed confidence-building measures, such as the further opening of the territory to humanitarian and assistance organisations, reducing the military the military presence in the territory, allowing for the full expression of cultural and religious rights of the East Timorese people, nor releasing all political prisoners;

Calls on the Indonesian Government to make a major reduction of the military presence in East Timor and enter into a process of reconciliation with the people of East Timor, including the resistance forces; and

Urges, as a confidence-building measure in this process, the release of all political prisoners and the free movement of Timorese citizens into and out of the territory.

STATEMENT

The Committee discusses the fact that the UN General Assembly had resolved to set the year 2000 as the year by which colonialism should be eliminated. The Committee notes that not all non-self-governing territories are listed with the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation. The Committee undertakes to discuss further the status of non-self-governing territories in the Asia-Pacific region with a view to taking a position on which territories should be added to the UN's list of non-self-governing territories. This will be an agenda item for the next meeting of the Committee.

KEATING, SUHARTO TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS

CANBERRA, Sept. 7 (Reuter) — Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating and Indonesian President Suharto will discuss regional and bilateral issues, including human rights, when they meet in Bali this month, an Australian official said on Thursday.

Keating will meet Suharto at the Indonesian resort island of Bali on September 17 ahead of November's leaders' summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in the Japanese city of Osaka, said the official, who declined to be identified.

It will be Keating's fifth visit to neighbouring Indonesia as prime minister.

"It's part of a pattern of regular informal meetings which he's had with Suharto before each of the APEC leaders' meetings," the official said.

"They'll range over all aspects of the relationship, including, I imagine, human rights."

The meeting follows a strain in bilateral ties over a series of incidents, including flag-burning protests in each country and the withdrawal in July of Jakarta's choice for ambassador to Canberra, Lieutenant-General

Herman Mantiri, after an uproar over comments he made about East Timor.

Indonesia is routinely criticised for its human rights record, especially in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which it invaded in 1975 and annexed one year later. The United Nations has never recognised the move.

Keating, seeking to forge a greater role in Asia for this country of 18 million people, has said no country was more important to Australia than Indonesia.

Keating and Suharto will meet privately with just an interpreter on September 17, before talks involving more officials, the source said.

"We expect the meeting to cover the APEC meeting in Osaka and exchange of views on the lead up to Osaka and what we can hope to get out of it, and bilateral relations and regional developments," the official said.

APEC groups Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand and the United States.

CANBERRA KEEPING ON JAKARTA'S RIGHT SIDE

Publico, 18 September 1995 By Fernando Sousa. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Although the main discussion topic ought to have been the November APEC summit, last weekend's meeting between Australia's PM Paul Keating and Indonesia's President Suharto was dominated by talks about bilateral relations and human rights. However, Canberra's Government chief managed to relieve some of the tension by stating that it is also important that the Timorese "feel that the province can belong harmoniously to Indonesia."

The exchange of courteous expressions at the end of yesterday's meeting between Australian PM, Paul Keating and the Indonesian President, Suharto, were not enough to disperse the clouds overhanging relations between the two countries, which were marred last July by the unfortunate statements made by an ambassador-general of Jakarta who, consequently, did not make it as far as Canberra.

"Most of the meeting was taken up with bilateral relations," said Keating to awaiting journalists, adding "We are both satisfied with that, and think that we have come along a long and difficult path."

However, in the two hours in which they were together in Bali, the two statesmen ought to have talked more about the forth-

coming APEC summit in Osaka, Japan, than about anything else. Instead, the main topics were bilateral relations and human rights, including the question of East Timor.

(...) The good relationship between the two countries — which the Timorese problem has scarcely affected over the past 20 years — suffered an unprecedented blow in July when Jakarta appointed Herman Mantiri to be its ambassador to Canberra. Mantiri became renowned in 1992 for his view that the Indonesian soldiers involved in the massacre at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery had behaved correctly.

Jakarta's choice of ambassador caused an outcry in Australia and, following a very tense diplomatic meeting, Indonesia was forced, on 6 July, to give in. The hatchet was not completely buried, however, and another crisis arose when Indonesian flags were burned by Timorese and anti-integration activists outside Jakarta's embassy in Melbourne, at the time of Indonesia's commemorations of its 50th anniversary of independence.

Tensions were to heighten later when Canberra gave temporary asylum to 18 Timorese who had managed to reach the Australian coast in makeshift boats. Jakarta's response was to play its economic card, and circulated rumours that retaliatory measures affecting trade might be adopted. This is something the Australians do not even want to hear about.

This was more or less the situation at the time of Paul Keating's meeting with Suharto in Bali, where they did not even resolve the matter of substituting Herman Mantiri, who had been the root of all the trouble. According to the Australian PM, Suharto had referred to the Mantiri issue, and stated that it would be dealt with "in good time," but had not given any date for the appointment of the new ambassador.

Australia is one of the few countries that recognise integration of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor with Indonesian territory, following an act (1976) which has not been sanctioned by the UN. Over the past 10 years, and in spite of the enormous number of reports by various international organisations, Canberra has avoided almost all references to the systematic violation of human rights in the territory, except when such reference has been quite unavoidable and when it would not call integration into question.

And it happened again. "It is important that human rights are respected, that the people of Timor feel that the province can belong harmoniously to Indonesia, and that people see that all their rights are being respected," said the PM (quoted by Reuters).

Although somewhat more critical with regards the human rights situation in East

Timor, Australia's position has not changed. Not even the results of a recent opinion poll got in the way of the PM's support for integration. The poll, published on Friday by the "Sydney Morning Herald," revealed that 58% of those interviewed would be prepared to risk jeopardising the excellent relations with their Indonesian neighbours by Australia adopting a more critical position on the question of Timorese autonomy.

This was the fifth time that the Australian PM, Paul Keating, in office since December 1991, visited his country's powerful neighbour, and each time he has been at pains to safeguard their bilateral relations. After all, it was Keating himself who said, in March 1994, that "no country is as important for Australia as Indonesia."

KEATING HITS HUMAN RIGHTS BLOCK ON WAY TO BOOST JAKARTA TIES

The East Timor Problem Has Made Links with Australia Prone to Turbulence

Financial Times, 20 September 1995, By Manuela Saragosa (no dateline)

No country "is more important to Australia than Indonesia," Mr. Paul Keating, Australia's prime minister, said last year. "If we fail to get this relationship right and develop it, the whole web of our foreign relations is incomplete."

As Indonesia assumes a higher international profile by taking a formative stance on issues of free trade in the Asia-Pacific region, as a voice for the "south" and a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, so Mr. Keating has made it his personal crusade to strengthen ties with Australia's northern neighbor.

Military co-operation between the two sides has increased in recent years with both armies regularly staging joint manoeuvres; two-way trade has trebled in the five years to 1993, when it reached A\$3bn (1.4bn Sterling), and Australia now ranks among Indonesia's top 10 investors.

Yet there are few international neighbours who could be more different. The list of contrasts goes on and on. But most of all a lack of understanding of Australia's democratic process on the Indonesian side, coupled with a vocal lobby in Australian human rights, has made relations prone to turbulence.

Mr. Keating's meeting at the weekend in Bali with Indonesia's President Suharto, his fifth since he took office, was aimed at mending the broken bridges of recent months. Relations appeared to be in free fall after Jakarta's forced withdrawal of its pro-

posed ambassador to Canberra in July on a human rights question.

Political observers say Mr. Keating, like President Suharto, would like human rights issues such as East Timor to take a back seat in relations between the two countries. However, the Australian premier, due to stand for elections within the next year, cannot afford to ignore them. An Australian poll last week showed most respondents thought the government did not take a strong enough position on human rights in its contacts with Indonesia.

Indonesian and Australian officials have worked to extend contacts in other areas in the hope these would deflect Australian criticisms of Indonesia's human rights record. "It was time for us not to be forever looking at this relationship as if [it were] a sick patient," Mr. Ali Alatas, Indonesia's foreign minister, said.

Trade has been one area the two have latched on to as a common goal. Following the two-hour Bali meeting, Mr. Keating found an ally in Indonesia in aiming to heal the rift that emerged after for Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation members (Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and China) last week tried to water down APEC's commitments on liberalisation.

Mr. Keating said both parties had "a vested stake" in ensuring the 18 countries which attended the APEC summit in Indonesia last November keep to the free trade schedule agreed at the time. At APEC's Bogor Declaration, which stipulates the region must achieve free trade by 2010, Mr. Suharto emerged as an enthusiastic supporter of trade liberalisation in the Pacific region, an initiative fostered by Australia's government.

Despite a long list of projects on which the two sides co-operate, including a complex agreement on the oil-rich Timor Gap zone of exploration and the combined efforts to resolve the Cambodia crisis, nowhere are the inherent problems in differing political styles more evident than on the issue of human rights.

The decision not to send Lt. Gen. Herman Mantiri as ambassador to Canberra followed strong opposition to the appointment in Australia because of his defence of actions by the Indonesian army in the November 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor.

An estimated 100-200 unarmed East Timorese demonstrators were killed when Indonesian troops fired on them, and Gen. Mantiri described the army's actions as "quite proper."

Bilateral ties were further strained a month later when demonstrators in favour of an independent East Timor publicly burned the Indonesian flag in several Australian cities.

In appointing Gen. Mantiri, officials say no thought was given to how the Australian public might react, partly because public reaction is never an issue in Indonesia, governed almost single-handedly by Mr. Suharto for 30 years.

"It showed how the whole focus of their decision-making process is inward-looking," says one Australian political observer. The Mantiri case "has made them careful but it took that forum to make them realise." It could be some time before a replacement acceptable to both sides is found.

JAKARTA HINTS AT ENVOY MOVE

The Australian Friday, 22 September 1995

JAKARTA (AFP): A former Indonesian provincial governor yesterday sought to play down a report that he was a leading candidate to be Jakarta's next ambassador to Australia.

Mr. Ben Mboi, who was the governor of East Nusa Tenggara, which includes West Timor, said he had not been approached for the job, although he expected the choice would be made clearer "in one or two weeks ... but in God's name, I have never been approached."

On Wednesday, Surabaya's Jawa Pos said Mr. Mboi, 60, was a leading candidate and quoted the Indonesian State Secretary, Mr. Mardiono, as confirming Mr. Mboi's name had been "suggested."

Sources at the Indonesian Foreign Ministry said yesterday that formal consideration of candidates was still some time off.

Mr. Mboi is a Catholic and a member of Jakarta's Supreme Advisory Council, which advises the Government and executive.

The Jawa Pos also named an international relations expert and National Defence Institute vice-chairman, Mr. Yuwono Sudarsono, as a contender.

The ambassadorship has been vacant since July when Jakarta withdrew its ambassador designate, Lieutenant-General Herman Mantiri, after a furore in Australia erupted over General Mantiri's 1992 comment that the military's actions in the 1991 Dili massacre were "quite proper."

Both Mr. Mantiri and Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Mr. Irawan Abidin have made positive public comments about Mr. Mboi.

EAST TIMORESE PLEAD FOR UN ACTION

The Age, 5 Oct. 95, by Peter Bonner, Darwin

East Timorese boat people in Darwin have called for United Nations ground forces

to intervene in their homeland to protect citizens from oppression by Indonesia.

They have also demanded that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, visit East Timor as a matter of urgency to investigate their claims of continued detention, torture and murder.

The demands have been echoed by the Darwin-based political group Australians For a Free East Timor.

Speaking through an interpreter yesterday, Luisa Ferreira and Antonio Gouveia, both 24, talked of their fear for the family and country they left behind when they embarked on a six-day voyage to Darwin with 16 other East Timorese.

"I think an international solution by United Nations forces is necessary to stop the brutal repression by the Indonesians and to halt the forced transmigration to Timor from other parts of Indonesia," Ms Ferreira said.

Ms Ferreira also spoke of the torture and harassment she says her people are subjected to after involvement in democracy demonstrations.

"People in "Timor don't have any dreams left — you just live in fear all the time and do your best to hide from the authorities," she says. "But the Indonesians will never break our spirit; we will keep on fighting for our freedom until we die."

The comments have been made at a time of great sensitivity for relations with Indonesia — 16 October is the 20th Anniversary of the murder of the five Australian journalists at Balibo, East Timor, by Indonesian troops.

The Indonesian embassy in Canberra and the Indonesian consulate in Darwin refused to comment on Ms Ferreira's claims.

On 30 May, Coastwatch officials rescued the refugees and their leaking six-metre boat after they had run out of food and water and were drifting off course in their attempt to reach Darwin. They were the first Timorese boat people to arrive in Australia since Indonesia invaded the island in 1975.

The refugees were detained at Curtin RAAF base, near Derby in Western Australia,

for two months before being released on a bridging visa to await the outcome of their application for asylum.

While she anxiously awaits her fate, Ms Ferreira is teaching herself English and enjoying the first real freedom of her life.

"Gareth Evans should visit Timor himself because he only seems to see the Indonesian side to the struggle," she said.

"By being totally submissive to Suharto, he has forgotten about the Timorese and the great contribution we made to Australia during the Second World War."

LEGAL MOVES AGAINST EAST TIMOR REFUGEES

The Australian, Tuesday 10 October 1995, p.1. by MARIA CERESA

THE Federal Government is declaring that Australia will not accept refugees from East Timor, sidestepping a major diplomatic row with Indonesia.

The Government will this week advise the Refugee Review Tribunal that Australia should not accept the refugees, based on the legal argument that Portugal still recognises East Timorese as Portuguese nationals, therefore disqualifying them for refugee status in Australia.

The legal argument Australia is relying on appears to contradict recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor since the annexation of the province in 1975. The United Nations, unlike Australia, accepts Portugal as the colonial authority in East Timor.

Since immigration officials granted 18 East Timorese boat people bridging visas in July this year, Indonesian ministers have complained strongly that Australia should not accept East Timorese refugees because they feared the East Timorese would be seen as fleeing persecution under the Indonesian regime and have warned of a diplomatic rift.

The tribunal, which is reviewing more than 50 applications for refugee status in Australia from East Timorese, is expected to receive the advice — prepared by the Department of Immigration with the assistance of the Attorney-General's Department — this week.

The secretary of the tribunal, Ms Patricia Leehy, confirmed that the tribunal was expecting the advice, but said the tribunal would "make up its own mind" after considering each case.

A spokesman for the Minister for Immigration, Senator Bolkus, said the advice had not been sent to the tribunal and refused to comment.

The Portuguese ambassador, Dr. Rui de Avila, yesterday described the behaviour of the Federal Government as an "apparent contradiction."

Dr. Avila expressed regret at moves by the Government to sidestep the human rights issues in East Timor by taking advantage of Portugal's stance on the nationality of East Timorese.

"We above all regret conditions in Indonesia and that the issue of East Timor has been settled in a way to avoid these situations," Dr. Avila said.

The East Timorese community yesterday rejected the arguments that they were Por-

tuguese and accused the Government of "hypocrisy" and "political opportunism."

But the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed that government-to-government negotiations between Australia and Portugal over the East Timorese were underway.

The Government is expected to advise the tribunal this week that under Portuguese law the East Timorese are Portuguese, not Indonesian nationals and therefore do not qualify for refugee status in Australia because they have the protection of another country.

The executive director of the East Timor Relief Association, Mr. Agio Pereira, said the Timorese were not automatically Portuguese as they were recognised by the UN as the population of a non-self-governing territory.

"This adds to the hypocrisy and opportunistic policies it (the Australian Government) has been adopting over the past 20 years," Mr. Pereira said.

"It offered strong technical legal argument that Portugal cannot represent the people of East Timor in the world court. How can you then argue as official Australian policy that East Timorese are Portuguese?"

Diplomatic tensions with Indonesia worsened in July after the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, criticised Australia over the granting of bridging visas to 18 East Timorese boat people who claimed they had been tortured by the Indonesian military, a claim Indonesia rejects.

The Immigration Department's decision to grant the bridging visas — which officially recognised they had suffered some form of physical abuse and/or trauma in their homeland — prompted the Indonesian embassy in Australia to write to DFAT warning that similar decisions would "have a negative impact on our bilateral relationship."

Dr. Avila said yesterday that Portugal recognised East Timorese as Portuguese nationals under certain circumstances, which include the ability to prove that they were born in East Timor during certain years.

Dr. Avila said Portugal was concerned about the interests of the East Timorese, particularly the hardships endured by the 18 boat people.

"They arrived in a boat that was leaking, they didn't drown by sheer chance. They were in very bad shape. They were obviously persecuted and they were victims of the Indonesians. We consider that an important issue and we try and will try to help as much possible," he said.

The article was accompanied by a picture of Agio Pereira seated before a picture of Xanana Gusmão with the caption: Mr. Pereira yesterday ... decision adds to the

(Government's) hypocrisy' — Picture: Chris Pavlich

BACKSLIDING SHAMES AUSTRALIANS

The West Australian — Editorial, 10 October 1995

THE Keating Government seems bent on embarrassing the Australian people — yet again — over our relationship with Indonesia.

It has entered into a tangled legal argument to justify the indefensible — the betrayal of the best interests of East Timor asylum seekers.

An argument is emerging from acknowledgments made by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans that some of the 18 East Timorese boat people who arrived in Darwin in May may not qualify for refugee status because of their alleged Portuguese nationality.

Australia should be fair to all seekers of political asylum. But there is a special emotional dimension to the plight of people from East Timor because of the close bonds formed during World War II. Australia feels a debt of gratitude to the Timorese who made sacrifices to protect Australian soldiers from the Japanese.

Indonesia had been humiliated by the actions of people from one of its provinces in fleeing its oppression and seeking asylum with a close neighbour. The release from detention of the 18 boat people — who were the first to arrive here in more than 20 years of strife in East Timor — caused a rift between Jakarta and Canberra. Indonesia warned that any decision to grant the boat people asylum would set an unwelcome precedent.

The East Timorese are waiting for their applications for refugee status to be decided by the Refugee Review Tribunal, whose decisions can be challenged in the courts. For the Government to contemplate appealing against a finding for the boat people on the ground that they are technically Portuguese is morally bankrupt.

That stand also would expose Australia to international derision for brazen hypocrisy. The world has seen Australia argue previously — at least when access to oil and gas reserves was at stake — that East Timor is under Indonesian authority.

Australians expect their government to do its best to maintain good relations with other countries — but not at the cost of fundamental principles on which the nation was founded. There should be no caving in to bully-boy tactics or forsaking notions of fairness and compassion that underlie the refugee programme.

The Keating Government takes pride in the strength of Australia-Indonesia links.

But lots of Australians are disgusted with the policies of appeasement it has used to achieve them.

Many people cringe when they think of the Government's muted voice on civil liberties in Indonesia. It was only in response to a public outcry that the Government sought seriously to question officially the appointment as Indonesian ambassador of Lt.-Gen. Herman Mantiri, who tried to justify the 1991 Dili massacre.

Senior members of the Government were prepared to deny freedom of expression in Australia by proposing legislation to ban flag-burning because a series of such incidents had upset the sensitivities of Indonesia

The resort to pettifogging legal manoeuvring to deny justice to asylum-seekers for the sake of pandering to Indonesia's rulers would be repugnant to the Australian community. Canberra could expect a strong protest — not just from expatriate Timorese but from all fair-minded Australians.

REFUGEE TRIBUNAL WILL TREAT EACH CASE ON MERIT

'The Australian,' October 12 1995, by Maria Ceresa, abridged

This article is accompanied by a photo of 5 of the 18 East Timorese who arrived in May. Antonio Pinto Goveia is quoted as saying 'We don't want to go to either Portugal or East Timor — it would be better to shoot us here and send the ashes to East Timor for our families to bury'

The Refugee Review Tribunal distanced itself from the row over East Timorese applications for refugee status stating that each case will be judged on its merits. The Federal Government intends to tell the tribunal that under the international refugee convention East Timorese may be rejected because they are eligible for Portuguese nationality.

Acting principal member of the tribunal, Mr. Murray Gerkens, said the tribunal was created by Parliament to provide independent review of decisions made by the Immigration Dept. The tribunal is now looking at more than 50 East Timorese cases.

The processing of 1358 East Timorese cases has been frozen pending a resolution of the nationality issue. These people include 18 'boat people' who arrived in May and applied for refugee status, 1100 who have overstayed visitor visas since 1994 and the remainder who arrived before 1994. None are in detention.

The Federal Government has said that the questions of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor and the nationality of East

Timorese are separate issues. Foreign Minister Evans said earlier this week that if the people in question have Portuguese nationality 'as a matter of Portuguese law then they are obliged to seek any refugee status from Portugal, not Australia. You're talking about people basically who were born in East Timor during a period of unequivocal Portuguese sovereignty but there are some twilight issues to be resolved for people who were born a bit later and they are the ones that have to be resolved through the courts.'

He also said that if they are deemed not to be Portuguese nationals then their applications will be processed in the usual way. A third option is to grant the East Timorese is to grant the East Timorese entry under the humanitarian program.

Immigration Minister Bolkus stressed that the humanitarian discretion was used only after the processes had been applied and in limited circumstances. Senator Bolkus said at least 200 people from Indonesia had obtained asylum in Australia.

An Immigration Dept. spokesman said that asylum seekers applications are first assessed by the Immigration Dept. in line with the international convention on refugees, establishing nationality before taking a decision. Applicants found to have dual nationality must first seek refuge from a country from which they are nationals. Applicants who are refused can then appeal to the Refugee Review Tribunal

Portugal yesterday denied that the 1300 East Timorese seeking refugee status in Australia are automatically Portuguese nationals. Portuguese Ambassador Dr. Rui de Avila said the East Timorese could only qualify for citizenship if they expressed a desire to be Portuguese and met certain specific criteria.

'They can apply for it, which means that every East Timorese wishing to be entitled to be considered for Portuguese nationality has to make a gesture in that direction. It is not an automatic umbrella that is there for them to be considered Portuguese since the moment they were born,' he said.

Dr. Avila said it was unlikely that any of the East Timorese who have applied for refugee status here would have applied to become Portuguese nationals as well. He disputed the argument that East Timorese had dual nationality.

'It is not precise to say East Timorese have dual nationality because if they have not applied for Portuguese nationality, if the case has not been studied, they couldn't possibly automatically have dual nationality.'

Earlier this week Mr. Keating argued that East Timorese were Portuguese saying that 'Timorese people have Portuguese citizen-

ship. So they have no refugee status, though the Government has taken the view that Timor is part of Indonesia, is a province of Indonesia, and those people still have Portuguese citizenship status.'

Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Alexander Downer, accused the Prime Minister of pre-empting the decision of the independent Refugee Review Tribunal.

After speaking to the Portuguese ambassador, Mr. Downer said:

'The Government had been given this information by the Portuguese Government and has chosen to ignore it. Embarrassingly for the Federal Government, the Australian Bureau of Statistics regards people of East Timorese origin not as dual Portuguese Indonesian citizens but as Indonesians.

The fact is Australia has never considered the people of East Timor as anything but Indonesian since 1979 — the latest claim by Mr. Keating that they are Portuguese is simply absurd and hypocritical.'

A spokesman for Mr. Keating said the Prime Minister was referring to Government legal advice that the East Timorese 'have a right to' Portuguese nationality. 'He is not saying that they are walking round with Portuguese passports.'

HOSTAGES TO HISTORY

'The Australian,' October 14, 1995. By Cameron Stewart. Abridged.

The outcry this week over the Federal Government's push to deny refugee status to East Timorese asylum seekers has exposed how deep the divisions in Australia run over East Timor and how problematic the issue has become for a Government intent on improving its links with Jakarta.

For East Timorese supporters the Govt.'s push to deny refugee status is another example of its willingness to compromise its values on human rights for the sake of appeasing Indonesia. But the Government denies this saying that a refusal of refugee status would merely represent a proper application of Australia's immigration laws and its obligations in relation to the UN convention on refugees.

The origins of the complex dispute can be traced to the unexpected arrival in Australia of 1800 East Timorese on tourist visas between June 94 and January 95. About 1300 remained in Australia and have applied for refugee status on the grounds that they fear persecution if they return to East Timor. The issue remained relatively low-key until the arrival in May of 18 East Timorese who made highly publicized accusations of torture and abuse by the Indonesian military. The Indonesian Government raised the stakes when it warned that diplomatic ties

would be harmed if they were granted refugee status.

The sensitivity of the issue spurred the Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs into action. It sought legal advice in May from the Portuguese Government and an independent Portuguese legal expert about the status of East Timorese under Portuguese law.

This is a central question because, under the UN Convention on refugees, a person who has more than one nationality must seek refuge in a country of his nationality before seeking it elsewhere. Therefore if East Timorese are Portuguese citizens as well as Indonesian citizens, he could not qualify for refugee status in Australia.

The Portuguese government's reply on July 1st was ambiguous, stating that East Timorese were not Portuguese nationals but were entitled to Portuguese nationality if they made a formal application. The independent expert's opinion (delivered last month) reinforced the Portuguese government's position. Immigration passed the matter to the Attorney General's department.

Throughout this period the Dept. of Foreign Affairs had been pushing for special treatment, a 'quick fix' as one official called it, to be given to the East Timorese for the sake of Australia's relations with Indonesia.

But it was the Attorney-General's Dept. not Foreign Affairs that made the key decision; it ruled that access to Portuguese citizenship was as good as having it and the East Timorese should be disqualified from access to refugee status in Australia under the UN Convention. That Department's ruling was passed last week in the form of the Refugee Review Tribunal, which will make its own independent assessment of the matter.

The Government has defended itself against charges of immorality by trying to confine the debate to the narrow legal arguments. 'What particular status individuals may have who were born during that period of Portuguese sovereignty under Portuguese law, is a matter of law — it is not a matter for government judgment or preference,' Foreign Minister Evans said. The Prime Minister's claim that 'Timorese people have Portuguese citizenship, so they do not have refugee status,' was denied by the Portuguese ambassador.

Given the conflicting views between Australia and Portugal, the validity of the Government's legal arguments must be considered debatable and are complicated by Portugal's refusal to grant citizenship to East Timorese who do not want it. Two East Timorese have already indicated that they do not want to go to Portugal.

But widespread skepticism about the Government's motives do not come from a detailed legal analysis but from a broader assessment of Canberra's record on East Timor. Only 4 months ago, the Australian Government told the ICJ that Portugal had no rights or responsibilities in relation to the people of East Timor. Australia strongly attacked Portugal's poor colonial record, saying that Lisbon 'cannot claim any right to represent the people of East Timor.'

Yet 20 years after Portugal abandoned East Timor, the Australian Government claims suddenly to have greater respect for the Portuguese nationality of the East Timorese than does Portugal itself. But what is perhaps most damaging to the Government's own credibility is that it has already granted refugee status to more than 200 East Timorese. These people, who applied between 1989 and 1994, were quietly granted refugee status after they were judged as Indonesian — not Portuguese-citizens.

The advice on their citizenship status, and therefore their eligibility to be refugees, was provided by DFAT at the request of the Immigration Dept. The Government's decision to examine whether East Timorese asylum seekers were also Portuguese citizens was only made this year when the issue loomed as a threat to Australia's relations with Indonesia.

As Oscar Wilde once said, 'Consistency is the last refuge of the unimaginative.'

RECONSIDER TIMOR MOVE

By Rex J Lipman (Ex-Adjutant 2/4th Australian Commando Squadron, AIF, Adelaide). Letters to the Editor, The Weekend Australian, October 14,

I implore the Prime Minister to reconsider his decision about not granting refugee status to people from East Timor.

In the black 1942-43 years of the war, there were some 400 Australian commandos fighting in the mountains of Japanese-held Portuguese Timor — the East Timor of today. The Timors as they were then called, never gave our locations away. They looked after us; they hid us in their oomlahs; they lied for us; and they were tortured for us. And after that stormy January night in 1943 when we were taken off Timor in a destroyer, much the worse for wear, they were left to face the music alone — and more of them died for us.

This is the year when "We Remember Them," and if we cannot do something very special for the Timorese, WE ARE FORGETTING THEM.

Perhaps they have Portuguese nationality; perhaps it requires a special effort; per-

haps the normal rule that apply for qualification for refugee status have to be bent. The point remains that Australia owes a debt to these people and most of us — the Australian commandos on Timor — would not be alive today if it had not been for their steadfastness.

REX J. LIPMAN

Ex-Adjutant 2/4th Australian Commando Squadron, AIF.

DIGGERS FIGHT FOR BOAT PEOPLE

The Sunday Times (Western Australia), Oct. 15. abridged

A GROUP of elderly World War II Diggers is fighting for 18 East Timorese boat people, who have become diplomatic hot potatoes.

Members of the 2/2nd Commando Association of Australia say the boat people, who arrived in Darwin on June 1, were genuine refugees. They say they bear the family names of people who, thanklessly, helped the Diggers in their fight against the Japanese in Timor during the war. The Diggers are ashamed that their friends' children face lengthy prison terms if they are returned to their Indonesian-ruled homeland.

The Diggers sent as protest letter to the Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Minister Nick Bolkus, urging the Government to change its stance.

The association's members are ashamed of Australia for recognising East Timor as part of Indonesia and for threatening to deport the boat people to Portugal.

At a symposium on boat people at Murdoch University yesterday, Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission president Sir Ronald Wilson criticised the boat people's treatment.

TIMORESE DISMISS CLAIM BY KEATING

The Sunday Times, Abridged (very).

A CLAIM by Prime Minister Paul Keating that the majority of East Timor's population wanted to be part of Indonesia has been dismissed as laughable by East Timorese residents and resistance leaders.

Mr. Keating said in a radio interview on Tuesday that if there had been a free vote on East Timor: "It is often argued that the people there would have voted for incorporation of Timor into Indonesia."

But Mr. Keating's claim was dismissed as completely wrong by East Timorese council member Manuel Carrascalão yesterday, who said there would be an 80 to 90 percent vote for independence if the East Timorese were given the chance to their feelings.

"It is quit clear that the majority is not for integration," Mr. Carrascalão said, speaking by telephone from Dili.

Darwin-based resistance movement spokesman José Gusmão said only a handful of collaborators would vote to be part of Indonesia.

"If the Prime Minister is so confident, please can he convince President Suharto to accept a UN-supervised referendum," Mr. Gusmão said.

[The article goes on to cover the boat people's asylum case and the recent unrest in Dili, with reference to José Ramos Horta]

In Darwin Mr. Gusmão described the situation in Dili as critical, saying friction had reached its highest level since the Santa Cruz massacre

LET THE TIMORESE REFUGEES STAY!

Editorial, Green Left Weekly, Oct. 15

Recent public statements by Prime Minister Paul Keating and foreign minister Gareth Evans denying the refugee status of East Timorese who have fled their Indonesian-occupied country to Australia, is yet another despicable episode in the federal Labor government's collusion with the Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia.

Their statements — made while the cases of 18 refugees are being considered by the Refugee Review Tribunal — were applauded by the Indonesian government, but widely condemned in Australia and abroad. Keating and Evans added insult to injury by claiming that the refugees should be turned away because they could claim Portuguese citizenship and hence seek refuge in Portugal.

While the United Nations officially recognises Portugal as the legal administering power in East Timor (with acknowledged responsibility to de-colonise East Timor), the Australian government is one of only a handful in the world that recognises Indonesia's forceful incorporation of that country.

To be consistent, Keating and Co. should argue that East Timorese are Indonesian citizens. The Australian government vociferously disputed that East Timor was still a Portuguese territory when its blood-for-Timor-Sea-oil deal with the Indonesian regime was taken before the World Court by the Portuguese government.

As East Timorese community spokespeople have pointed out with justified anger, these refugees are East Timorese citizens, not citizens of Portugal or Indonesia. They want to stay in Australia, not go to distant Portugal. These refugees should be allowed to stay because they are fleeing bloody repression from the Indonesian oc-

cupying forces. Even as Keating and Evans displayed their cynical sophistry, Indonesian troops were shooting and rounding up more youth in the East Timorese capital, Dili.

But the Keating government puts big business profits before human rights. It wants to send a message to any future refugees from East Timor that they are not welcome in Australia. Our duty is to support the refugees, assist the struggle for East Timor's independence and build the growing public opposition to the Australian government's close business and military collusion with the Suharto regime.

REFUGEE RULING SPARKS ANGER

Sydney Morning Herald, Oct. 19 1995. By David Lague, Foreign Affairs correspondent

In a controversial ruling the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) has challenged long-standing Australian Government policy of recognizing East Timorese people as Indonesian citizens. The interim ruling on the citizenship of East Timorese was from a senior RRT member, Mr. Murray Gerkens. It has not been published because the application for asylum lapsed, but the finding angered senior Dept. of Foreign Affairs officials when it was circulated in Canberra.

The ruling found that East Timorese were not recognized as Indonesian citizens under international law but that they were eligible for Portuguese citizenship. This meant that Australia was freed from any obligation to consider claims for asylum from East Timorese asylum seekers. The ruling took into account advice from international legal experts that Indonesia's invasion of East Timor was illegal. This meant that Indonesia was unable to impose Indonesian citizenship on the East Timorese. However the ruling found that there were direct and continuing links between Portugal and the people of East Timor.

The ruling also led to a sharp response from the Dept. of Immigration advising that the RRT should have found that East Timorese have Indonesian citizenship.

Mr. Gerkens was recently promoted to acting principal member of the RRT.

The Government is now urging the RRT to rule that most East Timorese are Indonesian citizens but many are also eligible for citizenship of Portugal which means that Australia is not required to consider applications for refugee status from some of the 1358 asylum seekers now in Australia.

However it is understood that some RRT members disagree strongly with the Government's advice.

In Mr. Gerkens interim ruling on March 28, he found that there were continuing links between Portugal and East Timor because the international community recognized Lisbon as the rightful administrator of the territory and had been charged with responsibility for allowing its people the right to self-determination.

The support and encouragement of Portugal's international efforts to assist East Timor from the East Timorese resistance movement supported these links.

'Portugal, as far as it is able to do so in practice, is honouring its obligations as administrator and has demonstrated a clear commitment to facilitate and respect the principle of self-determination for the people of East Timor,' the ruling said.

Less than a week after Mr. Gerken's ruling, a senior Immigration Dept. official wrote to the RRT insisting that East Timor was part of Indonesia and the East Timorese should be regarded as Indonesian citizens.

In a following ruling on May 29, Mr. Gerkens found that five East Timorese asylum seekers were all Indonesian citizens, but sources close to the RRT said there was no inconsistency between the two decisions.

EAST TIMOR REFUGEES: LET THEM STAY!

By Max Lane, Green Left. Oct. 29

The Australian government's support for the 1975 invasion of East Timor; its August, 1983 legal recognition of Indonesia's annexation by force; its policy of continuing joint military exercises and training with the Indonesian occupation forces; its defence of the Suharto dictatorship's atrocious human rights record in numerous international fora; and its complicity in dividing up East Timor's oil with Suharto's oil cronies in the Timor Gap Treaty, make it a willing accomplice in the repression and persecution of the people of East Timor.

The moral and political bankruptcy of the federal Labor government is further exposed now when it cannot even bring itself to allow human beings, who try to flee this war, the right to reside in Australia. The government's refusal to consider this most basic humanitarian gesture to the victims of its own foreign policy is evident in its handling of the East Timorese refugees.

On October 16, WA Green Senator Christabel Chamarette quizzed immigration minister Nick Bolkus on the government's policy regarding the Portuguese nationality of East Timorese refugees currently seeking to stay in Australia. In his response, Bolkus insisted that, as far as processing the applications of the East Timorese were concerned, "We have not interfered; we will not

interfere; and international laws will be applied.”

Legal loophole

Bolkus’s denial of interference in the refugee review process rests on very shaky ground.

The government has been straining to find some legal loophole to enable it to avoid granting visas to the more than 1350 East Timorese seeking permission to stay in Australia.

Bolkus’s defence rests on the assertion that the government has only been seeking to clarify, for the Refugee Review Tribunal, whether the East Timorese refugees would be able to be received by Portugal as residents under Portuguese law. Under international law, a country to which refugees have fled does not have to grant them permanency if another country, in which they have a legal right of residence, accepts them.

This defence completely avoids the Australian government’s complicity in helping to create the situation from which the East Timorese are fleeing. There is no doubt that all the East Timorese in Australia are fleeing persecution.

The applicants have all been granted refugee status in the four cases the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) has dealt with this year. In the latest decision, made on October 4, tribunal member Andrew Jacovides decided that, “the individual’s circumstances, in conjunction with current conditions in Indonesia, will place him at risk of persecution of he returns to Indonesia.”

The decision also noted that, “Indonesia has a huge security network which operates throughout the entire nation, and [RRT] agrees with the applicant that he will not be able to avoid the adverse attention of the authorities.”

It is clear from the RRT documents that the Australian government is also aware of the persecution of the East Timorese people. The October 4 decision quotes from a Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Cable O.J1264 of September 30, 1993, which provided the following advice:

“Participation or suspected involvement in outlawed, anti-government or so called ‘anti-Indonesian’ political groupings or movements particularly, but not exclusively in East Timor, is likely to lead suspected persons to be monitored by security and intelligence authorities on a more or less regular and continuing basis.

“In East Timor, suspect people are liable to be picked up and detained for indeterminate periods for questioning, observation, or as a preventative security measure. They may be removed from their own town or village and taken to another place, or military unit, some distance away from their

home. This applies equally to family members, particularly immediate family and close associates of the person targeted by the security forces ...

“The attitudes of the authorities to a returning Indonesian, particularly an East Timorese, who is known or suspected of holding anti-government activities, is likely to be negative. Moreover, because the problem of anti-government feeling is more acute in East Timor than other areas of Indonesia, and because the physical ratio of security and intelligence personnel per head of population is higher in East Timor, this negative attitude will likely manifest itself in more direct and obvious forms.”

The government cannot deny, what has become common knowledge for Australians, that East Timorese are being persecuted by the Indonesians in East Timor.

It is clear that the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs has been keen to roll back the precedent created by the success of the four applicants in attaining refugee status.

With regard to one of the applicants (whose names are kept confidential) the RRT’s October 4 decision read in part: “The Tribunal acknowledges that the applicant may be able to obtain Portuguese nationality under certain conditions. However, the Tribunal is not satisfied that, at this time, the applicant has Portuguese nationality or that he has automatic and non-discretionary right to Portuguese nationality.

“Based on the evidence and documents provided by the applicant, the Tribunal finds that the only nationality which he can be assured of having, at the time of the decision, is Indonesian nationality. Accordingly, the Tribunal has decided that for the purpose of assessing the applicant’s claim to refugee status, the only country of reference is Indonesia.”

Seven days later, on October 11, the deputy secretary of the immigration department, Dennis Richardson, wrote to the RRT acting principal reminding him that, as early as July, the department had urged that decisions “on persons born in East Timor ... pending the receipt of a written submission from the Department” be delayed.

Clearly the October 4 decision went against the July request. The October 11 letter had only one purpose — to convince RRT members that East Timorese refugees in Australia are guaranteed entry to Portugal as Portuguese citizens even if they do not want that citizenship.

Richardson’s case, that the East Timorese refugees in Australia can be received by Portugal, is based on one academic’s interpretation of a 1867 Portuguese law. Richardson went out if his way to em-

phasise that if an East Timorese renounced his or her Portuguese citizenship, under this law it “will not be effective for the purposes of the Refugees Convention.”

Coming so soon after the October 4 decision, it is not too far fetched to conclude that this was an attempt — “within the law” — to steer the RRT away from its previous conclusions.

Missing from the immigration department’s advice is any reference to the Australian government’s responsibility for helping to create a situation from which the refugees have been forced to flee.

This important element is also missing from the government’s considerations.

Special visas

In 1989, when Bob Hawke shed his dime-a-dozen tears following the Beijing government’s brutal repression of student protesters in Tiananmen Square, the Australian government decided to create four special visas. This included visa class 815, which granted a visa to any Chinese citizen in Australia on the day of the massacre.

This illustrates that it is completely within the Australian government’s power to create a special visa category for East Timorese wishing to stay in Australia.

The federal government’s immigration policy towards the East Timorese is even more ridiculous given that it has already created a visa class which allows East Timorese residents in Portugal, or the Portuguese colony of Macao, before 1989 to move to Australia for humanitarian reasons.

Yet, it is refusing to create a similar humanitarian category for people fleeing East Timor to Australia to escape, what it describes as, the Indonesian military’s “negative attitude [which] will likely manifest itself in more direct and obvious forms.”

The government should immediately create a special class of visa for the East Timorese who have escaped to Australia directly from East Timor.

Labor’s motives

It is not difficult to understand what motivates the Keating government’s desire to get the East Timorese refugees out of Australia and into Portugal. It is afraid of any further disruption to the smooth functioning of its political alliance with Jakarta on a range of issues — especially East Timor.

Cooperation between the East Timorese activists and their Australian supporters in the protests against last year’s visit by Indonesian vice-president Try Sutrisno, and this year’s by research and technology minister Habibie, laid the basis for Jakarta’s withdrawal of General Mantiri as Australia’s ambassador.

It is the current generation of East Timorese youth who are at the forefront of

the struggle against the Indonesian occupation. Keating, Evans, and Bolkus are worried that Australian youth are also increasingly taking the lead in the pro-independence solidarity struggle in this country.

East Timorese in Australia can be guaranteed of full support from the Australian people. If they want to stay in Australia, they should be able to refuse to leave with the knowledge that we will support them in every way we can. And we are with them if they want to continue their struggle for East Timor's freedom while in Australia.

IN MEMORY OF DENIS FRENEY

From Geoffrey Gunn, Oct. 20.

Echoing the memorial piece on Denis Freney (1936-1995) published in *Matebian News* (Sydney) [Vo.3. No.5 September 1995], I think it important to flag the passing of this East Timor activist par excellence. As Mandy King and James Kesteven observe in their obituary piece, it was thanks to "Denis' inspiration, invaluable contacts, knowledge of the issue and commitment" that made possible their jointly produced film on East Timor, entitled, "The Shadow Over East Timor." Produced in 1986, the film was eventually shown on UK and Australian television. A revised version was shown on Australia's SBS Television within three weeks of the Dili massacre. On set in Darwin, as it were, or at least in an undisclosed location in the bush, it was Denis who made secret radio contact with Fretilin fighters in East Timor. It was via this radio link that the voice of Xanana Gusmão was first heard in the outside world (18 May 1985 and again on 16 June), albeit silenced by the Australian Labor government of Bob Hawke, just as the Fraser government had done before it apropos an earlier radio link.

But as the original East Timor campaigner, it would be fair to pass comment on Denis' earlier "career" in this respect. While personally unknown to myself, I would simply acknowledge Denis' 1975 publication, "Timor: Freedom Caught between the Powers" (Spokesman Books, Nottingham, UK). Published around October 1975, the book also carries an appeal for humanitarian aid from the embattled Fretilin central committee in Dili, namely its first president, Francisco Xavier do Amaral, along with an interview with José Ramos Horta. At this juncture, Fretilin comprised the de facto government in East Timor, the Portuguese flag was still flying in Dili, and Fretilin, in the words of do Amaral, "stressed its recognition of the Portuguese government as the

only authority and the unique valid mouthpiece in the process of decolonisation."

This 68 page work with preface by Ron Witton stands then as the first published book on East Timor. It was originally published in duplicated form by the Australian Campaign for Independent Timor, the pioneering support group which established branches in almost every state of Australia and of which Denis was a force.

The table of contents reads as follows:

- 1)The Background
- 2)Behind the UDT Coup
- 3)Portuguese Involvement
- 4)America and the Coup
- 5)Indonesia's Complicity
- 6)The Australian Connection
- 7)The Role of the Joint Intelligence Organisation
- 8)Whitlam's Position
- 9)Drawing the Threads Together

Writing of the danger of impending full scale Indonesian invasion, Freney wrote: "Such a blatant act of aggression would not "restore order" or stabilise the region, but endanger the Indonesian military regime itself, which would face a long Vietnam-type war in East Timor, and the explosive anger of its own people"

"The issues in East Timor today are very clear cut," he continues, "Which side Australian workers and students take will be vital in the coming weeks, months and years."

Such prescience armed Denis for the years ahead, as the virtual I.F. Stone of East Timor journalism in the pages of his *East Timor News*, for long years the single vital source of hard information on East Timor available in Australia. Notable was Denis' "A Reply to Prof. Arndt: An Apologist who can't get his facts straight," *East Timor News*, Winter, 1982, pp.5-9 and "A Reply to Peter Hastings: A Sophisticated apologist for Suharto's Genocide: *East Timor News*, Winter, 1982, pp.3-4.

Never disguising his support for Fretilin's righteous struggle or his own Australian working class links, Denis also contributed to *Southeast Asian Chronicle* (No.94, 1984, pp.3-9), *Carpa Bulletin* (No.15, November 1983), among other left-wing and solidarity publications.

The best tribute for Denis Freney, then, is to recognise the courage of his conviction, the value of his disclosures, and the difficult times when he made them.

EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND

FLAG PROTEST

New Zealand Herald. 6 September 1995

The following caption accompanies a front page photo of a flag burning protest yesterday with a banner reading "Why is the NZ Air Force training the Indonesian military to murder (the people of) East Timor?"

The Indonesian Embassy will protest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs over the burning of an Indonesian flag in Wellington yesterday, amid warnings from Indonesia that relations between the two countries could be jeopardised by protests over East Timor.

The head of information at the Indonesian Embassy, Mr. Mozes Lelating, said the torching of an Indonesian flag outside Defence headquarters was not acceptable and the embassy would make its views plain.

"Such an action is considered an insult to the nation," he said.

"This small group of anti-Indonesian people systematically endeavouring to incite Indonesia to react could mar New Zealand-Indonesia relations. I'm afraid it could make hostile feelings."

The flag was set alight by Mr. Manu Caddie, a spokesman for the East Timor Action Group, in protest against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and New Zealand's military links with Jakarta.

FLAG BURNING RESPONSES

September 6. Several of this morning's New Zealand papers carried front page colour photos and articles of the burning of an Indonesian flag outside the Defence Ministry's building in Wellington yesterday. The group, East Timor Action, were protesting New Zealand's participation in military exercises with the Indonesian armed forces.

This brought an angry response from Indonesia and a resulting apology from the New Zealand Prime minister, Mr. Bolger, resulting in the following article in the capital's evening paper:

Colin Iles, East Timor Independence
Centre

FLAG BURNING APOLOGY DERIDED

The Evening Post, Wellington, Sep.. 6 1995

The Auckland-based Council for Civil Liberties says it is ridiculous for Foreign Affairs to apologise to Indonesia for a flag-burning incident in Wellington yesterday.

The Indonesian flag was set alight outside Defence Headquarters by members of the

East Timor Action Group protesting against last week's exercise in which RNZAF Skyhawk squadron trained with the Indonesian Air Force.

The incident drew a swift response from the Indonesian Embassy, which said it could affect New Zealand-Indonesian relations.

A senior Foreign Affairs official expressed its regrets to the Embassy. However, civil liberties vice-president, Barry Wilson, said it was ridiculous to apologise for such a trivial incident which paled into insignificance alongside the atrocities and civil rights abuses that continued in East Timor and Irian Jaya.

NZ REGRETS REPEATED BURNING OF INDONESIA FLAG

WELLINGTON, Sept. 15 (Reuter) — New Zealand said on Friday it regretted the repeated burning of Indonesia's flag by demonstrators, calling it an insult to that country and its people.

"The Indonesian flag is a symbol of freedom and nationhood. For some 400 years Indonesia was subjected to colonisation and only gained independence after a very costly struggle. Their flag therefore deserves respect," Foreign Minister Don McKinnon said in a statement.

He said the government had again extended its regrets to Jakarta after the third flag-burning incident in recent weeks.

The small demonstrations have been mainly in defence of human rights in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony invaded by Jakarta in 1975 and annexed the following year.

New Zealand's ambassador to Jakarta was summoned to the Foreign Ministry in August to receive a formal complaint after an earlier flag-burning incident. The envoy said he told the Indonesians the incident was disgraceful.

The New Zealand government has, however, been criticised by political opponents and some quarters of the media for being too quick to proffer its apologies.

"In the last few weeks I have discussed our concerns about human rights abuses in Irian Jaya and East Timor on two occasions at the very highest levels of the Indonesian government," McKinnon said.

"I will continue to do this but burning the Indonesian flag is inappropriate and counter-productive. It confuses the real message."

ET INDEPENDENCE COMMITTEE PROTESTS POLICE HARASSMENT OF MANU CADDIE

PRESS RELEASE 1 Oct. 1995, From East Timor Independence Committee (Protest letter to the Minister of Police attached)

"The flag burning action should be seen in its correct light — not as an insult to the Indonesian people, many of whom suffer similar repression to that suffered by the East Timorese, but as a determined effort to draw attention to the ongoing suffering of the East Timorese and the New Zealand Government's complicity in the Indonesian military repression.

East Timor support groups nationwide are discussing future protest action to employ new strategies on a co-ordinated basis."

For further information: Maire Leadbeater 849-3890 (day 828-5109)

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Hon Mr. J Luxton
Minister of Police
Parliament Buildings
Wellington

Dear Mr. Luxton

The East Timor Independence Committee has been horrified to learn of the police harassment and police threats experienced by Manu Caddie, the Wellington student who took part in a recent flag burning protest organised to draw attention to the plight of the East Timorese people.

It is our understanding that Mr. Caddie had committed no offence and that the moves to obtain a search warrant and subsequently to search his home were quite unjustified. We also believe that it is quite contrary to the principles of freedom of speech and action that police should become involved in intimidatory actions.

We are particularly disturbed that diplomatic police were involved in this attack on Mr. Caddie's rights. Are the civil liberties of a New Zealander taking second place to the demands or complaints of another Government?

As to the flag-burning incident itself: we ask you to confirm that under New Zealand law this act is not an offence. As a group deeply concerned about the suffering of the East Timorese people we also ask that you and every member of the New Zealand Government reflect on the situation in East Timor. Two new battalions of Indonesian commandos have just landed in Dili to strengthen an already formidable military presence. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights is about to visit and has expressed his concern about the violation of human rights during recent riots in the terri-

tory, especially the reports that children were beaten by the military.

The East Timorese continue to resist Indonesian occupation and instead of supporting their just cause, the New Zealand Government gets into a lather about an incident of flag burning, to the point of victimising a young activist. We appeal to you and your Government to reflect — burning a flag may have caused upset but flags, unlike people, do not suffer pain and terror. The actions of the Indonesian military in East Timor over the past twenty years amount to genocide.

Yours sincerely

Maire Leadbeater, for the East Timor Independence Committee

TIMOR ACTION CALL

The New Zealand Herald, 16 October 1995

Supporters of independence for East Timor are urging the New Zealand Government to back a human rights mission in the Indonesian-ruled territory.

The East Timor Independence Committee said that New Zealand could no longer ignore the plight of the East Timorese people and must replace a "softly softly" diplomatic approach with clear demands.

It urged New Zealand promotion of a United Nations human rights mission and unimpeded access to East Timor for Amnesty International observers.

The group's call followed riots in East Timor.

NEW ZEALAND VIGIL / JOSÉ RAMOS HORTA VISIT

Press release from ETIC (East Timor Independence Committee), Oct. 29.

Candlelight Vigils to mark significant East Timor Anniversaries;

Forthcoming visit of East Timor Resistance leader, José Ramos-Horta

The Auckland East Timor Independence Committee will mark the period spanning the 4th anniversary of Dili Massacre (12 November 1991) to the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor with a series of candlelight vigils. The theme of the commemorations is 'Let Light return.' The simultaneous lighting of torches and candles in numerous corners of the globe will carry a message of hope and blaze of freedom to the struggling East Timorese people.

The dates of the vigils are: 12 Nov., 17 Nov., 24 Nov. and 7 Dec. at Queen Elizabeth Square Downtown, 5pm — 8pm.

The East Timor Independence Committee is inviting prominent members of the Auckland community to join us including

Auckland M.P.'s, Mayors and religious leaders.

The situation in East Timor is dire in the wake of recent clashes in which lives were lost and at least 120 arrested. Men and boys were recently rounded up in an unprecedented sweep on homes and even on a Catholic Church. President Suharto's Special advisor Sudomo made a highly unusual visit to East Timor to talk to local leaders in an attempt to contain the volatile situation. The New Zealand Foreign Minister has so far failed to take any effective action. He should be calling for a permanent United Nations human rights monitoring mission or for Amnesty International to be given unrestricted access. After twenty years the time is well overdue for New Zealand to condemn Indonesia's illegal occupation.

José Ramos Horta will visit New Zealand briefly from the 6-10 December. He will speak at a public meeting on 6 December, 1995.

José Ramos Horta is the Special representative for the CNRM (National Council for Maubere Resistance) and has been diplomatic representative for the East Timorese resistance abroad since 1975.

José Ramos Horta was not able to visit New Zealand during the Muldoon years — he was advised that a condition of his visa was that he would not be permitted to speak about East Timor! He last visited New Zealand in March 1985. Further information to follow.

EVENTS INVOLVING THE UNITED STATES

AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT IN JAKARTA

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged. See also several articles in the Riots section of this Documents compilation.

Jakarta, Sept. 11 (LUSA) — The US ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright, currently visiting Jakarta, defended today that Indonesia ought to promote the dialogue among Timorese as a means to achieve a solution to the ET problem.

"Obviously, this matter continues to be a concern to the United States" [translated quote], said Albright to the journalists following a meeting with President Suharto, which the ambassador classified as an "excellent meeting."

The ambassador said that Washington would like to see all Timorese tendencies included in the Timorese talks, but added that she appreciated some of the measures

taken by Suharto to develop East Timor's economy.

THE DEBATE OVER U.S. TAX DOLLARS IN EAST TIMOR

By Ben Terrall, ETAN/San Francisco. September 1995. A revised version of this article appears in the November 1995 ETAN Newsletter.

Testifying before the UN Decolonization Committee on July 11, Australian nurse Simon de Faux described memories of his recent two-month stay in East Timor, the Pacific island nation illegally annexed by Indonesia twenty years ago: "I did not meet one Timorese person who hadn't had a relative who had been tortured, or killed whilst under Indonesian occupation. I didn't meet one Timorese who could say that their family was intact." He went on to describe seeing an Indonesian soldier beating a child of eight: "Half his face had been bashed in. I tried to stop the child being bashed by the soldier and in the process I was hit on the back of the shoulder by the rifle butt. It was after this incident that for the second time I had a gun pointed at me."

The blood-chilling scenario de Faux spells out is typical of a shameful history that U.S. tax dollars helped create. Our government has always treated the ruthless Indonesian tyrant Suharto as a trusted ally; General Suharto's bloody rise to power in 1965, in which Amnesty International estimates one million people were killed, was greeted by a flurry of ecstatic notices in the Western press. Time magazine went so far as to call the coup "the West's best news for years." (See chapter 5 of Noam Chomsky's essential Year 501: The Conquest Continues for other stomach-turning citations.)

The invasion of East Timor in 1975 was a different story. Few media outlets in the U.S. took notice of the unfolding tragedy. As clearly laid out in the great British TV film *Death of a Nation*, President Ford and notoriously conscience-free Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were fully aware of Suharto's plans to invade the island. Portugal, East Timor's long-time colonial ruler, was beginning the process of decolonization while facing a revolution of its own at home. Seeing a small nation well on the road to self-determination independent of Western control, Ford and Kissinger were quick to assure Suharto of their support for his decision to add another crown jewel to the Indonesian Archipelago; the U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia at the time, David Newsom, told his Australian counterpart that our government hoped the Indonesian military would invade "effectively, quickly and not use our equipment," a difficult request given

that 90% of their weapons came from the U.S.

In 1990 an Indonesian army intelligence official confirmed that in the course of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, the Suharto regime has taken the lives of at least 200,000 people. But the genocidal campaign against the East Timorese people was largely ignored in the Western press until 1991, when investigative journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman filed stories detailing the brutal suppression of a peaceful protest march in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Indonesian troops fractured Nairn's skull and, using U.S.-supplied M-16s, killed more than 250 unarmed demonstrators.

In the aftermath of the 1991 massacre, the East Timor Action Network (ETAN), a decentralized, grassroots organization, formed in the United States. Its focus was, and remains, on changing U.S. policy towards Indonesia. Standing in solidarity with the long-ignored people of East Timor, ETAN chapters throughout the U.S. have lobbied members of Congress in their home districts and in Washington, DC to place substantive restrictions on any support of dictator-for-life Suharto. Partly as a result of this pressure, Congress cut off International Military Education Training (IMET) funds for Indonesian soldiers in 1992. Though the legislation provided a loophole whereby Indonesia could still pay for military training, it nonetheless sent a message to the Suharto regime that their excesses were being noticed.

In 1993, Congress, again feeling the heat from enraged constituents, managed to push the State Department away from its traditional lock-step support of the regime in Jakarta. In March, the U.S., which in the past had opposed such measures, backed a resolution presented to the UN Human Rights Commission criticizing torture and unlawful imprisonment in East Timor. In July the State Department blocked a transfer of U.S. F-5 fighter planes from Jordan to Indonesia. Two months later Senator Russell Feingold introduced an amendment, unanimously adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that linked major arms sales to Indonesia with human rights improvements in East Timor. The Feingold Amendment never became law because the authorization bill it was attached to never made it to the Senate floor.

Since the 1991 Dili massacre, U.S. munitions manufacturers have profited from more than 250 military sales to Suharto & Co. This flow of weaponry was partially abated in 1994, when the pressure from ETAN and sympathetic legislators led the State Department to issue a ban on the sale of "small and light arms" — its first prohibition on weapons sales to Indonesia. This

was voted into law in July of 1994; unfortunately, in the same period the Senate voted down a ban on the use of U.S.-supplied lethal arms in East Timor.

This year bipartisan groups in both the Senate and House wrote letters to President Clinton urging support of a resolution to the UN Human Rights Commission that called for specific steps to increase respect for human rights in East Timor. On the floor of the House, Representative Jack Reed of Rhode Island planned to introduce an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill extending the current IMET ban for two years. Conveniently for Indonesia and its friends in Congress, the House "did not have time to take up the amendment." More than fifty other amendments to this bill were also shunted aside for the sake of expediency.

On June 27, Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY) introduced an amendment in the House to continue the Indonesian IMET ban through next year. In the discussion, Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) pointed out that "the repression is too severe for us to hold any hope that it can be tempered through education and training. IMET is designed to support democracy and military professionalism, and we cannot support what does not exist."

Apparently Subcommittee Chair Sonny Callahan, who this year replaced the more progressive-minded David Obey, did not entirely follow the logic of this argument. He explained that this new, improved version of the training program, called "expanded IMET," was "specifically designed to help improve human rights practices of the military," with candidates "carefully screened to make certain they have not been involved in past human rights abuses."

Though less of a media star than that other Republican representative named Sonny, Callahan is no less prone to forceful statements on the habits of his peers. In discussion the same week about providing monies for Kenya and Ethiopia, he complained about "members of Congress becoming pseudo-Secretaries of State, and traveling all over the world, and dictating policy to the administration... civics teaches us that the administration has the authority and responsibility for foreign policy, apart from appropriations." In the case of policy towards Indonesia, it would seem likely that there is more at work than a rigorous adherence to the lessons of civics, given that IPTN, Indonesia's leading aircraft company, is setting up manufacturing operations in Mobile, Alabama — the heart of Callahan's home district.

Callahan's spin on "expanded IMET" left Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA) unconvinced. Frank tried to attach a clause to the

bill stipulating that "none of the funds made available in this act may be used for assistance in Indonesia." Debate on this attachment was blocked by a last-minute rule change, leading Frank to say, "We see a continuation of the pattern here that when amendments are inconvenient they are simply prevented from being offered." The "expanded IMET" bill passed the House without the changes ETAN and their sympathizers in Congress had sought.

As this is being written, the debate on IMET funding is moving to the Senate. [Due to time pressure and the difficulty of success, no Senate action is expected in 1995.] Further uphill battles are expected from such long-time Indonesia boosters as California's Dianne Feinstein and Louisiana's Bennett Johnston, whom *The Nation* magazine, in its July 31/August 7 issue called "the Senate's staunchest advocate of the Suharto regime and of U.S. oil and mining interests." Freeport McMoran, the U.S.-based multinational currently pillaging the mineral-rich nation of West Papua (renamed "Irian Jaya" by its Indonesian rulers), helped Johnston understand the importance of friendly ties with Suharto through a reported \$8,000 PAC contribution. Possibly to demonstrate their sensitivity to the recent history of Southeast Asia, Freeport also retains the services of the original realpolitik profiteer, Henry Kissinger, who it has paid millions of dollars in consulting fees.

Other battles lie ahead, chief among them the possible sale of F-16 fighter planes to Indonesia. The U.S. is in debt to Pakistan for twenty-eight F-16s bought and paid for but never delivered; the sale of these combat jets was legally blocked during the Bush administration due to Pakistan's status as a "suspected nuclear proliferator." The Clinton White House is now looking for a buyer for the F-16s in order to refund Pakistan its money. The U.S. ambassador-designate to Jakarta, J. Stapleton Roy, has said that peddling these killing machines to the Suharto dictatorship "makes sense in terms of our broad relations with Indonesia." The oft-demonstrated belief of the Clinton Administration that trade should be given greater priority than human rights will make the battle against the sale of the F-16s difficult, but ETAN members are committed to making sure that the East Timorese people are not forgotten.

At a time when pundits across the media spectrum agonize over the horrific situation in the Balkans, a clear opportunity exists to halt another genocidal nightmare with no commitment of troops or military aid. We merely need to end our support for one of the world's true terror states. In an age of cutbacks to all of the most essential services of a civil society, the corporate politics of

subsidizing multinational investment is not an adequate justification for bankrolling repression. The people of East Timor simply ask that they be allowed to vote in a UN-sponsored referendum that gives them a choice between independence and a continuation of the current occupation. Surely the world powers that have turned a deaf ear to the cries of East Timor for so many years owe them this much.

Broader education of the American public about the on-going tragedy in Timor is essential. For further information about what you can do to end the repression of the East Timorese, contact ETAN.

FEINGOLD AND STATE DEPARTMENT VIEWS ON IMET AND EAST TIMOR

This was just before the final Senate passage of H.R. 1868, which appropriates all Foreign Aid for the next fiscal year. The House passed a different version of the bill, and a conference committee will shortly reconcile the two. The House version contains language limiting IMET to "Expanded IMET" only; the Senate contains no such restriction.

The following is unabridged from the Congressional Record, except for a few minor procedural items.

— Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US.

Congressional Record — Senate. September 21, 1995. Pages S14079-14081.

Indonesia's Deplorable Human Rights Record

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, as the Senate considers the foreign operations appropriations bill, I want to discuss two provisions which sanctioned Indonesia for its deplorable human rights record in East Timor, and which were eliminated in the chairman's bill. I want to make it clear that Indonesia has done nothing to improve its human rights record in the past year which would recommend any change in United States policy.

As my colleagues know, Indonesia has brutally occupied the Catholic population of East Timor since 1975. In that time, East Timor has been the focus of many international human rights efforts, not the least of which are those that have been spearheaded by my friend and colleague from Rhode Island, Senator Pell. To my disappointment, those causes have not been championed by any U.S. administration.

But in recent years the Indonesia military rule has become particularly cruel. Today, I want to dispel any myths among my colleagues that despite Indonesia's economic successes in the past few years, its human

rights record continues to be dismal, and is particularly deplorable in its activities in the last year in East Timor. Such instability and violations can only destabilize the regime that some business interests are all too quick to invest in.

Since the Indonesians invaded East Timor 20 years ago, over 200,000 East Timorese have died – about a third of the entire population. Indonesia's self-styled annexation of the territory has not been recognized by the United Nations, nor the United States, which acknowledges that 'no act of self-determination has ever taken place.' The military is practically omnipresent throughout the island, and according to diplomats stationed in Indonesia, 'its callousness in dealing with the local population' is shocking.

East Timor made international headlines in 1991 when the military massacred, by conservative estimates, at least 100 East Timorese who were attending a funeral. It was all videotaped before international cameras. Today, the National Human Rights Commission in Jakarta says it has evidence that the massacre was 'not a spontaneous reaction to a riotous mob, but rather a planned military operation designed to deal with a public expression of political dissent.' Today, 66 people remain unaccounted for, and the commander of the operation is Vice President of Indonesia.

Congress has acted twice since then. First, in 1992 we cut off IMET funding for Indonesian soldiers to distance our support for the Indonesian military that committed the atrocity at Dili. Last July, to signal further disappointment with the disintegrating situation, we codified administration policy on the linkage between the sale of small arms and human rights.

I have a letter from the administration, addressed to Senator Leahy and myself, which indicates that the administration will continue its ban on the sale or licensing of small and light weapons, and crowd control instruments, until there has been significant progress on Indonesia's human rights record. The letter also says the administration will offer only expanded-IMET – human rights training for the military – to the Indonesians. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I regard this as a commitment from the administration that current policy will remain in place, whether we legislate it or not. I expect the administration to continue to consult with Congress on Indonesia. I am particularly concerned that we agree upon what 'significant progress' means. Our legislation has included six conditions, including significant

troop withdrawals from East Timor and Indonesian participation in the U.N. Secretary General's peace talks. Indonesia must understand that there is an international price to pay for their continuing occupation.

Since last July, when Congress passed this amendment, there have been several developments in East Timor – most of them quite discouraging, some quite violent, and some hopeful.

The tension in East Timor has been intensifying for the past year – influenced in part by the ongoing power struggles in Jakarta, the increased resentment of the presence of Indonesian military officers and vigilante groups, and the immigrant settlers brought in by Indonesia to consolidate their occupation of the island.

The Indonesians have had some bizarre responses. For instance, last summer, they went to great lengths to pressure their ASEAN partners to prevent private conferences on East Timor to take place in the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand.

But the violence has been on the increase as well – particularly since the APEC summit in November. During the summit protesters were detained and, by most accounts, tortured. Reports of deaths of protesters at the hands of Indonesian soldiers have been constant all year.

On January 12, 1995, there is documented evidence that the military tortured and killed six civilians in Liquiça in a horrendous incident. Even the Government-appointed National Commission on Human Rights acknowledged that 'a process of intimidation and torture by security officials' occurred and resulted in 'unlawful shootings by the military.' It found that 'there was intimidation and torture by the security officers in charge at the time to extract confessions.'

Recently, there has also been an outbreak of gang violence, of hooded vigilantes terrorizing, abducting, assaulting, intimidating, and harassing East Timorese. These gangs – commonly known as Ninjas – have been described by residents and human rights monitors as military-related death squad-type bands. Travelers describe walking on the tropical island on a sunny Sunday afternoon, and being passed by armed youths, covered in ski masks.

Notably, the Ninjas have not been reigned in by the same military that has so effectively suppressed the East Timorese. For that reason, there is reason to believe that they are tolerated by the military. There is even some evidence that they were created by the military to do what uniformed soldiers cannot because of international attention.

Mr. President, there must be an investigation into the operations of these groups,

and why they are permitted to continue functioning in East Timor.

Other forms of torture by the military are still commonplace in East Timor as well. In January 1994, the U.N. Human Rights Commissioner's Special Rapporteur on Torture reported that the most common forms of torture are beating on the head with wood, iron bars, bottles, and electric cables; kicking with heavy boots; electric shocks – mostly with cattle prods; slashing with razor blades and knives; death threats and faked executions; hanging people upside down by their feet; isolation; sleep deprivation; and the rape of East Timorese women.

The U.N. Special Rapporteur for Torture reported last year that there were 'patterns of dealing violently with political dissent and [a] virtual impunity enjoyed by members of the security forces responsible for human rights violations.'

The U.N. Human Rights Commission this year once again condemned Indonesian abuses in East Timor. It also forced Indonesia to invite the U.N. Human Rights Commissioner to visit East Timor. This was the first time that happened since 1975.

The United States, in my view, has not lived up to its leadership responsibilities on this issue. While administration rhetoric – though measured – sounds supportive of human rights protections, the policy has not been forceful enough, given the extreme extent of the brutality that I described. For example, the United States defers to the U.N. peace process by which the Indonesians and Portuguese are supposed to work with the East Timorese, yet the United States has not applied sufficient – if any – pressure to get the Indonesians to participate seriously in the talks. The administration says it is concerned about the military troop presence in East Timor, yet it has never devised a plan of action to work with the Indonesians, or requested a plan for Indonesian troop withdrawal from the island. In fact, at most, the administration seems to investigate the level of troop presence in East Timor only when a Member of Congress asks whether the promised reductions ever took place.

I am also perplexed why the United States is even trying to placate Indonesia. The administration permits Indonesia to buy IMET. However, for years they have been lobbying to get the taxpayer to subsidize the Indonesian military training. And while there is a small arms ban in place to prevent United States weaponry for being used in human rights violations, the administration is now trying to sell F-16's to the Indonesian military.

Mr. President, given Indonesia's defiant human rights policies, I see no reason to weaken United States policy toward it. In

fact, the record of the past 2 years only indicates continued repression, continued deterioration, and increased violence against the East Timorese.

I appreciate the administration's commitment to continue its current policy, and only hope that it will redouble its efforts on behalf of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Exhibit 1

U.S. Department of State,
Washington, DC
September 21, 1995

Dear Senator Feingold:

I am writing about your continuing concern about the human rights situation in Indonesia, including in East Timor, and your interest in the Administration's policy towards that country, specifically our current arms sales policy and our proposed International Military Education and Training (IMET) program.

We too are concerned about the human rights situation in Indonesia, including in East Timor, and we raise our concerns with the Indonesian government regularly. Our current arms sales policy, codified in law last summer and included in S. 908, prohibits the sale or licensing for export of small or light arms and crowd control items until the Secretary has determined that there has been significant progress on human rights in Indonesia, including in East Timor. Current law also forbids funding of International Military Education and Training (IMET) for Indonesia. As you are aware, the Administration has proposed that this ban be rescinded, and there is language in the House authorization and appropriations bills that would permit funding for Expanded IMET (E-IMET) courses.

We understand that you or other Senators may be considering amendments to the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill that would further restrict the types of defense items that can be sold or licensed for export to Indonesia. We also have heard that some Senators who oppose any IMET funding for Indonesia are considering working to have the complete ban on such funding retained.

You have proposed that you and others in the Senate will refrain from attaching language to the Senate's version of the bill restricting arms sales to Indonesia and banning IMET funding if the Administration will agree to abide by our current arms sales policy and accept only funding for E-IMET in FY 1996.

We will abide by our current arms sales policy and, though we would have preferred restoration of full IMET, will fund only

Expanded-IMET during the coming fiscal year.

I hope this information will be useful to you. Please do not hesitate to contact us if we may be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Wendy R. Sherman,
Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass? The legislative clerk called the roll. (Rollcall Vote No. 458 Leg.)

YEAS – 91 (All Senators except those listed below)

NAYS – 9 (Bingaman, Byrd, Craig, Faircloth, Helms, Hollings, Kempthorne, Nunn, Smith)

[A conference committee was appointed to meet with the House to reconcile the two versions of the bill: Senators McConnell, Specter, Mack, Gramm, Jeffords, Gregg, Shelby, Hatfield, Leahy, Inouye, Lautenberg, Harkin, Mikulski, Murray, and Byrd.]

JIMMY CARTER TO LOOK INTO TIMOR ISSUE

Diario de Noticias, 1 October 1995. By Carlos Guerreiro, Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon – Jimmy Carter's stay in the Algarve to meet with President Mobutu, was a chance for Durão Barroso to raise with him the issue of Timor. Carter promised to look into it, even though he was more concerned with Africa.

Former President of the US, Jimmy Carter, promised the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister, Durão Barroso, to pay more attention to the question of East Timor.

He made the promise during a quick meeting at Faro Airport, after Bill Clinton's envoy had been in the Algarve to discuss matters relating to southern Africa with Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Durão Barroso requested Carter's "personal intervention on the matter," and handed him a memorandum outlining Portugal's position on the question of Timor.

By so doing, Durão Barroso hopes to have won over an important ally, in terms of public opinion and the US presidential apparatus, for the Timorese cause.

Jimmy Carter is said to have promised to study the document, especially since (according to his own admission to Durão Barroso) he is not well familiarised with the issue.

INDONESIA AND THE U.S.: 30 YEARS OF LIVING DANGEROUSLY

by Matthew Jardine

A slightly different version of this appeared in the San Francisco Examiner Oct. 10, 1995

Thirty years ago, one of the worst mass murders of the twentieth century began in Indonesia. President Suharto—the man most responsible for the carnage—remains in power to this day. Nevertheless, the Clinton Administration is attempting to bolster Indonesia's repressive military through the sale of U.S. F-16 fighter jets. Basic decency demands that the administration abandon this reprehensible course.

Today the world's fourth most populous country, Indonesia remains largely unknown to most Americans. U.S. foreign-policy makers and companies, however, have long appreciated that nation's economic resources and strategic value.

What Richard Nixon called "by far the greatest prize in the South-East Asian area" is today one of the Clinton administration's ten "Big Emerging Markets."

Post World War II Indonesia under Sukarno was far too nationalistic and non-aligned for Washington. On September 30, 1965, General Suharto assumed control of the Army, and with U.S. assistance, launched a killing spree over several months, in response to an alleged coup by the three million member communist party of Indonesia.

The exact scale of the killings is unknown. Amnesty International estimated "many more than one million" killed. The head of the Indonesia state security system approximated the toll at half a million, with another 750,000 jailed or sent to concentration camps.

General Suharto's brutal seizure of power was hailed by Time magazine as "The West's best news for years in Asia." The U.S. Navy League's official publication gushed over Indonesia's new role in South-east Asia as "that strategic area's unaggressive, but stern, monitor."

Unaggressive? On December 7, 1975, Suharto's Indonesia invaded the newly-independent country of East Timor—with U.S. approval and weaponry.

Since that time, well over 200,000 East Timorese—about one-third of the pre-invasion population—have died as a result of Indonesia's invasion and occupation of the former Portuguese colony.

Despite ten U.N. resolutions condemning the invasion and calling for Jakarta's immediate withdrawal, the United States has never seriously contested Indonesia's an-

nexation of East Timor. Indeed, successive U.S. administrations have provided Jakarta with hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic assistance. Since the invasion, over 2,600 Indonesian military officers have received military training in the U.S. under the International Military Education and Training program.

At the same time, East Timor has become the focal point of criticism of the Suharto regime. During the presidential campaign, Bill Clinton called U.S. policy toward East Timor "unconscionable." And, indeed, his Administration has taken some noteworthy steps to challenge traditional U.S. complicity.

In mid-1993, for example, Clinton's State Department blocked a proposed sale by the Jordanian government of four U.S.-made F-5E fighter jets to Jakarta. In early 1994, the State Department banned small arms sales to Indonesia and recently added helicopter-mounted weaponry to the ban.

But Jakarta's economic and strategic importance has exposed the limits of Clinton's concern for human rights and international law. His Administration has provided almost \$300 million in economic assistance to Indonesia over the last three years. During that period, the United States has also sold and licensed the sales of tens of millions of dollars in weaponry to Indonesia.

And now the Administration is on the verge of reappropriating the military education and training funds to Indonesia, which was cut off in 1992 in response to public outrage to ongoing atrocities in East Timor. Most notably, the Administration is trying to unload 17 F-16 fighter jets to Indonesia.

Recently Secretary of State Warren Christopher urged Jakarta to buy the aging planes. Jakarta is still undecided, but Admiral William Owens—vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—expressed optimism about the sale during a recent visit to Jakarta.

Thirty years after Suharto's bloody power grab, ongoing systematic human rights violations in Indonesia proper and continuing brutality in occupied East Timor demonstrate the tragic human costs of strengthening the Indonesian military.

It is time to end U.S. complicity in these crimes.

Matthew Jardine is a writer and researcher on human rights and the author of East Timor: Genocide in Paradise, Odonian Press, 1995. He wrote this commentary for the Progressive Media Project in Madison, Wisconsin.

COMING NY EVENTS ON EAST TIMOR

PROTEST SUHARTO IN NEW YORK

Wednesday, October 25. 6-8 pm
Grand Hyatt Hotel, 42nd St. between Park & Lexington, near Grand Central Station.

Indonesian President-General Suharto is the speaker at the Asia Society's annual dinner, where prices start at \$1200 a plate. He addresses the UN on Monday, and meets Clinton later in the week, but this is where we will show him that Americans haven't forgotten his genocide of 200,000 East Timorese people.

Other protests are planned when Suharto goes to Washington later in the week. Contact DC ETAN at sklevison@igc.apc.org for details.

REMEMBER THE VICTIMS

Thursday, November 9. 4:00 pm United Nations Chapel, 777 UN Plaza (First Ave. & 44 St.), NYC.

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers shot down hundreds of peaceful demonstrators at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor. Join an interfaith service to memorialize all those killed in East Timor and to pray for an end to the 20-year nightmare. Organized by East Timor Religious Outreach.

East Timor Action Network/New York Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215. (718)788-6071 fbp@igc.apc.org or cscheiner@igc.apc.org

NY PROTEST FOR EAST TIMOR

ACTIVISTS TO PROTEST INDONESIA'S OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR

ETAN/New York media release, Oct. 22

Supporters of East Timor will picket Indonesia's President Suharto at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Manhattan on Wednesday, October 25, beginning at 6 pm.

The protest, sponsored by the East Timor Action Network (ETAN) will call for an end to the 20 year military occupation of East Timor and a UN-supervised referendum on self-determination.

President Suharto is scheduled to be the featured speaker at an Asia Society dinner at the hotel, which is located on 42nd St. between Park & Lexington, near Grand Central Station.

"As the perpetrator of one of the worst genocides of the post-World War II era, President Suharto should be shunned not feted," said John M. Miller, coordinator of

the New York area chapter of the East Timor Action Network (ETAN). "Twenty years of killing and torture are enough. It is long past time for the East Timorese to decide their own fate."

December 7 will mark the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. An invasion ordered by President Suharto. The military assault came after a year of covert destabilization by Indonesia. In one of the worst cases of genocide since World War II, Indonesia has killed over 200,000 people – one-third of the population – since it invaded East Timor. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

A similar release was issued about the ETAN Washington protest:

Supporters of East Timor will picket Indonesia's President Suharto on Thursday, October 26 from 6:30-8 pm as he speaks at a fundraising dinner at the Capitol Hilton (16th & K Street, NW) in Washington, DC.

President Suharto is scheduled to be the featured speaker at a corporate-sponsored fund-raiser for CARE.

"President Suharto contradicts everything CARE says it stands for. His invasion of East Timor brought starvation, death and torture to thousands in East Timor," said Sally Levison, coordinator of DC ETAN.

Suharto is scheduled to meet with President Clinton on Friday.

Over 50 people (not counting a few dozen Indonesian security agents) picketed Suharto in New York. In Washington, a smaller group was able to make their "Free East Timor" chants heard by the Indonesian president.

NAIRN: FREE EAST TIMOR

By Allan Nairn. New York Times, October 26, 1995. Op-ed

When candidate Bill Clinton was asked about East Timor, he said, "We have ignored it so far in ways that I think are unconscionable." But as President, he has continued Washington's 20-year support of Indonesia's occupation of neighboring East Timor.

When President Clinton meets Friday with President Suharto, the Indonesian dictator, he should tell him that America can no longer go along with the repression, which even the pro-Suharto State Department admits is worsening. East Timor is in turmoil, with riots, mass arrests and the secret police going from door to door.

The Clinton Administration is making matters worse by its willingness to sell General Suharto 20 F-16's and approve \$60 million in weapons sales. If Mr. Clinton were serious about promoting democracy,

he would call off the deals and instead embrace the solution offered by East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo. In 1989, risking his life, he asked the United Nations to hold a referendum on East Timor's future political status. The army cut off his phone and mail and threatened him with death.

About a third of the populace has been killed in massacres and by enforced starvation. Ignoring the evidence of mass murder, Washington maintains that terrorism is not Jakarta's policy. That position willfully ignores what even the Indonesian generals say. After the massacre in Dili, the capital, in 1991, General Try Sutrisno – whom President Suharto later promoted to Vice President – said of the Timorese who opposed the occupation: "These ill-bred people have to be shot... and we will shoot them." Gen. Herman Mantiri said the massacre, which involved American M-16 rifles, was "quite proper" because the Timorese "were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the Government."

President Clinton should urge President Suharto to let the Timorese conduct a free referendum and should permit the United Nations to organize it in accordance with two Security Council resolutions that call for an Indonesian withdrawal.

American companies profit from Indonesia's repressed labor – the women who make Nike and Reebok sneakers there earn about \$2 per day – and some say they do not want Washington to rock the boat. But even by Washington's most cynical standards, corporate lobbyists would be hard-pressed to explain why democracy in East Timor is intolerable.

The occupation violates not only international law but also a 1958 defense treaty under which Indonesia agreed not to use American arms for aggression. In 1975, America chose to overlook a finding making this point from the State Department's legal office when it gave President Suharto the green light after he asked permission to invade Timor.

Right after his troops parachuted ashore, Washington doubled military aid to his regime and ran interference at the United Nations to prevent enforcement of Security Council resolutions. If President Clinton switched to democracy's side, President Suharto would quickly find that it was no longer feasible to continue the occupation.

Allan Nairn, a journalist, witnessed the massacre in 1991 in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

ACTION ALERT: CALL CONGRESS ON IMET

From the East Timor Action Network, October 11, 1995

Congressional Conference Committee meets momentarily

Urge your legislators to oppose military training aid for Indonesia

The House and Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittees will meet within a week to reconcile differences between the Foreign Aid Appropriations bills passed by both houses. One of the differences concerns U.S.-supplied International Military Education and Training (IMET) for the Indonesian army.

Please contact members of the conference committee (below) immediately to urge them to support the House version of this part of the bill, which would bar war training aid for Indonesia and limit IMET to "expanded" subjects: human rights, civilian control of the military, etc. If the Senate prevails, Indonesian soldiers will get free training in weapons and strategy – training which has been barred by Congress since 1992 in protest of human rights violations by the Indonesian military in East Timor.

Last Spring, ETAN opposed all IMET (expanded and traditional) for Indonesia. We argued that this was the wrong signal to send to Jakarta – rewarding their worsening human rights record by reinstating training taken away three years ago. Although we did not have enough Congressional support to defund Indonesian IMET, the House agreed to bar war training, limiting IMET to "expanded" issues. Given the realities of Washington in 1995, this was the best compromise we could get – but now we need to fight for even that. However, East Timor transcends ideological and party lines, and there are supporters on the conference committee across the spectrum.

Indonesian dictator Suharto, who bears responsibility for two decades of genocide in East Timor and many other atrocities will be hosted President Clinton at the White House on October 24. The IMET discussion is well-timed – a good opportunity to send a strong signal directly to Suharto. Let's use it!

CONGRESSIONAL LETTER ON IMET

This letter was addressed to members of the House and Senate who are participating in a conference committee to reconcile differing version of the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill. Both bills funded renewed IMET military training aid, although the House bill had restrictions on the type of training.

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
October 23, 1995

Dear Conferee:

We are writing to urge you to adapt the House language limiting IMET in Indonesia.

The House version of the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill limits IMET in Indonesia to human rights training. The limiting of IMET to Indonesia is crucial to the people of East Timor. These human beings are being brutally abused and repressed. The most effective step the Congress can take to oppose Indonesia's flagrant violations of human rights is to limit the amount of IMET Indonesia receives. The House agreed to bar war training, limiting IMET. We urge you to adopt this policy.

A restriction on Indonesian participation in IMET has been in place for the past 3 years due to Indonesia's human rights record in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor which Indonesia invaded in 1975. The Portuguese Caucus and other concerned Members of Congress are disturbed by the continuing abuse. The United States must demonstrate its commitment to human rights by only granting limited IMET to Indonesia.

The human rights abuses in East Timor must end. Adopting Senate language which permits free training in weapons and strategy would be detrimental to the human rights of the East Timorese. Indonesia should be barred from war training. This is the least the United States can do to protest the deep corruption, extreme violence, and severe repression Indonesia is inflicting on fellow human beings. IMET is a powerful and effective tool. But it must be used in the right way, in the right place.

Before us today is an instance where, by barring war training, IMET can have the greatest impact. What little progress we have made with human rights in East Timor, can be attributed to the influence of international pressure.

As a country, we need to make as much effort as possible to protect human rights. The United States has a responsibility as a world leader to forcefully say that such violations of human rights will not be tolerated. We should demonstrate our strong opposition to the infliction of harm on the suffering people of East Timor by barring war training and limiting INLET in Indonesia.

Sincerely,

Patrick J. Kennedy, Richard W Pombo, Pete Stark, Jack Reed, Lloyd Doggett, John W Olver, Joseph P. Kennedy II, Barney Frank, Lane Evans, Sam Farr, Jerrold Nadler, Tony P. Hall, Lucille Roybal-Allard, Nita M. Lowey, Ron Wyden, Melvin L.

Watt, Peter A. DeFazio, Christopher H. Smith, Martin T. Meehan, Sander M. Levin, John J. Moakley

CONGRESS LIMITS IMET FOR INDONESIA

Report from ETAN/US, Oct. 30

Last Tuesday, a House-Senate Conference committee met to reconcile the differences between the versions of the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill (H.R. 1868) which had been passed by both Houses of the US Congress.

The Conference adopted the more restrictive position on military aid to Indonesia, limiting IMET (International Military Education and Training) to non-military subjects (called "Expanded IMET"). In addition, the conference report suggests that political and non-governmental civilians be offered the training.

Although this is a partial resumption of training aid which has been barred by Congress since 1992 (after the Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor), Congress continues to make it clear that it is not happy with the human rights conduct of Indonesia's military. The Conference report was the best possible outcome of this stage of the process; the Senate had already approved unrestricted IMET aid.

Consistency is not a characteristic of this policy. The Conferees banned all IMET for Guatemala — even though the allegation that pro-Guatemala human rights groups had agreed with Expanded IMET was used to suggest that East Timor supporters in the House should accept the same thing. In addition, they allowed unrestricted IMET for Pakistan — at the same time that Pakistan is barred from buying the F-16 fighter jets that the US is trying to sell to Indonesia.

The full text of the relevant part of the Conference Report follows, from the Congressional Record of Oct. 26, 1995. Both Houses will pass the Conference report shortly, and it is expected to be signed by President Clinton to become law within a few weeks.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1868 (House of Representatives — October 26, 1995). Excerpt: International Military Education And Training

Amendment No. 62: Inserts Senate language adding Guatemala as a nation prohibited from receiving IMET funding. This matter is also addressed in amendments no. 63 and 176.

Amendment No. 63: Deletes language proposed by the House permitting expanded IMET training only for Guatemala and retains House language permitting expanded IMET training only for Indonesia. The managers have agreed to permit 'ex-

panded' IMET assistance for Indonesia because they believe that expanded IMET could address some of the human rights concerns associated with the Indonesian military. The conferees expect the IMET courses to focus on human rights, military justice, and civilian management and control of the armed forces, and the courses should include members of the Indonesian legislature and representatives from nongovernmental organizations.

CONGRESSIONAL LETTERS TO CLINTON

Full text of letters from members of each House of Congress sent to Clinton prior to his meeting with Suharto on October 27.

— Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510
October 24, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing out of concern about the continuing pattern of severe human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, a predominately Catholic island which has been occupied by Indonesia since 1975.

We have appreciated your statements on human rights in East Timor in the past, particularly during your meeting with President Suharto in Jakarta last November. We hope you will take the opportunity to raise these concerns and others when President Suharto arrives in Washington this week.

The tension in East Timor has been intensifying in the past year, influenced in part by the ongoing power struggles in Jakarta; the increased resentment of the presence of Indonesian military officers and vigilante group; and the more than 100,000 Indonesian settlers the government has brought in to consolidate its occupation of the island.

Violence in the territory has been on the increase as well, especially since the APEC Summit in Jakarta last November. As you know, during the Summit protestors were detained and, by most accounts, tortured at the hands of Indonesian soldiers. Other reports of deaths of protestors at the hands of the Indonesian soldiers have continued all year. Recently, there has also been an outbreak of gang violence in East Timor: hooded vigilantes — described by residents and human rights monitors as military-related bands — have been seen terrorizing,

abducting, assaulting, intimidating, and harassing East Timorese civilians.

These recent developments underscore the need to accelerate the United Nations-sponsored dialogue on East Timor, with genuine East Timorese participation. We believe that the U.S. should strongly support such diplomacy as a vehicle to advance the numerous previous United Nations resolutions on East Timor. The U.N. dialogue should be aimed at a demilitarization of the territory, and work toward a just solution that respects the rights of all parties to the conflict.

President Suharto comes to Washington on the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's declaration of independence from Dutch colonialism, against which he and many others fought bravely. On this historic occasion, we take pride in the fact that actions taken by the United States Senate in the late 1940's probably hastened Indonesia's independence from the Netherlands. It certainly would seem appropriate that the U.S. take the same principled stance in opposition to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

We recognize and appreciate the importance of a strong and positive U.S.-Indonesian relationship. For that reason, we believe it is in the interest of that bilateral relationship to work toward a genuine resolution of the East Timor problem. Thus, it is in the spirit of the long U.S.-Indonesian friendship and historical links that we offer these proposals, and urge you to raise these concerns in your meeting with President Suharto.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Russ Feingold, Connie Mack, Patrick J. Leahy, Barbara Boxer, Frank R. Lautenberg, Craig Thomas, Paul Simon, Edward M. Kennedy, Frank H. Murkowski, Bill Bradley, Christopher Dodd, Tom Harkin, Paul Wellstone, Herb Kohl, Mark Hatfield, Claiborne Pell, Joe Biden, John H. Chafee, Carol Moseley-Braun, Byron Dorgan, Paul Sarbanes, Patty Murray, Alfonse D'Amato, William Roth, John Kerry, Dianne Feinstein, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Bob Graham.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
October 20, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing out of concern about the continuing pattern of severe human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of

East Timor, which has been occupied by Indonesia since 1975.

We have appreciated your Statements on human rights in East Timor in the past, particularly at the meeting of Asian Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) last November. We hope you will take the opportunity to raise these concerns and others when President Suharto arrives in Washington this week.

Tension and violence in East Timor has been on the rise in the past year, especially since the APEC summit in Jakarta last November. As you know, during the Summit protestors were reportedly detained and tortured by Indonesian soldiers, and throughout the year there have been additional reports of protestors dying at the hands of Indonesian soldiers.

These recent developments underscore the need to accelerate the United Nations-sponsored dialogue on East Timor with genuine East Timorese participation. We believe that the U.S. should strongly support such diplomatic actions as a vehicle to advance previous United Nations resolutions on East Timor. The dialogue should be aimed at a demilitarization of the territory, and work toward a just solution that respects the rights of all parties to the conflict.

President Suharto comes to Washington for the 50th United Nations General Assembly, but this year also marks the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's declaration of independence from Dutch colonialism against which he and many others fought bravely. As actions taken by the United States Congress in the late 1940's hastened Indonesia's independence from the Netherlands, so too can we take a stand now against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

We recognize and appreciate the importance of a strong and positive U.S.-Indonesian relationship. Indeed it is in the spirit of this relationship that we urge you to raise these concerns in your meeting with President Suharto.

Sincerely,

Nita M. Lowey, John Edward Porter, Tom Lantos, Christopher H. Smith, Jack Reed, Dick Zimmer, Howard L. Berman, Patrick J. Kennedy, Barney Frank, Nancy Pelosi, Carrie P. Meek, Jerrold Nadler, Martin T. Meehan, Robert E. Andrews, Henry A. Waxman, Victor O. Frazier, Eliot L. Engel, Robert A. Underwood, Charles E. Schumer, Patricia Schroeder, Lane Evans, Peter A. DeFazio, George E. Brown, Jr., Sherrod Brown, John W. Olver, Fortney Pete Stark, David Minge, William O. Lipinski, Rosa L. DeLauro, Robert K. Dornan, Major R. Owens, Cynthia A. McKinney, William J. Coyne, Tony P. Hall, Ronald V.

Dellums, Stephen Horn, Benjamin A. Gilman.

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
October 16, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

In your discussions with President Soeharto later this month, we urge you to emphasize U.S. concerns about the protection of fundamental, internationally-recognized human rights in Indonesia and to raise particular concern about the critical situation in East Timor and Irian Jaya.

We welcomed your giving attention to human rights concerns during your state visit and meeting with President Soeharto in Jakarta last November, but since then, there has been a serious escalation of abuses. For example, in East Timor, in the wake of riots in early September, a number of East Timorese were detained. There have been reports of severe beatings and torture. Meanwhile, arbitrary detention and ill-treatment of detainees continue routinely. On January 12, 1995, six civilians in Liquica were summarily executed by the Indonesian military. Two officers were later put on trial, but there has yet to be a full accounting of the incident, and the soldiers were punished not for the killings but for violating an order from a superior.

Freedom of expression is under attack by the Indonesian government. Over the past year, seminars held by Indonesian nongovernmental organizations have been broken up by the police, gag orders issued against controversial speakers, and in March 1995 key members of an association of journalists were arrested. On September 1, 1995, Achmad Taufik, secretary-general of the Alliance of Independent Journalists, and Eko Maryadi, a member of the group, were sentenced to two years and eight months each in prison for "spreading hatred against the government." On September 11, 1995, another journalist, Tri Agus Susanto, was jailed for two years for "insulting the president" by publishing a critical newsletter.

Despite commitments made to the U.S. Trade Representative just prior to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum meetings in Jakarta last year, there has been no substantial progress in improving labor rights. The government refuses to allow freedom of association by legally recognizing the only independent trade union (SBSI or the Prosperous Workers Union of Indonesia.) Though the SBSI's leader, Mochtar

Pakpahan, was released from prison in May 1995 and the Supreme Court has overturned his conviction, SBSI members are harassed, interrogated and detained by the police and military. The Indonesian military regularly intervenes in peaceful disputes with impunity.

In Irian Jaya, we are deeply concerned about the highly credible report by the local Catholic bishop as well as the findings of the official Indonesian Human Rights Commission, documenting serious allegations of torture, disappearances and the killing of sixteen indigenous people by the Indonesian security forces between October 1994 and June 1995.

We urge you to raise these concerns with President Soeharto and to encourage his government to take specific steps to improve human rights and worker rights in Indonesia by:

- allowing regular, unhindered access to East Timor by independent human rights groups and reducing substantially the levels of troops stationed in East Timor, with international verification;
- establishing a Military Honor Council to investigate the alleged abuses by the military in Irian Jaya and allowing the Indonesian Human Rights Commission to establish an ongoing presence in the region to prevent future atrocities;
- repealing the "spreading hatred" clause in the law and releasing unconditionally journalists and others detained for exercising their rights to freedom of expression; and
- allowing freedom of association by Indonesian workers and ending harassment and intervention by the military in peaceful labor disputes.

We appreciate your attention to these concerns and look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Jack Reed, Doug Bereuter, Howard L. Berman, Christopher H. Smith, Lane Evans, Richard A. Gephardt, Victor O. Frazier, Constance A. Morella, Esteban Edward Torres, Eliot L. Engel, Nancy Pelosi, Henry A. Waxman, Barney Frank, Nita M. Lowey, Lucille Roybal-Allard, Martin T. Meehan, Peter A. DeFazio, John Edward Porter, David Minge, Patrick J. Kennedy, David E. Bonior, Ken Calvert, Christopher Shays, Tony P. Hall, Gary L. Ackerman, Neil Abercrombie, Donald M. Payne, Patricia Schroeder.

CLINTON, SUHARTO MAY AVOID RIGHTS ISSUES

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26 (UPI) — The White House said Thursday it was unclear whether President Clinton, during his

scheduled meeting Friday with Indonesian President Suharto, will even seek a discussion of human rights issues.

White House press secretary Mike McCurry said Clinton instead planned to concentrate on economic issues involving Indonesia and next month's summit in Japan of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

Suharto, who took power in 1965 in a military coup, heads a government regarded as one of the world's most authoritarian regimes. Several hundred thousand people have died in violence related to the 1965 takeover and to the government's subsequent armed annexation of the territory of East Timor.

Freedom House, a non-profit New York-based organization that monitors political rights and civil liberties worldwide, put Indonesia at the bottom of its 1994-95 list of countries ranked by their tolerance of free expression.

The Freedom House report said the human rights situation in Indonesia deteriorated in particular last year when "the government sought to stifle dissent" in advance of last November's APEC summit in Bogor, Indonesia.

In one of the most recent such cases, a Jakarta court announced Wednesday that an outspoken former Indonesian legislator will face trial next month on charges of insulting Suharto during a speech he made last April in Germany.

Sources in Indonesia said the legislator, Sri Bintang Pamungkas, also would be charged with endangering the president's life, which could carry the death penalty.

But despite such criticisms, Suharto, who is due to visit Clinton at the White House on Friday, has also been a firm and consistent U.S. ally in both economic and military matters.

Clinton, who attended last year's APEC summit in Indonesia and was preparing to join Suharto at next month's APEC summit in Japan, has argued that economic cooperation is the best way to win democratic change in such capitals as Jakarta and Beijing.

Administration supporters cite such regional examples as South Korea and Taiwan, both formerly autocratic nations that moved toward democratic rule as their economies prospered.

McCurry, asked Thursday why Clinton treats Suharto differently than he treats Cuban President Fidel Castro, and whether Clinton will urge Suharto to hold a referendum allowing self-determination in East Timor, said he did not know whether the two presidents would even discuss human rights matters Friday.

McCurry instead insisted the administration has "consistently in our dialogue with the government of Indonesia...very directly raised concerns about East Timor, we've raised our concerns about human rights.

"And we'll check and see whether that is on their subject for tomorrow," McCurry said.

PRESIDENT CLINTON RAISED EAST TIMOR WITH INDONESIAN PRESIDENT SUHARTO

WASHINGTON (Reuter Oct. 27) — President Clinton Friday met Indonesian President Suharto and raised continuing U.S. concerns about the human rights situation in Indonesia, particularly East Timor, the White House said.

Indonesia has occupied East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, since 1975 and has several military battalions there. A small guerrilla force remains in the hills, making occasional attacks on Indonesian forces.

There were street riots in East Timor last week followed by a military crackdown.

A group of 28 U.S. senators, led by Wisconsin Democrat Russ Feingold, urged Clinton Wednesday to discuss the status of East Timor with Suharto.

White House spokesman Mike McCurry, in the last sentence of a four-paragraph statement outlining what had happened in the meeting, said: "President Clinton also raised continuing American concerns about the human rights situation in Indonesia, particularly East Timor."

McCurry said an important focus of the meeting was a review of plans for next month's summit of Asia-Pacific leaders in Japan.

Clinton and Suharto met for about an hour on Friday. Suharto was in Washington on a private visit including a dinner in his honor by CARE, an international relief group.

Leaders making up the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group, which includes the United States, hold their annual summit in November in Osaka, Japan.

"The two men exchanged views on how to make the Osaka leaders' meeting successful," McCurry said. He said Clinton welcomed Suharto's efforts to move APEC toward the goals of free trade and investment called for in the "Bogor Declaration" of 1994.

The two leaders also discussed bilateral relations, including a broad range of economic, trade and security issues, McCurry said.

CLINTON, SUHARTO TALK HUMAN RIGHTS

By Kenneth R. Bazinet

Washington, Oct. 27 (UPI) — President Clinton said he had a "good talk" Friday with Indonesian President Suharto during a White House meeting that included a discussion of the South Pacific island nation's human rights record and next month's Asia-Pacific Economic Conference in Japan.

"Good talk," Clinton told reporters as he escorted Suharto from the hour-long meeting in the West Wing of the White House. "We were planning for the APEC meeting."

However, the president did not comment on the most pressing issue concerning Indonesia — its human rights record, especially in East Timor. The White House issued a statement saying only that Clinton "raised continuing American concerns about the human rights situation, particularly in East Timor, and White House spokesman Mike McCurry said it was now up to the Indonesian government to respond to Clinton's comments.

"The president did raise the issue of East Timor, continuing to reflect our concern. I'll leave it up to the Indonesian government to see if they wish to offer any response," McCurry said.

The Indonesian leader did not speak to reporters as he emerged from the meeting.

Suharto, who took power in 1965 in a military coup, heads a government that several international advocacy groups have deemed to be a major violator of human rights.

Several hundred thousand people have died in violence related to the 1965 coup and the government's 1975 armed annexation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony. Portugal left the territory with the intention of giving the East Timorese people self-rule, but before that could happen, Indonesia moved in its well-armed military.

Freedom House, a non-profit New York-based organization that monitors political rights and civil liberties worldwide, put Indonesia at the bottom of its 1994-95 list of countries ranked by their tolerance of free expression.

Clinton met Suharto at the first APEC meeting held two years ago on Blake Island, Washington, and the Indonesian leader hosted last year's conference in Bogor. Indonesia was criticized during last year's meeting for widespread human rights violations during a pre-APEC crackdown on known opponents of Suharto's government.

The United States also has been attacked for not taking action against Indonesia's human rights violations, with critics saying the superpower has turned a blind eye to

protect its relationship with the strategically located nation.

"On the subject of APEC, as the immediate past host and the host prior to that, President Clinton and President Suharto have a common interest in ensuring that the forthcoming meeting of the APEC leaders in Japan is successful," McCurry said.

"And they did review in substantial detail the APEC agenda (and) offered to work together as we seek to make the APEC meeting a success. In our separate ways we will be pursuing, in advance of that meeting, ways in which we can follow through on the action program that APEC adapted at its meeting last year in Jakarta," McCurry added.

Meanwhile, White House officials would not confirm nor deny whether Clinton and Suharto discussed the proposed sale of 38 U.S. F-16 fighter to Indonesia. The jets were originally sold to Pakistan, but the deal was held up in 1990 under U.S. laws collectively known as the Pressler Amendment.

Earlier this year, Congress approved an amendment that allows the United States to help Pakistan find a buyer for the jets. Indonesia was among the countries who were offered the jets.

Pakistan paid \$658 million to Lockheed for the planes, but the United States had no control over the money and could not have it returned.

The 38 F-16s, complete with Pakistani markings painted on the tail sections, remain in storage at Davis Monthan Air Force Base in Tucson, Arizona. Pakistan is being charged for the storage of the planes.

INDONESIA WOOS AMERICAN BUSINESS

[Here are the announcements of two typical recent conferences in the U.S.]

Indonesian Student Association (ISA) and Pacific Affairs Study Society (PASS) of The George Washington University have teamed up to organize a conference on "US-Indonesia relations: Toward the Twenty-First Century."

The idea would be to take stock of the bilateral relationship at present, and then explore the factors that would augur for closer relations, Indonesia's big promise as a "Big Emerging Market," the growing weight attributed by the United States to Indonesia's role in regional security and the proliferation of cultural and academic exchanges.

The conference will be featuring:

Ambassador Edward Masters, Former US Ambassador to Indonesia and, President of the US-Indonesia Society

Ambassador Ronald Palmer, Diplomat Consultant in Residence, Elliot School of

International Affairs, The George Washington University

Karl Jackson, Director of Southeast Asian Studies Program, School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University

James Clad, Research Professor of Southeast Asian Studies, Georgetown University

Place: Carnegie International Center, George Washington University, 2400 N Street, NW, Washington DC

Thursday, November 9 1995, 6-8 pm

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The Wharton Asia Club and The Indonesian Student Association of Philadelphia are honored to present:

The Wharton Asian Capital Markets Conference: Growth, Revolution, and Integration

Friday, 3 November 1995

Harold Prince Theater, The Annenberg Center. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104

This is the time when experts in Government Agencies, Private Companies, and Academic Institutions gather in one whole-day conference. This conference will focus on the role of Asian Capital Markets in the Global Economy, the Investment Infrastructure, and the Investment Opportunities of Asia.

FIVE NAMED FOR PRESS FREEDOM AWARDS

NEW YORK, Oct. 30 (UPI) — Five journalists who have defied their governments or dogged criminals to report the news were named Monday winners of the International Press Freedom Award by the Committee to Protect Journalists.

The CPJ also announced that Benjamin Bradlee, former editor of the Washington Post, was named winner of the Burton Benjamin Memorial Award for his lifetime commitment to press freedom.

The winners will be honored at a dinner in New York Dec. 6.

Yevgeny Kiselyov of Russia's independent NTV was named because he "boldly defied official pressure to present government propaganda concerning the war with Chechnya and brought that war's stark reality into the living rooms of millions of Russians."

The president of Indonesia's first and only independent press union, Ahmad Taufik, has been a thorn in the government's side for several years. The CPJ said he was sentenced to 32 months in jail in August for publishing Independent, an unlicensed magazine of the press union.

Guatemala's José Rubín Zamora Morroquin is editor-in-chief of Siglo 21, who has ignored death threats and violence toward him and his staff because of the newspaper's reports of military and government corruption and human rights violations.

Dublin's Sunday Independent investigative reporter Veronica Guerin has faced death threats and physical violence in reporting on Ireland's underworld. In January 1995 she was shot and wounded in her home following publication of an article on a bank heist suspect.

The editor-in-chief of Zambia's The Post, Fred M'ombe, is currently on trial for allegedly defaming President Frederick Chiluba. As a result of his reports on government corruption, controversial government policies and drug trafficking, he faces more than 100 years in jail.

The CPJ awards are given annually to journalists from around the world who have faced difficulties in reporting independent news and viewpoints.

INDONESIA BUYING U.S. F-16'S?

NO US ARMS SALES TO DICTATORS

The Journal of Commerce, September 19, 1995; Opinion page. Also printed in other papers. by JENNIFER WASHBURN

The Senate is expected to vote this week on the "Code of Conduct on Arms transfers," an historic piece of legislation sponsored by Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-OR, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. The Code of Conduct would ban U.S. weapons sales to any foreign government that abuses human rights, violates neighboring countries' borders, rules by authoritarian means or fails to register arms purchases or sales with the United Nations.

This amendment could not be more timely since the Clinton administration, like its Republican predecessors, has shown a disturbing inclination to use arms sales as a way to nurture close ties with undemocratic regimes.

Just this August, Secretary of State Warren Christopher approached the foreign ministers of both Indonesia and the Philippines with an offer to sell 28 F-16A jet fighters. These older model F-16s were originally purchased by Pakistan, but were never delivered due to congressional concerns about Pakistan's secret nuclear weapons program.

By selling the F-16s to a third party, the administration hopes to fulfill a promise

made to Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto that he would get around the 1990 congressional ban, known as the Pressler amendment, and reimburse Pakistan for the cost of the planes.

But Mr. Clinton's decision to offer the F-16s to Indonesia, which is ruled by one of the world's longest-running and most repressive dictatorships, is extremely ill-considered. Each shipment of U.S. arms to Mr. Suharto's military regime sends an unmistakable political message that the United States condones Indonesia's gross violations of human rights and its illegal occupation of East Timor.

Since Indonesia invaded the tiny island of East Timor in 1975, one-third of the population (200,000 people) has been killed in the largest proportional genocide since World War II, according to Amnesty International. The United States approved Indonesia's invasion in advance and has supported the occupation both diplomatically and militarily. Over the past decade, the United States has supplied over one-third (\$560 million) of Indonesia's weapons imports.

The tide began to turn in 1992, when activists fighting for human rights and East Timorese self-determination successfully pressured Congress to cut off military training funds to the Suharto regime. This action followed the November 1991 massacre in Dili, the capital of East Timor, where Indonesian troops carrying American-made M-16 rifles shot down more than 271 Timorese participating in a peaceful memorial demonstration.

In 1994, the State Department, responding to ongoing congressional pressure, banned the sale of small arms and riot control items to Indonesia.

Recently, however, there have been troubling signs that some in the administration want to resume cozy relations with Indonesia's military. On March 16, Admiral William Owens, vice chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited Jakarta to meet with Vice President Try Sutrisno and Minister of Defense Edi Sudrajat. (Mr. Sutrisno was head of the Indonesian military during the Dili Massacre and justified the killing, at a military academy graduation the following day, saying, "Agitators have to be shot, and we will I shoot them.")

During his visit, Admiral Owens conveyed the Pentagon's desire to promote weapons sales to Indonesia, resume military training and "establish a normal relationship with the Indonesian military and the Indonesian government." The administration already has called for restoring military training to Indonesia, and Congress seems likely to go along.

The very day that Mr. Owens visited Jakarta, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck told two House subcommittees that Indonesia's human rights had deteriorated. In particular, Mr. Shattuck described an incident in January in which Indonesian security forces tortured and executed six innocent Timorese civilians, whom Indonesian authorities falsely asserted were resistance fighters.

Given that there has been no improvement in Indonesia's human rights record, the administration's eagerness to sell F-16s to Mr. Suharto suggests another agenda. Winston Lord, assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, has frequently asserted that, although human rights concerns remain, good military ties and growing trade and investment are important areas to pursue.

Mr. Clinton's policy is quite simple, and is consistent with the approach taken by every president since Richard Nixon: Use arms sales to cement ties with Third World military regimes and extend U.S. influence. Despite the stunning failure of this policy over the long haul – witness Iran in the 1970s and Iraq more recently the Clinton administration actually has boosted the government's role in promoting U.S. arms exports to unstable, authoritarian regimes.

The Code of Conduct is the first major legislative effort since 1976 to attempt to systematically curtail these shameful export policies. According to an August report by the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy, over the past four years 85% of all U.S. weapons sales went to countries that the State Department deemed undemocratic.

Americans who want their government to stop selling arms to repressive dictators – like the recent offer to sell 28 F-16s to Indonesia's Mr. Suharto – should immediately call upon their senators to support the Code of Conduct.

Jennifer Washburn is a research associate at the World Policy Institute at the New School in New York City.

OWENS: US MAY LIFT F-16S SALES BAN

Financial Times, 20 Sep. 1995. "World Trade News Digest"

Kyodo, Jakarta – The US is likely to resume sales of F-16 fighter aircraft to Indonesia after suspending them in 1992 in protest against Indonesia's human rights record. The second-in-command of the US military's Pacific Command, Admiral William Owens, yesterday said a US team would visit Jakarta in October and give information on "various options" for the Indonesian armed forces to buy F-16s.

Washington suspended the fund disbursement and the sale of F-16s to Indonesia in early 1992 for alleged human rights violations in East Timor, annexed by Jakarta in 1976. The Indonesian Air Force has 11 F-16s. Last year, it signed a contract to buy 16 British-made aircraft.

Comment from Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US – Indonesia had not actually asked to buy these F-16s, which are decade-old planes which were not allowed to be shipped to Pakistan and are currently being peddled by the US government to various regimes. The October "visit" to Jakarta is probably in the nature of a sales call.

Also, military training aid suspended in late 1992 (not early, Congress took time to act), and I don't believe there has ever been a suspension of F-16 sales to Indonesia. Although Indonesia has not purchased any of these particular warplanes in recent years, there have been over 200 arms shipments from the US to Indonesia since the Santa Cruz massacre.

US TO SELL MORE FIGHTER PLANES TO INDONESIA

JAKARTA (Sept. 19) XINHUA — The US Department of Defense intends to sell additional F-16 fighter planes to the Indonesian air force. here today after a meeting with Indonesian President Soeharto.

Admiral Owens said the purchase of the fighter planes depends on the Indonesian government.

Indonesian General Feisal Tanjung said that the Indonesian armed forces want to have modern warplanes, such as F-16s, as many as possible. However, he said, the budget is limited.

To date, Indonesia has 11 F-16s. Admiral Owens also revealed that the US government totally supports the continuation of the US International Military Educational Fund for Indonesia which has been frozen since the Dili incident in 1991.

He said he is optimistic about the resumption of the military training aid to Indonesia.

He said the US government is also exploring the possibility of conducting a joint military exercise with Indonesia.

U.S. TO SELL INDONESIA JETS — OFFICIAL SAYS

JAKARTA, Sept. 19 (UPI) — The U.S. Defense Department hopes to resume selling F-16 fighter jets to Indonesia, a U.S. official said Monday, adding that Washington may also resume the a military training program that was suspended four years ago because of Jakarta's human rights record.

Following a meeting with President Suharto, Adm. William Owens told reporters

the Pentagon may resume the International Military Education and Training in Jakarta. Owens is vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the nation's second-highest-ranking military officer.

Washington "totally supports the continuation of the IMET," Owens said, adding that he was "optimistic" that U.S. lawmakers would agree to resume the military training aid.

The United States suspended IMET and F-16 sales to Indonesia in 1992 on a number of grounds, including human rights violations in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony of East Timor annexed by Jakarta in 1976.

In 1993, the United States refused to allow Jordan's bid to sell four U.S.-built F-5 jets to Indonesia, citing Jakarta's widely criticized human rights record.

Owens also said Washington is considering conducting joint military exercises with Indonesia.

US ADMIRAL ON SECRET VISIT TO INDONESIA

BY ANDREI BYCHKOV

JAKARTA SEPTEMBER 19 (ITAR-TASS) — A high-ranking U.S. military leader — Admiral William Owens, Deputy Chairman of the U.S. Chiefs of Staff, is paying a visit to Indonesia in an atmosphere of secrecy.

The purpose of his stay here is to meet with Indonesian political and military leaders, a U.S. embassy spokesman told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday. The U.S. diplomat declined to give any details of the current contacts.

It is clear from an embassy press release that Washington's commitments to maintain security in South-East Asia are one of the subjects under discussion.

Countries in the region, including Indonesia, are worried at stability problems in view of the territorial disputes over the Spratly archipelago in South China Sea. Spread over an area of hundreds of kilometers, Spratly Islands are being disputed by Brunei, Vietnam, China, Malaysia, Taiwan, and the Philippines.

Last summer, following an aggravation of relations between Manila and Beijing over one of disputed areas, Washington expressed concern over the growth of tension in South China Sea and over the actions of "some countries." The U.S. also declared unambiguously in support of the observance of the freedom of navigation principle in that part of the world.

This is why the current contacts between the high-ranking representative of the U.S. armed forces and the Indonesian leadership can be viewed in the context of the situation

around Spratly and South China Sea. Jakarta is interested in a resumption of U.S. programmes for military aid and the training of Indonesian servicemen. The implementation of the programmes was interrupted by the U.S. Congress several years ago.

INDONESIA STILL STUDIES US OFFER TO SELL F-16S

JAKARTA (Sept. 22) XINHUA — Indonesia is still studying the United States' offer to sell F-16 fighter planes. Defense Minister Edi Sudradjat made the remarks here today at the Indonesian armed forces EXPO.

The US offer was made by visiting deputy chief of the US Joint Chief of Staff Adm. William Owens who said recently that President Bill Clinton's administration wishes to strengthen its relations with Indonesia, including sale of the F-16 fighter planes.

Indonesian chief of the Armed Forces General Staff Lt. Gen. Soeyono made a similar statement confirming that Indonesia is still in the stage of studying the US offer.

He said Indonesia needs about nine additional F-16 fighter planes for its air forces. At present Indonesia has 11 F-16s.

JET FIGHTERS DO NOT VIOLATE RIGHTS

By Thalif Deen

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 8 (IPS) — The United States may find less resistance to selling Indonesia state-of-the-art jet fighters than to peddle assault rifles, tear gas and handcuffs to the Asian nation, according to human rights groups.

The New York-based Amnesty International USA (AIUSA) says it has no plans to fight the proposed sale of F-16 jet fighters even though it has traditionally opposed arms sales to Indonesia.

"It is very difficult to link F-16 fighter planes to human rights abuses," T. Kumar of AIUSA told IPS.

Even though AIUSA is not opposing the sale, he said, the human rights organisation "will still closely monitor" the deployment of the sophisticated fighter planes.

"We are not going to keep our eyes closed on this. If even a single F-16 is linked to human rights abuses, we will be pushing hard in Capitol Hill" against any such future sales, he added.

Washington is expected to formally offer about 12 to 17 F-16s to Indonesia before the end of the year.

The F-16s originally belonged to Pakistan which had paid for the aircraft in advance of delivery.

But deliveries of the aircraft were held up under a U.S. law that barred weapons sales to countries suspected of developing nuclear weapons.

Pakistan paid about \$658 million for 17 F-16s, all of which have been warehoused in Arizona.

If Washington succeeds in selling them to Indonesia, proceeds from the sale will help reimburse the Pakistanis who have been demanding either their aircraft or their money back.

Addressing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July, Stapleton Roy, U.S. Ambassador-designate to Jakarta, said the proposed deal "makes sense in terms of our broad relations with Indonesia."

Roy also said that Indonesia has legitimate security concerns because of conflicting territorial claims in the South China Sea.

Joel Johnson of the Washington-based Aerospace Industries Association told IPS the Bill Clinton Administration should have no problem selling the jet fighters to Indonesia because "F-16s are not used for crowd control."

Johnson said that traditionally there has been opposition to the sale of items such as M-16 assault rifles and riot control gear because they could be related to domestic violence. "The sale of F-16s is no danger to human rights violations," he said.

Johnson also said the Indonesian air force already possesses F-16 fighters provided by the U.S. back in 1989.

"The Indonesians have not used any of these F-16s against their own people," he added.

Since the Indonesians already own F-16s, they are qualified to acquire additional planes, along with the aircraft's military technology provided only to close U.S. allies such as Israel and Egypt.

The proposed sale, however, can still run into trouble on Capitol Hill. Senator Russell Feingold, a Democrat from the state of Wisconsin, has expressed reservations over the proposed sale.

"If we are going to sell these planes to Indonesia, I hope we are getting something in return—a better human rights record or a timetable for the resolution of the East Timor situation," he said.

Feingold was particularly critical of Indonesia for its alleged human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, annexed by Jakarta in 1976.

In June, AIUSA criticised Washington for resuming military assistance to Indonesia and increasing sixfold U.S. arms sales to that country.

According to figures released by the Pentagon, Washington plans to sell about 26 million dollars worth of arms to Indonesia in

fiscal year 1996: up from 4.6 million dollars the previous year.

In a report released early this year, AIUSA criticised the Clinton Administration for providing military grants to some of the world's worst violators of human rights.

The United Kingdom too has been thwarted in its attempt to sell weapons to Indonesia because of heavy lobbying against such sales by human rights groups.

In March, Michael Heseltine, president of the Board of Trade, revealed that the British government had approved the sale of some 50 to 90 light tanks and armoured personnel carriers only after a "thorough assessment" that these vehicles would not be used for "internal repression."

Meanwhile the U.S.-Indonesian bilateral relations have been strengthened with the announcement last year of a hefty 40-billion-dollar package of joint economic and trade projects over the next decade.

The largest of the agreements involves U.S.-based Exxon and Pertamina, Indonesia's state-run oil company, which will jointly develop a huge 35-billion-dollar offshore natural gas field.

Comment from Charlie Scheiner:

Why not sell them H-bombs? There's no evidence that they will be used for repression in East Timor?

And if the Aerospace Industries Association is proud that "they have not used any F-16s against their own people" would they be even happier if Indonesia used them against others – East Timorese, West Papuans, Australians, Malaysians,???? Or are they just toys for ABRI and profits for the arms-makers?

Comment From Martin Broek, Stop Arming Indonesia Campaign

Oct. 17.

The issue of big arms and human rights is again in the news. Naval ships and Jet fighters are seen as not directly linked to the question of human rights. In the case of Indonesia there are several reasons not to exclude Jet Fighters from human rights campaigns. (For naval vessels there are other reasons to do so.) In the booklet 'POWER AND IMPUNITY; Human rights under the New Order,' Amnesty International September 1994, it was stated that: "At least 40 civilians, and possibly as many as 100, were killed in February 1989 when government forces launched a combined land and air [!] assault on a village in Lampung, which the military claimed was harbouring a Muslim rebel gang." (page 5) In the booklet STOP Arming Indonesia, Amsterdam September 1994 it was stated by the Campaign Against Arms Trade from London that

1) "(...) In the documentary 'Death of a Nation,' screened in several countries during February and March 1994, East Timorese people asserted that they had seen British Aerospace Hawk aircraft in action in East Timor.

Asked specifically about the monitoring the UK government undertakes with regard to the Hawks, Foreign Office Minister Alastair Goodlad said: "It would be impracticable on a regular basis to monitor, after transfer, equipment which we have licensed for export. We are, however, ready where necessary to ask recipient countries, on a confidential basis, about the location and use of defence equipment we have supplied. We have no evidence that Hawk aircraft are being or have been used for repressive purposes against the civilian population in Indonesia and East Timor. Nor do we believe that the Hawk, or any other items of British equipment, have been or are likely to be used against the civilian population in Indonesia and East Timor. The Indonesian Government have given us assurances that Hawk aircraft will not be used for internal security purposes."¹⁰

2) Interestingly, the International Institute for Strategic Studies describes the Hawk aircraft already supplied as being in service with one of the Indonesian Air Force's two counter-insurgency squadrons.¹¹

Besides this evidence Jet Fighters could be used in the military operations of peoples struggling for their rights it is clear the Indonesian armed forces as a whole has a very important role in suppressing people's rights. In *Power and Impunity* it is stated that "in most respects it [Indonesia] is a military authoritarian government." (page 18). So there is a strong need to oppose all arms trade to this government, because denying people their civil rights is in itself a violation of human rights. Moreover the two guidelines of Indonesian military rule (Dwi Fungsi and the Security Approach) are described in detail in several sources and are legitimising the strong influence of the military in controlling Indonesian society.

10) Hansard, 9 February 1994,

11) The Military Balance 1993-94

Martin Broek, *Pesthuislaan 39, 1054 RH Amsterdam, the Netherlands, fax/tel +31 20 6164684.*

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INDONESIA PLAYS DOWN MILITARY PURCHASES

JAKARTA, Oct. 18 (UPI) — Indonesia said Wednesday its purchase of military equipment was made only to meet the country's domestic defense needs.

Defense Minister Edi Sudradjat said the purchases — including British combat aircraft — were not made for offensive purposes.

"There is no reason for foreign quarters to see the military equipment purchase by the Indonesian armed forces as a potent threat," Sudradjat was quoted by the state-run Antara News Agency as saying.

He said Indonesia was buying some military hardware to meet the country's minimum defense requirements and to "maintain domestic stability."

Sudradjat admitted that the purchases attracted attention of military observers, particularly if that related to the offensive image of certain countries ready to engage in an arms race.

"But, in Indonesia's case, the number and...type of military equipment were only adequate to maintain the domestic stability," Sudradjat said.

Indonesia is currently waiting for the arrival of 16 advanced British-made Hawk aircraft. Jakarta signed a contract to purchase the advanced British Aerospace Hawk 100 and 200 jet fighters last year.

Indonesia has also purchased almost 40 warships used by the former East German navy to back up its existing fleet.

Military leaders recently voiced the country's willingness to buy U. S.-built F-16 jet fighters.

The Indonesian air forces currently operates modern jet fighters, including the some U.S-made F-16 Fighting Falcon.

CLINTON OFFERS F-16S TO INDONESIA – NEWSPAPER

Jakarta, Oct. 28 (Reuter) — U.S. President Bill Clinton discussed the sale of a number of F-16 Fighting Falcon jets to Indonesia in talks with President Suharto in Washington, an Indonesian newspaper reported on Saturday.

The Suara Pembaruan evening newspaper quoted Indonesia's State Secretary Murdiono as saying on Friday in Washington that Clinton had offered Suharto the opportunity to buy more F-16s. "The offer was presented by the U.S. President when meeting President Suharto at the White House," Murdiono told reporters.

Murdiono said that Suharto considered the offer.

"...The offer will be considered if Indonesia is given soft payment condition....," he was quoted as saying.

The paper did not give other details. Indonesia's air force has more than 80 combat aircraft, including 12 F-16s.

The White House said on Friday that Clinton also raised continuing U.S. concerns

about the human rights situation in Indonesia, particularly in East Timor, during the meeting. There were street riots in East Timor last week followed by a military crackdown.

Clinton and Suharto met for about an hour on Friday. Suharto was in Washington on a private visit.

INDONESIA SEEKS U.S. EXPORT CREDITS FOR F-16S

JAKARTA, Nov. 1 (Reuter) — Indonesian President Suharto said on Wednesday his country needed more U.S.-made F-16 Fighting Falcons for its air force but asked Washington to allow soft payment for them through export credits.

Suharto said he and President Bill Clinton had discussed the purchase by Indonesia of several F-16s during talks in Washington on October 27.

"We were offered F-16 aircraft. We thanked him for that and actually Indonesia still needs (them)," Suharto told reporters on board his aircraft on the way back to Indonesia after an 18-day trip to the Americas and Saudi Arabia.

"I stressed to the U.S. that Indonesia's priority is economic development," Suharto said.

"Therefore, we must think how to pay for the aircraft. It is impossible to pay in cash," he said.

Suharto said he told Clinton how Indonesia bought several warships cheaply with export credits from Germany. "If the U.S. can provide it (export credits), certainly Indonesia will accept it," Suharto said.

Indonesia's air force has more than 80 combat aircraft, including 12 F-16s.

In 1993 Indonesia bought 39 warships of the former East German navy. These included 16 corvettes, 14 tank landing ships and nine minesweepers.

During his meeting with Suharto Clinton also raised continuing U.S. concerns about the human rights situation in Indonesia, particularly East Timor, the White House said.

Indonesia has occupied East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, since 1975 and has several military battalions there.

VOA — US F-16S TO INDONESIA?

Voice of America, 11/3/95, by Dan Robinson, Bangkok

Intro: Indonesian President Suharto was quoted as saying this week he had discussed with President Bill Clinton the possible sale of F-16 fighter planes to Indonesia. VOA correspondent Dan Robinson reports the

United States has been trying to sell the aircraft which were originally part of a military equipment purchase by Pakistan.

Text: After talks between President Clinton and President Suharto in Washington last month, a White House statement said a number of bilateral issues were discussed — including trade, economic, and security matters.

However, White House officials would not confirm whether the two leaders discussed the question of selling to Indonesia F-16 fighters originally destined for Pakistan.

Returning from his overseas trip, Mr. Suharto was quoted as saying the subject of the F-16's did come up in his meeting with Mr. Clinton. Reuter news agency quoted him as saying that Indonesia needs the aircraft but could not pay cash. He said he had suggested an export-credit arrangement similar to one used to finance the sale of former East German warships to Indonesia.

The United States has been looking for a buyer or buyers for the F-16's. Twenty-eight of the planes were to have gone to Pakistan five years ago, before concerns about Pakistan's nuclear program led to a congressional ban on military sales.

The State Department said earlier this year that Indonesia and the Philippines were likely and acceptable potential customers among a very small number of potential buyers. Pakistan had already paid for some of the planes.

US, Indonesian, and Philippine officials have discussed the aircraft issue on a number of occasions in recent months. The subject came up in Brunei during bilateral contacts coinciding with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional meetings.

During a September visit to Jakarta, the visiting vice chairman of the US joint chiefs of staff, Admiral William Owens, said US and Indonesian officials would be discussing details. Amid continuing criticism of Indonesia's human rights record, the Clinton administration has faced pressure from opponents of renewed arms sales to Indonesia.

In 1993, the United States blocked the sale of US-built F-5 jet fighters from Jordan to Indonesia. Last July, the US Senate voted to restrict small-arms sales to Indonesia. US statements say the human rights situation in Indonesia remains a key factor in decisions on arms sales. Washington says Indonesia's legitimate defense needs, its ability to pay, and regional stability and security are other factors.

Indonesia has 12 F-16's in its air force and is awaiting delivery of advanced British-made Hawk aircraft. Indonesia's defense minister (Edi Sudradjat) said recently that military equipment purchases are aimed at

meeting the country's minimum defense requirements, but also to maintain domestic stability.

US officials say negotiations with Indonesia on the F-16 question are continuing. As for the possibility of any soft-financing arrangement, officials say that is not currently seen as a possibility.

US defense officials are known to favor continued strong military-to-military cooperation with Indonesia, and pressed for resumption of a military education training program (IMET) for Indonesian military officers. The IMET program was suspended by congress in 1992 in response to the shooting of demonstrators by Indonesian troops in East Timor the previous year.

The Clinton administration faced criticism this year after it was disclosed that some Indonesian officers were still receiving training, but at Jakarta's expense. Critics said that amounted to flouting the congressional ban on education funds.

In explaining its support for resumption of military education funds, the Clinton administration said the program helps expose foreign military personnel to US concepts of democracy and respect for international standards of human rights.

RESOURCES

"EYEWITNESS" BOOK LAUNCH

Report from Gerry van Klinken, Sept. 12

An English translation of a book of short stories about East Timor written by Indonesian journalist Seno Gumira Ajidarma will be launched by the publisher in Sydney on Monday 18 September. The stories have been translated by Jan Lingard of the University of Sydney.

Entitled 'Eyewitness' (original title 'Saksi Mata'), it is published by Imprint and distributed by Harper Collins. It will cost AUD 14.95. The book will be widely distributed, but mail orders can be placed either at:

- Gleebooks, Glebe Point Road, Glebe 2037, Australia, or
- Nusantara Indonesian Bookshop, 72 Maroondah Hwy, Croydon Vic 3166, Tel:(03) 723 1195 Fax: (03) 723 6650, Australia

The book launch will be held at 6 pm on 18 September, at Gleebooks. Arrangements had been made for author Seno to be at the launch, but he was at the last minute prevented from travelling to Sydney by the newspaper where he works, citing fears of

repercussions in view of delicate Australia-Indonesia relations at the moment.

I personally think the stories are explosive — they are a cry of horror at what Indonesians have done in East Timor. This, as James Dunn points out, is the precondition for a process of reconciliation. The translation is also very good indeed.

BOOK TO PORTRAY '91 MASSACRE

28 Sep. 95

MELBOURNE, Australia (AP) — Indonesian journalist Seno Gumira Ajidarma lost his job when he tried to report the facts of a 1991 massacre in East Timor. Now he's counting on fiction to tell the truth.

In his book "Eyewitness," a collection of 12 short stories, Ajidarma gives a gruesome, surreal and often disturbing account of events in East Timor — even though he never explicitly names the setting.

Ajidarma was dismissed as editor of Jakarta Jakarta magazine in January 1992 for his reports on the massacre in the East Timor capital, Dili, on Nov. 12, 1991, when Indonesian troops fatally shot 50 to 270 people at a pro-independence protest.

Over the next two years, Ajidarma wrote the stories that makeup "Eyewitness."

"When journalism is gagged," he says, "literature must speak, because while journalism has its source in facts, literature has its source in truth."

All 12 stories have been published in the Indonesian press.

Ajidarma's introduction to the English-language edition tells of the perils of practicing journalism in a political system where rules are vague and shifting, but punishment is certain: dismissal, banned publications, jail terms.

Jakarta Jakarta's report on the Dili massacre focused at first on video footage of the killings, secretly filmed by a British cameraman and smuggled out of the territory.

Ajidarma followed up by sending two reporters to Dili. Their report implicitly questioned the government's account that the shooting was an "unintentional accident."

Instead, it produced evidence that the troops were acting under orders and that soldiers bayoneted protesters after the initial volley of gunfire.

It told how survivors were bashed to death with rocks, their bodies thrown onto trucks, and how troops moved among the injured, kicking bodies to see who was still alive and stabbing them with knives.

After the articles appeared, Ajidarma was summoned by the armed forces to explain his reporting.

He lost his job after executives of his publishing company, fearing government action against the magazine, criticized the "vulgarity" of his explicit reporting.

"Writing a news story is not a matter of aesthetics, it is not beauty of language," Ajidarma says. "It's a matter of facts: What actually happened?"

If his journalism was not a matter of aesthetics, neither is his fiction.

A news report of Timorese youths having their ears cut off during torture provides the visual image for a story about a soldier who sends his girlfriend human ears as battlefield souvenirs.

In another story, the witness in a court case whose eyes have been gouged out becomes a metaphor for muzzled witnesses to the Dili massacre, whose stories are either disbelieved or not heard.

TIMOR NET AROUSES INDONESIA'S CURIOSITY

Capital, 7 October 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon — According to the LUSA news agency, Indonesia is currently one of the countries that most uses the database on East Timor which the University of Coimbra makes available to the computerised international network, Internet. Although before July there was practically no demand, since then the number of Indonesia's consultations has rocketed, and in the first week of that month alone, Indonesia tapped in 235 times — more than the total ever registered.

History Lecturer, Joaquim Ramos de Carvalho, in charge of dealing with the network, said yesterday to LUSA that this increase must be linked to the availability of access to Internet within Indonesia.

"We always thought that one day this would happen," said Carvalho, referring to the thirst for information felt by people living under a repressive regime.

People are using Internet "to find out what information they have no access to," and because it is a "relatively anonymous" service. "It is very difficult for the Government to find out who is using the database on East Timor, unless a huge registering system were set up," he added.

Ramos de Carvalho went on to explain that, with the service, the user receives a temporary address, which disappears when s/he switches off, and changes when contact is re-established.

"This illustrates how useful Internet can be in situations where the government is repressive," said the Lecturer, adding that from the moment a country becomes part of

the network, the "it means the end of the information embargo."

Indonesians currently make up 10% of the approximately 2,000 weekly consultations, and it is also curious to note that it is mainly individuals who access the network, and not just for a quick browse, to consult several pages "for a long time."

Since late 1994, when the University of Coimbra created this information within Internet, 91 different Indonesian computers contacted Timor Net. However, only 13 of these belonged to institutions linked to the Jakarta Government.

Since its creation, almost one year ago, the database has been consulted 37,000 times by 4,000 different computers from all over the world. However, the number of people who consulted the database is higher than the number of computers (4,000) registered, because some of them are being used collectively, particularly in universities.

The biggest user of "consumer" of information on East Timor was the US, with 600 computers, followed by Portugal with 400, Australia with 185, and a group made up of Canada, Norway and the UK, with a number somewhere between 100 and 150. Indonesia, with its 91 different computers, comes next, even though consultations from that country were nearly all carried out in the last 3 months.

Joaquim Ramos de Carvalho says he feels that the effort put into creating and updating the database (work done with the help of his History students on the Computing Methods course) is worthwhile. "I regret not being able to do more," he said, adding that "fresh news" and constant updating would lead to greater demand for information and help the East Timor cause.

Timor Net provides a wide range of information — from the territory's history, the era before it was discovered, and Dutch colonial times, right up to the current conflict with Indonesia.

Through text and maps, the island's development is presented from several different approaches, and data on the routes of the discoveries, geography, geology, climate, wildlife, plant life, waterways and rainfall in Timor is all provided.

The Internet database also offers information on anthropology, ethnography, legends, customs, the construction of traditional East Timorese dwellings, and the island's various art forms.

Also available is data on East Timor solidarity groups, other organisations that have databases on Timor, and all the addresses, both national and international, of governmental organisations as well as NGOs connected with Timor.

Timor Net, which is constantly being updated, is available through drawings,

sound, text, and video images and taped music of the Maubere people.

Comment from Charlie Scheiner:

Although TimorNet was the first and one of the best-designed Web sites on East Timor, it often isn't updated with current news. TimorNet has very good cultural and historical background. However, there are other Internet sites with good current East Timor materials. Here are a few.

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES ON EAST TIMOR

From ETAN/US. Updated September 1995

The rapid growth of computer networking is a good match with the renewed activity, information-sharing and internationalism of the East Timor support movement. There are a number of resources available over the Internet, and more are being added all the time. Please let us know of any additions or corrections.

The first three lists (alerts, reg.easttimor, and Network News) are maintained manually. For access, contact John M. Miller (fbp@igc.apc.org) or Charles Scheiner (cscheiner@igc.apc.org). ETAN/US also maintains a postal mailing list (for the newsletter and other mailings), a fax list for alerts, and a phone list. Even if you only wish to receive electronic material, we would appreciate having your postal mailing address, phone and fax numbers.

Alert list

East Timor Action Network/US has a electronic mailing list for action alerts. These alerts deal with lobbying the US government, severe human rights violations and the like. Items are sent as needed, and postings average 1 per month.

reg.easttimor

Reg.easttimor is a conference (news-group) which originates from the Alliance for Progressive Communications (APC) member networks (PeaceNet, GreenNet, Pegasus, etc.). Reg.easttimor contains postings from a wide range of sources, including the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), ETAN/US, TAPOL, and support groups in Australia, Portugal, Japan, France, Canada, Sweden, England, Ireland and elsewhere. Reports and translations from wire services and the Indonesian, Portuguese, Australian, British, U.S. and Irish press also regularly appear there, as well as official documents and statements from the U.N., national governments, and other sources. Postings average 6-10 per day, although the frequency varies with the pace of East Timor-related events. This conference is available by email with read/write access to any Internet address; write fbp@igc.apc.org

or cscheiner@igc.apc.org if you are interested.

If you subscribe directly to PeaceNet or one of its sister networks you will have easier access to the conference, including past material. For information about PeaceNet, a non-profit progressive networking service run by the Institute for Global Communications (IGC) in San Francisco, send a message to peacenet-info@igc.apc.org.

There is a reg.easttimor newsreader on the Web page <http://peg.pegasus.oz.au/etchrml/> run by the East Timor Center for Human Rights Education and Training in Melbourne. Unfortunately, it only works for people accessing the Web through an APC network.

Weekly summaries of reg.et are on ETAN's gopher (see below) and on the web at <http://iconz.co.nz/calliope/Nettalk.html>. Reg.easttimor items, slightly selected and delayed, are also at the University of Lisbon WWW site (see below).

An abridged, read-only version of reg.easttimor, with an average of two daily postings, is on APC as the conference tapol.etimor. This is also available as e-mail; send a note to maggie@gn.apc.org to receive it.

The APC also has conferences reg.Indonesia and reg.westpapua. The latter is available by email; write cscheiner@igc.apc.org.

All four of these APC conferences can be queried from GreenNet by email. To get the conference index, send email to:

almanac@gn.apc.org (with anything you like in the subject line) and a body like:
send <conf_name> index e.g.:
send tapol.etimor index
send reg.westpapua index

These indexes – which contain one line per posting with the topic title, data, and poster's name – can be long; some of these conferences have over 500 items in them.

After receiving the index, you can retrieve a particular topic (or topics) with another message to almanac@gn.apc.org with a body like:

send <conf_name> <topic_#> e.g.:
send tapol.etimor 608
send reg.westpapua 3

You can send more than one query per message, just put each one on a separate line. The topics will come back by email, one email per query. It will be broken into smallish chunks, mostly to accommodate people at the far ends of FIDO-style point software.

Topic numbers change every few days, so use the index soon after you get it, and don't refer to topics by number in any postings.

Network News

ETAN/US prepares an electronic version of its newsletter, NETWORK NEWS, which averages eight printed pages. Many prefer the paper version of the newsletter to e-mailed one.

Gopher

ETAN maintains background information, including weekly summaries of reg.easttimor, in the Institute for Global Communications Gopher. To access the East Timor information go to IGC's public gopher. Type 'gopher gopher.igc.apc.org' and look under the "Peace, Human Rights and Social Justice." The URL for this gopher is [gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:70/11/peace/timor.gopher](http://gopher.igc.apc.org:70/11/peace/timor.gopher)

World-Wide Web

East Timor information in English is on the World-Wide Web at the University of Lisbon <http://amadeus.inesc.pt:80/jota/Timor/> This include both background and current information, and links to many other systems including the IGC Gopher. Amnesty International's Indonesia & East Timor material is available through <http://www.io.org/amnesty/overview.html> or <ftp://ftp.io.org/pub/human-rights/Amnesty/Indonesia/>

Other well-maintained East Timor pages include:

<http://iconz.co.nz/calliope/Nettalk.html> and <http://peg.pegasus.oz.au/etchrml/>

A good "course" on East Timor and other reference materials are at <http://www.uc.pt/Timor/TimorNet.html> although this site is not kept up to date.

Legal and historical background are at http://143.117.33.25/qub_law/Timor/intro.htm

Usenet

The Usenet newsgroup soc.culture.Portuguese includes information on East Timor in both Portuguese and English. The soc.culture.Indonesia group discussion of East Timor is mostly flaming debates, with little substantive English-language material not available elsewhere. Misc.activism.progressive and soc.rights.human also contain materials. Several mailing lists, including SEASIA-L@MSU.EDU (bit.listserv.seasia-l as a newsgroup) and INDONESIA-L (a private list mediated by apakabar@clark.net), also contain materials, but have little on East Timor in English that does not appear in reg.easttimor. INDONESIA-L does have a lot of material in Bahasa Indonesia.

INDONESIA-L is available on the Web at <http://www.uni-stuttgart.de/Indonesia/news/>

There is a summary of INDONESIA-L at
gopher://oasis.leidenuniv.nl/11/
.kitlv/.daily-report

NEW ET MONOGRAPH

*From Paul Webb,
p_webb@banks.ntu.edu.au Oct. 27.*

The Northern Territory University's
Centre for Southeast Asian Studies new
Monograph is available:

**East Timor Project: Anthology on the
Political Economy of East Timor**

Edited By Mario Saldanha (Volume Ed)
Paul Webb (Series Ed) CSEAS Monograph
4 1995 \$A 30 plus surface mail charges

This monograph comprises seven lec-
tures given in the Centre between September
1994 and February 1995 including lectures
by Max Lane, Hadi Soesastro, Gerry Van
Klinken, Armindo Maia, Mario Saldanha
(East Timorese economist) and others.