

ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

Volume 9: January 25 - February 7, 1992

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This material is in approximately chronological order, although articles on the same topic may be grouped together.

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THE SECRET LIFE OF HENRY KISSINGER (DURING THE INVASION)

The Nation, 29 Oct 1990. By Mark Hertsgaard, Excerpts

Comment: This article, although old, is included here to recall the depth of US complicity in Indonesia's 1975 invasion of East Timor.

Brief Remark: Mark Hertsgaard is the author of On Bended Knee: The Press and the Reagan Presidency. He is the media critic for Rolling Stone and National Public Radio and is a frequent contributor to The New Yorker. The Nation (New York) is a leading American liberal weekly magazine. This article has now been reprinted in full in New Statesman and Society (London) of 2 November 1990. The excerpts below comprise only those parts of the article dealing with Indonesia/East Timor.

... Kissinger's obsession with keeping everyone -- the citizenry, the Congress, even his own Administration colleagues -- in the dark about his actions is displayed in all its banal iniquity in the State Department document printed on page 492. So are his casual disdain for law and constitutional procedure, his disregard for the human consequence of his policies, his bizarre personal paranoia and his petulant sense of self-importance....

The two hot spots most vexing to Kissinger at the moment were East Timor and Angola. Both were former Portuguese colonies; both had been promised independence by the democratic government that had taken over following the overthrow of Lisbon's right-wing dictatorship in 1974.

As Kissinger met with his colleagues in December 1975, however, this independence still seemed a long and bloody war off....

Both [Angola and East Timor] shared the common cold war misfortune of being regarded as pawns in a global chess game. In July 1975 Kissinger had obtained President Ford's approval for a covert military program designed to install a pro-U.S. government in Angola. And in August, he had signaled Jakarta that the United States would not object if the Indonesians invaded East Timor, which by then was controlled by the leftist Fretilin movement.

The Indonesians invaded on December 7, one day after Ford and Kissinger left Jakarta.... The Indonesians did comply with an American request to delay their attack until Air Force One was well clear of Jakarta, but they alarmed State Department officials by making extensive use of U.S.-supplied military equipment. This violated American law, which mandated that such equipment be employed only in self-defense, and triggered one of the controversies detailed in the minutes printed below.

Kissinger was upset with his subordinates on two counts: first, with their conclusion that the Indonesians had broken the law (and thereby made suspension of additional aid politically necessary on Capitol Hill); second, and most important, that they had dared notify Kissinger of this in a cable sent before his return to Washington.

Kissinger's great fear, of course, is that the American public might eventually discover the truth about his policy on East Timor. He wants "to stop it (the aid) quietly," and dismisses Assistant Secretary Philip Habib's assurance that the cable "will not leak." Kissinger becomes nearly

apoplectic when he learns that actually "there are two cables! And this means that twenty guys have seen it." This naturally raises the odds that a reporter will eventually get wind of it.

Near the end of the meeting, Kissinger decides to finesse the legal problem by telling Congress that aid will be cut off "while we are studying the issue." But the aid will secretly "start again in January." And so it came to pass....

SECRET/SENSITIVE MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

[Meeting participants named]

Date: December 18, 1975
 Subject: Department Policy

The Secretary [hereafter K]: I want to raise a little bit of hell about the Department's conduct in my absence. Until last week I thought we had a disciplined group; now we've gone to pieces completely. Take this cable on (East) Timor. You know my attitude and anyone who knows my position as you do must know that I would not have approved it. The only consequence is to put yourself on record. It is a disgrace to the Secretary of State this way.... What possible explanation is there for it? I had told you to stop it quietly. What is your place doing, Phil, to let this happen? It is incomprehensible. It is wrong in substance and in procedure. It is a disgrace. Were you here?

Assistant Secretary Philip Habib [H]: No.... Our assessment was that if it was going to be trouble, it would come up before your return. And I was told they decided it was desirable to go ahead with the cable.

K: Nonsense. I said do it for a few weeks and then open up again.

H: The cable will not leak.

K: Yes it will and it will go to Congress and then we will have hearings on it.

H: I was away. I was told by cable that it had come up.

K: That means there are two cables! And that means twenty guys have seen it.

H: No, I got it back channel -- it was just one paragraph double talk and cryptic so I knew what it was talking about. I was told that Leigh thought that there was a legal requirement to do it.

Monroe Leigh, Legal Advisor [L]: No, I said it could be done administratively. It was not in our interest to do it on legal grounds.

Under Secretary for Political Affairs Joseph Sisco [S]: We were told that you had decided we had to stop.

K: Just a minute, just a minute. You all know my view on this. You must have an FSO-8 (Foreign Service officer, class 8) who knows it well. It will have a devastating impact on Indonesia. There's this masochism in the extreme there. No one has complained that it was aggression.

L: The Indonesians were violating an agreement with us.

K: The Israelis when they go into Lebanon - when was the last time we protested that?

L: That's a different situation.

Under Secretary Carlyle Maw [M]: It is self-defense.

K: And we can't construe a Communist government in the middle of Indonesia as self-defense?

L: Well...

K: Then you're saying that arms can't be used for defense.

H: No, they can be used for the defense of Indonesia.

[Discussion of Angola here]

K: On the Timor thing, that will leak in three months and it will come out that Kissinger overruled his pristine bureaucrats and violated the law. How many people in L (the legal adviser's office) know about this?

L: Three.

H: There are at least three in my office.

K: Plus everybody in this meeting so you're talking about not less than 15 or 20. You have a responsibility to recognize that we are living in a revolutionary situation. Everything on paper will be used against me.

H: We do that and take account of that all the time.

[Discussion on Angola]

K: It cannot be that our agreement with Indonesia says that the arms are for internal purposes only. I think you will find that it says that they are legitimately used for self-defense. There are two problems. The merits of the case which you have a duty to raise with me. The second is how to put these to me. But to put it in a cable 30 hours before I return, knowing how cables are handled in this building, guarantees that it will be a national disaster and that transcends whatever (Deputy Legal Adviser George) Aldrich has in his feverish mind.... How will the situation get better in six weeks?

H: They may get it cleaned up by then.

K: The Department is falling apart and has reached the point where it disobeys clear-cut orders.

H: We sent the cable because we thought it was needed and we thought it needed your attention. This was ten days ago.

K: Nonsense. When did I get the cable, Jerry?

Jerry Bremer, Notetaker [B]: Not before the weekend. I think perhaps on Sunday.

K: You had to know what my view on this was. No one who has worked with me in the last two years could not know what would be my view on Timor.

H: Well, let us look at it -- talk to Leigh. There are still some legal requirements. I can't understand why it went out if it was not legally required.

K: Am I wrong in assuming that the Indonesians will go up in smoke if they hear about this?

H: Well, it's better than a cutoff. It could be done at a low level.

K: We have four weeks before Congress comes back. That's plenty of time.

L: The way to handle the administrative cutoff would be that we are studying the situation.

K: And 36 hours was going to be a major problem?

L: We had a meeting in Sisco's office and decided to send the message.

K: I know what the law is but how can it be in the U.S. national interest for us to give up on Angola and kick the Indonesians in the teeth.... You have an obligation to the national interest. I don't care if we sell equipment to Indonesia or not. I get nothing from it. I get no rakeoff. But you have an obligation to figure out how to serve your country. The Foreign Service is not to serve itself. The Service stands for service to the United States and not service to the Foreign Service.

H: I understand that that's what this cable would do.

K: The minute you put this thing into the system you cannot resolve it without a finding.

L: There's only one question. What do we say to Congress if we're asked?

K: We cut it off while we are studying it. We intend to start again in January.

**A MESSAGE TO ALL EAST
TIMOR SOLIDARITY GROUPS
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.**
(XANANA GUSMAO)

From Xanana Gusmao November 24, 1991

Warm greetings friends and companions in struggle. I am speaking to you from the mountains of East Timor. We are between marches and combats and in our backpacks we carry the information that we receive on the situation of generalised terror under which the Maubere people are living.

If the 12 November massacre had happened two years earlier then it would have gone by unnoticed by the world. The massacre would not have had such wide repercussions if it had not been for the video that the British journalist managed to get out of East Timor. We are aware that a lot of governments only took a definite stand after they had heard about the film. In this way the film became the catalyst for international reaction, which was initially sceptical, as has become the custom in politics.

There have been cases, as in Australia, where at every increasingly obvious violation of human rights in East Timor, Australia would send its ambassador, Philip Flood, to talk to the puppet governor and to the military authorities and he would return saying that he had seen no evidence of any violations. If this time Gareth Evans had been in Canberra he would have sent his ambassador for more lunches with Carrascalao and would have shaken hands with the murderer Warouw and would have stated that the most recent grave in the Santa Clara cemetery was that of Sebastiao Rangel, there being no evidence of any massacre.

We were deeply touched by the compassion of the Pope, John Paul or John Peter. It must have been a difficult decision because we always believed that the Holy See did not involve itself in politics and much less did it interfere in the internal affairs of countries, especially in the case of Indonesia, the most important Moslem country in the world. We truly believe that he was morally (but what morality) obliged by the film's evidence.

The position taken by Holland, a tireless defender of the annexation of East Timor as a historically consistent continuation of the process of annexation of Western Papua, was unanticipated and admirable. We also believe that the images of the film had an effect here.

In this way, friends and comrades, this film is our weapon; ours and yours, but mainly yours, for your work of raising the

awareness of people and governments in the countries where your solidarity groups are based.

We call for a concerted action in the different countries on December 7 with the showing of this film and holding of seminars. We propose that all East Timor solidarity groups set up small groups that go to other countries where solidarity groups with East Timor have not yet been set up, providing the opportunity for awareness raising and interest in the problem and creating the conditions for the setting up of groups in these countries. We are fully aware of the whole range of difficulties, especially financial difficulties, in the running of your and our projects, but even so we dare to ask you for special attention this coming 7 December. We propose the following themes as general lines of action:

- 1) The setting up of a UN, or other international body, investigation team to verify the facts of 12 November.
- 2) Putting pressure on governments so that they reconsider their complacent policies in relation to Indonesia and that they support Portugal's position. The difference in criteria adopted for the violation of Human Rights is notorious; when a journalist is detained in China the United States protests vociferously; a house arrest in Rangoon is enough to provoke the western powers to a storm of protest; all the world threatens after an act of repression in Kenya; and meanwhile they continue to affirm their total respect for the cultural difference between Indonesia and the western world and manage to justify the crimes committed by Indonesia as mere questions of national interest.
- 3) Putting pressure on respective governments to maintain or to apply cuts in economic aid to Indonesia as long as it refuses to allow a UN or international inquiry team to visit East Timor. The arrogance of Jakarta merely comes from the commercial relations it has with Australia, Japan, Great Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Germany, etc... The positions taken by Canada and Holland should be widely congratulated and held up as an example to be followed

The investigation team nominated by Jakarta does not deserve the slightest credibility. Everything points to the fact that this team will merely add its signatures to the report already prepared by the military. This report is the result of inquiries carried out under torture, coercion and promises of release, of treatment of the wounded and of offers of food etc... Inquiries with a view to denouncing those in charge of the clandestine organisation for future detention. It is enough, surely, that one of the members of the team has already accused Portugal of being behind the 12 November massacre. Likewise enough, those

statements by Try Sutrisno's which Australia found so repugnant; or indeed the declarations by Warouw, who only allowed the International Red Cross to visit the wounded and the detained on condition that they did not speak to the victims. These facts are enough for us to firmly believe that this investigation team was hurriedly put together at Suharto's behest, so as not to create obstacles to his planned peregrinations overseas and that this investigation team will serve to draw a veil of innocence over the eyes of the various governments closely associated with the Jakarta regime, who have unfortunately been troubled by the massacre.

This I believe, dear friends and comrades, is the response, in terms both general and down to earth, to the demands of your part in the struggle, and thus we can all achieve the optimum results from our efforts.

I take advantage of this opportunity to express to you our total and sincere appreciation for your unstinted and unselfish solidarity work for the just cause of freedom for our people. Your work and dedication to the people of East Timor, has been for us a moral incentive, and has enabled us to believe in the solidarity of peoples involved in the common struggle for freedom, peace, justice, and progress. We especially hope for the continuing and renewed effort from those solidarity organisations in the member states of the EC, in the United States, in Canada, Australia and Japan so that the intentions which have already been announced at governmental, political, party and parliamentary levels are not forgotten.

The Maubere people, dearest friends and comrades, after 16 years of a difficult war in difficult conditions, can only ask you, friends and comrades, that you speak for them.

To all of you, friends and comrades a warm embrace from all the fighters of FALINTIL and from all our people, and a special greeting from the National Council of Maubere Resistance.

Honour and glory to the martyrs of the Maubere fatherland! Viva the people of East Timor! Viva international solidarity! Fatherland or death! The struggle continues on all fronts! Resistance is victory!

General-headquarters of the National Council of Maubere Resistance the mountains of East Timor, 24 November 1991.

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao Commandant of FALINTIL.

CORRECTION ON DJAELANI

On 20 November 1991 I posted an item (now archived) which included some biodata on the Chairperson of the National Committee of Inquiry (KPN), Maj. Gen. Djaelani. I have since discovered that information in that item confused Djaelani the military lawyer with Djaelani the army commando, who is now dead. The infor-

mation for 1955 and 1956 refers to the late Major Djaelani. This was a bad slip-up because at least part of the case against the KPN team in the Australian press and in Tapol's preliminary analysis (1 December 91) rested on the assertion that Djaelani's commando background rendered him especially unfit to investigate the behaviour of the military in East Timor, where the RPKAD (later Kopassandha, then Kopassus) has such a vicious track record.

The rest of the information in my item is to the best of my knowledge correct, except that Djaelani graduated from the Akademi Hukum Militer (Military Law Academy) not in the early 1960s but in 1970.

Apologies to all concerned.

David Bouchier, Melbourne (peg:dbourc)

UPDATED U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT TRAVEL ADVISORY FOR INDONESIA

INDONESIA - CAUTION January 14, 1992

Summary: The Department of State advises U.S. citizens to exercise caution when traveling to Aceh, Irian-Jaya, and East Timor provinces. None of these areas are usual tourist destinations and all are far removed from the major Indonesian tourist attractions. End summary.

Aceh Province: Located at the extreme northern tip of the island of Sumatra, Aceh has been the site of limited civil unrest which has led to isolated violence. Neither private Americans nor foreign businesses were targeted for violence or involved in any incidents in Aceh. The Indonesian government has lifted local curfews and travel restrictions. Nevertheless, visitors are advised to exercise caution when traveling in Aceh, particularly at night or in rural areas.

Irian-Jaya Province: This is the western half of the island of New Guinea, and the easternmost province of Indonesia. Foreigners wishing to visit Irian-Jaya must be in possession of a travel letter (Surat Keterangan Jalan) issued by competent Indonesian police authorities. U.S. citizens arriving in Biak, an international port of entry, can obtain Surat Jalans (the travel letters), from the police after arrival. Foreigners inquiring from abroad, or in Jakarta, can address inquiries to the police directorate for foreigner's affairs (DITPOA), Mabes Polri, Jalan Trunojoyo 3, Jakarta Selatan. In addition, some areas, including the border area with Papua New Guinea, are restricted by the government of Indonesia. All government restrictions, and especially border restrictions, should be carefully followed. In 1990, several foreigners, including one American, were kidnapped by OPM guerrillas on the Papua New Guinea side of the border. These guerrillas, although

small in number, are active on both sides of the border.

East Timor: This province, located 300 miles north of Australia, has experienced periodic unrest since 1975. In November 1991, a number of demonstrators were killed when Indonesian security units reacted forcibly to a political demonstration; two U.S. journalists at that demonstration were injured. Americans have not been the target of any violence, but U.S. citizens traveling in East Timor should be aware of the potential for civil disturbances.

U.S. citizen travelers to Aceh, Irian-Jaya, and East Timor are advised to contact the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, at Medan Merdeka Selatan 5, Telephone 360-360, Extension 2050, to register their presence and receive current travel information. Alternatively, those traveling to Aceh may contact the U.S. Consulate General in Medan, at Jalan Imam Bonjol 13, Telephone 322-200.

No. 92-005

This replaces the advisory dated March 13, 1991, and is issued to reflect the potential for civil unrest in East Timor and the improved security situation in Aceh province.

SENATOR WALLOP REACTS TO INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT REPORT

News Release. Date: 16 January 1992.

The following is a statement from US Senator Malcolm Wallop (R-WY) pertaining to Indonesia's National Commission report on recent violence in East Timor.

"Initially I have to say I am heartened that the Government of Indonesia has chosen to respond to international criticism of the November 12, 1991 incident in such a public fashion. This is the first occasion on which they have responded to charges of human rights abuses by the army with a government investigation and that is a step in the right direction.

I am concerned, however, that the conclusions of the report seem to conflict with the events that followed the Commission's release of the report. For example, the replacement of Generals Warouw and Panjaitan is strange when the report emphasizes that the organized security forces were acting "without command" and claims that the killings were not ordered and did not reflect the policy of the government or the armed forces. In other words, if those generals were not responsible, why were they let go?

Finally I would stress that it is not always possible for a commission -- appointed by a government which has been the focus of so much criticism -- to conduct a wholly objective analysis. For this reason I would hope that an experienced international team with no objective other

than finding the truth will be able to conduct its own investigation. In addition, I remain very concerned about reports of ongoing human rights abuses in East Timor."

Wallop initiated a November 25 letter to President Bush that was signed by 52 US Senators. The lawmakers outlined their concerns and advocated a stronger and more effective US role in the region.

'BETRAYAL' BY THE SOUTH PACIFIC (DAVID ROBIE)

By David Robie, Pacific Islands Monthly (Fiji), Jan. 1992.

Comment: this article follows two from the United Nations, "East Timor back on the floor" which focuses on international response to the Santa Cruz massacre and the Timor gap treaty, noting Australia is on the verge of gaining "most sued nation" status at the World Court, and a backgrounder entitled "From Portuguese pan to Indonesian fire." The magazine notes that Vanuatu's Hilda Lini, a cabinet minister in the new conservative-dominated government, continues to speak out for East Timor.

An East Timorese human rights campaigner who toured New Zealand last month seeking tougher government action over the Dili massacre in November believes South Pacific countries have failed to heed the plight of Melanesians in the Indonesian colony.

Francisco Pang, Melbourne-based representative of the Fretilin resistance movement, singles out the Papua New Guinea government's attitude as particularly deplorable: "PNG is betraying the East Timorese people by not coming out with a strong condemnation and demand for an independent inquiry. They regard our plight as an 'internal problem' for the Indonesian to deal with."

He appealed for a more supportive stance by Pacific nations. "Our Melanesian brothers in the Papua New Guinea government should support us in our struggle," he told Pacific Islands Monthly. "Democratic countries such as PNG, Australia and New Zealand should play a more constructive role in pushing for our right to self-determination -- not only for the East Timorese people but also the indigenous people of West Papua, South Moluccas and Kanaky.

"Human dignity is freedom. It is the same principle that Pacific governments upheld to defend Kuwait and peace in Cambodia yet they ignore the plight of the indigenous people on their own doorstep who are seeking self-determination. For us this is a double standard."

In spite of the Timorese resistance groups gaining a "historic" (10-minute) meeting with Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke and a two-hour session with Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans last month,

Pang was snubbed by the New Zealand government. Both Foreign Affairs [Minister] Don McKinnon and Defence Minister Warren Cooper refused to see him.

The snub stirred bitter criticism by human rights and pro-Timorese groups at protest rallies marking the 16th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor on December 7, 1975. A 20-year old New Zealand student, Ahmed Bamadhaj, was among the victims killed by Indonesian soldiers during the Dili massacre on November 12. While the official Indonesian death toll for the massacre is 19, international human rights groups and eyewitnesses place the number closer to 100.

Pang accused New Zealand of being the only country in the Western alliance that appeared to be condoning the massacre. He called on Pacific nations to support an independent inquiry involving the United Nations and to pressure the Indonesians to begin a dialogue with the Timorese towards self-determination.

He said most Pacific countries -- with the important exceptions of the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu -- had been too influenced by Australia and New Zealand over Indonesian colonialism in the region.

[The article continues, outlining the KPN inquiry, human rights violations and deaths since 1975, comparisons with Kuwait, the massacre of journalists -- including one New Zealander -- at Balibo in October 1975, and the circumstances around Bamdhaj's death]

LETTER FROM EAST TIMOR (PRIVATE EYE)

Private Eye hears from army friend

Private Eye. Date: 17 January 1992. Byline: From 'our own correspondent'. [Written by someone who seems to know a thing or two.] [Private Eye is Britain's leading satirical weekly]

It just isn't fair. We soldiers obey orders - - the other day we shot about 152 Timorese and a New Zealander at the Santa Cruz cemetery here in Dili for the greater good of Indonesia - - and then we get the blame.

Indeed, we are more than a little choked at our brave President Soeharto's sacking of our generals Rudy Warouw and Sintong Panjaitan just because of the fuss over a lot of dead Timorese. After all, most of them were Christians and Rudy and Sintong are very good generals.

As that slippery civilian Governor Carrascalao was asked the other day, is Indonesia the biggest Muslim state in the world, or is it? Did Soeharto annex East Timor to the world's biggest Muslim state in 1976, or did he? Can we beat the backsides off the Catholics here in Tim Tim, or can we?

If Soeharto won't let us who are stationed in this Allah-forsaken hellhole sort out

these snivelling Christians and their Falintil guerrillas, then the old fool ought to move out in favour of someone with more guts. After all, it is not as though the Soeharto family hasn't made enough money for him to retire quite comfortably.

It's the same story in Aceh in Sumatra and in Irian Jaya; the army is being forced to go softly-softly. All the boys in Battalion 700 believe the army should be able to annihilate anyone who can't show he is 101 per cent Indonesian and who doesn't realise -- and no messing -- that what we Javanese say in Indonesia goes. Now that our foreign minister Ali Alatas has lost his chance to be head of the United Nations I don't see why we've got to go on pretending to the world that we're boys scouts.

The commander-in-chief got it right: Try Soetrismo said to the Lemhanas people a few days after the Santa Cruz affair: "These delinquents have to be shot." We shot them for Indonesia's sake and now Rudy and Sintong get the heave-ho! It's enough to make you cry into your nasi goreng.

News is not good from Canberra either. An Aussie colonel I met in Jakarta a fortnight ago said part of the reason Prime Minister Hawke got the push was that the Aussies didn't like the way he supported us over Tim Tim. Our other Aussie friend, Gareth Evans, who did so well for us at the Foreign Ministry is also up the creek without a paddle.

But we're all glad the kit you Brits sold us is very good indeed for zapping the Timorese and you're training our people very well. My young chum Hardiwan, who used to be stationed in Surabaya -- he's a major now -- is delighted to be studying how to kill Falintil more efficiently at some military college of yours in Shrivenham. Though he's a Catholic, he's a good man. He was learning English at some place called Silsoe with young Bambang from Bogor, who's also just started at Shrivenham.

Meanwhile we're all somewhat opposed to the two new so-called generals replacing Rudy and Sintong. Mantiri is a paper-pusher from HQ in Jakarta and Syafei an unknown from the wrong end of Sumatra. And they're both Christians! If they were real men and soldiers, they'd have told Suharto to stuff the jobs.

WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT EAST TIMOR

(LOREN RYTER)

by Loren Ryter (January 17, 1992)

Here is a 1,000 word article appropriate for newspapers or even letters to the editor. If anyone wishes to submit it to a local paper, please feel free to do so. I'd appreciate a notification. It repeats the basic scenario and discusses briefly the Indonesian National Commission's report.

Perhaps I shouldn't be too critical about what George Bush didn't say about East Timor on his recent trip to Asia. After his graceless gesture in Japan, he might be advised to keep his mouth closed as tightly as possible. Still, even if he had whisked through Asia healthfully and happily, creating American jobs and military bases wherever he went, he certainly would not have bothered to comment on the cold-blooded massacre of over a hundred East Timorese by Indonesian troops last November, or on the tortures and further killings which continued while he was touring the region. To comment on the grotesque affair would open up a whole can of embarrassing worms.

It is an embarrassment that the Bush administration's reaction to a massacre which in terms of relative population was easily fifty times as severe as the 1989 democracy crackdown in Tiananmen Square, has been characterized not by cries of indignation but rather by nervous silence. In the wake of the Gulf War, it is particularly embarrassing that the US has never once condemned the "naked aggression" of Indonesia in the sixteen years since it invaded and annexed its tiny neighbor, proclaiming East Timor the 27th Province of Indonesia, just as the villain Saddam Hussein had proclaimed Kuwait the 19th Province of Iraq.

Since the Indonesian annexation of East Timor, over 200,000 people, or one-third of the pre-invasion population, have died by execution or famine resulting from the willful destruction of crops and the withholding of food used as a tactic to starve out the resistance. The Indonesians believed that such intense military pressure, applied with the help of American made and supplied military hardware, would crush the East Timorese resistance once and for all. Instead, as demonstrated by the tenacious persistence of the East Timorese in defying Indonesian authority and proclaiming their solemn desire for self-determination and independence at the risk of death, the resistance movement is clearly as strong as ever.

The massacre of November 12th can be seen as an Indonesian reaction to brazen defiance. For nearly a year, the Indonesian army had been pursuing a campaign aimed at

intimidating the East Timorese into submission and silence in the presence of a planned Portuguese Parliamentary mission which was to investigate the human rights situation in East Timor. Soldiers had gone door to door warning people that if anyone dared to speak to the Portuguese, the army would execute every member of their families to the seventh generation. When the Portuguese were forced to suspend the mission due to various last minute Indonesian stipulations, the hopes of the East Timorese people to prove to the world their desire to be freed of the brutal Indonesian occupation were shattered.

Frustrated at having no outlet for their dissent, the East Timorese used the occasion of a funeral procession for two youths slain in a church by Indonesian plainclothes policemen to unfurl the protest banners they had been painstakingly making by candlelight over the previous weeks. Over three thousand people were moving toward the Santa Cruz cemetery, waving these banners of independence, when hundreds of Indonesian troops marched in formation from army trucks toward them, raised their American M-16 Automatic rifles, and opened fire directly into the crowd without so much as a warning shot. They continued to fire for between five and ten minutes, picking off survivors or beating them to death with their rifle butts.

One person who had his skull fractured by an M-16, but survived was Allan Nairn of the New Yorker. He was one of several foreign journalists who witnessed this latest massacre and managed to escape to tell about it. I say "latest" because East Timorese spokesmen say that the only thing that differentiated this massacre from other massacres in East Timor was the presence of foreign journalists. The few lines of communication that remain open to East Timor report that witnesses to the massacre have been rounded up by Indonesian soldiers, driven out to mass graves, stripped naked, and executed. Others have been arrested and may stand trial for subversion, which carries the death penalty.

Despite the eyewitness reports of foreign observers and even the availability of a video tape smuggled out of the country by a British cameraman, the US State Department saw it fit to wait for the results of Indonesia's own National Investigation Commission to report its findings before making a comment on the incident. After the report was finally released on Christmas Day, State Department spokesman Joseph Snyder said only that "we believe the commission has take a serious and responsible approach" and that "we consider it crucial to see how the Indonesian legal system will deal with those members of the security forces who used or condoned excessive force."

The Commission's report concluded that the "incident" occurred as a "spontaneous

reaction by soldiers not under command control" to the "wild and unruly" behavior of the youth in the crowd. It placed the blame for the incident on the crowd itself, which had been incited by the remnants of the "gang of security disrupters" [the resistance]. The report also claimed that the foreigners actively participated. It refuted testimony that the victim's bodies had been buried in mass graves by exhuming a single corpse which was buried in a coffin and offering it as evidence to the contrary. So far, the only action which has been taken against those involved was the replacement of two regional commanders. This is no consolation, and may even be worse. Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, who replaced Brig. Gen. Rudolf Warouw as East Timor Operational Commander, was quoted as saying "I'm not as patient as Warouw." If the hasty slaying of nearly two hundred civilians at a funeral procession is patience, we can only fear what will happen when Syafei loses his temper.

The Indonesians have thus far been able to consolidate their version of events beautifully. The journalists who survived the massacre have been pushing to make the facts of the latest massacre in East Timor known to the world and their testimony proves that the Commission's report is nothing more than a shameless whitewash, whose only chance for popular acceptance is popular ignorance. In the "New World Order" where our country claims to stand up to dictators and murderous regimes out of principle, someone should tell George Bush to wipe the egg off his face.

NO MEMBER OF PRAMUKA WAS INVOLVED IN THE DILI INCIDENT (SUARA KARYA)

No Pramukas joined 12 November demonstration

Suara Karya. Date: 20 January 1992.

Dateline: Jakarta. News story, summarised.

Comment: So the names of the dead victims are known!

Mashudi, the chief of the Headquarters of the National Pramuka Movement [Indonesia's scout organisation] said that not a single member of Pramuka in East Timor was involved in the 12 November incident in Dili.

"This conclusion is based on the names of the victims who died and on the names of those who have been detained by the security authorities," said Mashudi, after meeting President Suharto.

He said that following the 12 November incident, guidance for Pramuka members would be intensified, making use of personnel in East Timor itself. By giving training to Pramuka members, it is hoped to target the parents of Pramuka members, to

strengthen their understanding of Indonesian nationalism, but this is difficult to do in practice because so many of the parents cannot speak Indonesian.

There are now more than 100,000 Pramuka members in East Timor, said Mashudi. He said that Pramuka membership in East Timor had expanded rapidly, more so than elsewhere. "In other provinces, Pramuka membership accounts for about 10 per cent of the population. In East Timor, it is more than that."

COURT ALLOWS CROSSES REMOVAL IN CANBERRA PROTEST (AFP)

Excerpt from AFP, Melbourne, Jan 24 - The Federal Court cleared the way Friday for the removal of 124 blood-stained crosses placed outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra as a memorial to victims of the November 12 massacre in East Timor.

An injunction preventing police acting on an order by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans to remove the crosses was lifted by Judge Donnell Ryan here.

He ruled that protesters would not be inconvenienced if the crosses were moved from in front of the embassy to public land on the other side of the road.

East Timorese protesters had gone to court seeking to extend the injunction granted January 17.

The government told the court Australia was obliged by international treaty to remove the crosses because they impaired the dignity of the embassy.

REMOVAL OF EAST TIMORESE CROSSES "DISGRACEFUL" (CIET)

MEDIA RELEASE, 26 January 1992 from the AUSTRALIAN COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR, CIETACT, Canberra.

The wooden crosses planted by the East Timorese community in front of the Indonesian embassy in Canberra were removed by Australian Federal Police early this morning. The crosses which were erected in commemoration of the victims of the Dili Massacre were removed on orders of Foreign Minister Evans after Indonesian complaints that the "dignity of the embassy was impaired" by the crosses.

A spokesman for the Australian Coalition for East Timor in Canberra, Dr Michael Wagner, said today that the government action to remove the crosses was contemptible: "At a time when there is worldwide condemnation of the Dili Massacre and when international efforts to achieve a solution of the East Timor problem under the auspices of the UN are gaining momentum, the Australian government has committed yet another disgraceful act of complicity with the Suharto regime.

"After 16 years of Indonesian military occupation of East Timor and after more

than a quarter of the entire population of East Timor has died at the hands of the Indonesian military, one would think that Mr Keating and Senator Evans would finally say 'enough is enough' and give notice to the Indonesian government that Australia would reverse its de jure recognition of the Indonesian occupation and instead support a UN sponsored referendum for the people of East Timor."

Dr Wagner also said that according to the latest list of victims of the Dili Massacre, 183 people were killed at Santa Cruz cemetery itself and a further 57 people who had been wounded but had been able to escape were found and killed by Indonesian forces in the days immediately following the massacre. Another 123 people were listed as wounded during the Massacre.

The report which was received from reliable sources in East Timor lists the names, ages and residences of 59 young people who were killed in the Massacre and of whom 57 are aged between 15 and 26 years. However it also contains the names of Francisco Vilanova, aged 2, and Antonio Viegas, aged 8. Among the 59 named victims are 5 women, aged between 17 and 23 of whom three were also violated by their killers.

Dr Wagner said that the efforts of human rights organisations in Australia and worldwide were now concentrating on the fate of those East Timorese arrested by the Indonesian military in the aftermath of the Massacre. Two East Timorese have reportedly been sentenced to seven years and one to nine years imprisonment for "spying" in Dili while 21 East Timorese are facing charges of "showing feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt towards the Indonesian government" after a demonstration in Jakarta and a further 4 East Timorese are facing unknown charges after having been arrested in Bali.

Further information: Dr Michael Wagner (CIET-ACT), 06-2477962

EAST TIMORESE WILL NOT RECLAIM "DESECRATED" CROSSES

The East Timorese community in Australia will not reclaim 124 wooden crosses which were removed from near the Indonesian embassy by federal police.

In a meeting in Sydney last night the East Timorese expressed their anger at the police action and condemned the government for its "complicity" with the Suharto regime.

A spokeswoman for the East Timorese, Ms Ines Almeida, said: "The crosses have been desecrated by the police and we will therefore not touch them again."

The crosses were erected outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra by relatives and friends of the victims of the Dili Massacre in November. They were removed by police on Sunday after Foreign Minister Evans decreed that they "impaired the dignity" of the embassy.

The government action is still subject to a ruling by the federal court.

Further information: Ines Almeida, 02-8234109

Dr Michael Wagner (CIET-ACT), 06-2477962

PORTUGAL PROPOSES TIMOR TALKS (REUTER)

Excerpt from Reuter, Lisbon, Jan 24 - Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro said on Friday he had proposed direct talks with Indonesia on the situation in East Timor during talks with U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York.

Deus Pinheiro told Portuguese state television after the meeting that Boutros-Ghali had been receptive to the idea of direct talks under the auspices of the United Nations.

But Deus Pinheiro said dialogue would have to include the people of East Timor, which was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975 after more than three centuries of Portuguese rule.

The foreign minister conveyed to Boutros-Ghali Lisbon's "willingness for a political dialogue with Indonesia, without preconditions, and with the participation of all concerned parties."

"We do not have any assurances that the horrible past incidents will not be repeated and the only way to avoid them is through political dialogue over the reality of East Timor," said Deus Pinheiro.

Jakarta Rejects Portuguese Talks

Excerpt from Reuter, Lisbon, Jan 25 - An adviser to Indonesia's President Suharto on Saturday rejected a Portuguese proposal for direct talks on East Timor between Lisbon, Jakarta and the Timorese.

Francisco Lopez da Cruz told the Portuguese news agency Lusa that Indonesia opposed the idea "as a question of principle."

A car ferry chartered by a Portuguese student group sailed from Lisbon on Thursday for Dili, where the students plan to place a wreath at a cemetery to call attention to the human rights situation in East Timor.

Lopez Cruz said Jakarta would not let them land.

"The government will not allow opportunities for problems to be created for the nation's stability," he said.

Alatas: We Will Talk

Excerpt from AFP, Jakarta, Jan 26 - Indonesia is ready for U.N.-led talks with Portugal on East Timor, its foreign minister Ali Alatas was quoted as saying by the Antara news agency Sunday.

But Alatas said everything depended on the new U.N. secretary general's "will to

carry on his predecessor's initiative to arrange a U.N.-led Indonesia and Portugal meeting".

Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro is reported to have given a proposal to U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali calling for U.N.-led talks on East Timor without prior conditions and with the participation of representatives of East Timor.

"But what representative of East Timor is that? ... The majority of East Timorese have been on our side. They have, too, taken parts in a number of U.N. meetings and other meetings," Alatas said.

Asked if Portugal was referring to the banned East Timorese independence group Fretilin, the foreign minister replied: "Let me ask a question. Who, except for their own group, do they represent?"

Soares Denounces Indonesia

Excerpt from Reuter, New Delhi, Jan 27 - Portuguese President Mario Soares described Indonesia on Monday as a brutal country and rejected its version of an army massacre in East Timor.

"Everyone knows Indonesia is a brutal country which has killed opposition leaders and has no respect for human rights," Soares said.

"Portugal does not accept the inquiry set up by the Indonesian military authorities," he said.

He said he had asked the United Nations to continue to mediate between Portugal and Indonesia on East Timor's future.

Soares said he would use his visit to India to discuss enhanced commercial ties, including joint ventures in textiles and footwear, and Lisbon's desire to set up a consulate in Goa, a former Portuguese enclave on India's west coast.

India invaded and annexed Goa in 1961.

Soares calls for Talks

Excerpt from AFP, New Delhi, Jan 27 - Portuguese President Mario Soares called Monday for talks under U.N. auspices with Indonesia to settle the future of East Timor where Portugal has never recognised the 1976 Indonesian takeover.

Soares told a news conference here that such talks should aim at reaching a "fair settlement" based on international law and resolutions passed by the United Nations, which still regards East Timor as being ruled by Lisbon.

Soares, who was chief guest at India's Republic Day parade here Sunday, had sought New Delhi's support on Saturday for denouncing the alleged violation of human rights in East Timor. However New Delhi has made no comment.

Soares said India had agreed in principle to allow Portugal to open a consulate and a cultural centre in Goa.

TIMOR REBEL LEADER CAPTURED (REUTER)

Excerpt from Reuter, Dili, East Timor, Jan 27 - The Indonesian army has captured a leader of the guerrillas fighting Jakarta's rule over East Timor and says he has named dozens of accomplices while under interrogation.

East Timor's new military commander, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, said Jose Da Costa was caught on Thursday during a raid at Bairo Pite near East Timor's capital Dili.

Syafei said Da Costa, believed to be deputy chief of the Fretilin movement, had during interrogation named those who had helped him.

"He mentioned about 40 names, including those in government," the national news agency Antara on Monday quoted the general as telling local reporters.

The arrest, announced on television on Sunday night, is a success for Syafei after less than a month in the job.

Indonesian officials say there are no more than about 100 guerrillas compared to at least 10,000 troops in East Timor, half of them combat soldiers.

"The problem for the people is their suffering. If the suffering stops they will feel better," an East Timorese said.

He said he had heard of daily arrests since the shooting.

"They'd like to capture all the Fretilin elements. No one can deny that the people, especially in Dili, reject Indonesia more than ever after November 12," he said.

AFP, Jakarta, Jan 26 - Da Costa, also known as Mauhudu [sic], was caught by troops after a tip off from villagers in Bairo Pite near the capital of Dili and was suffering from malaria, Syafei said.

The recently appointed military commander said da Costa had told authorities about his financial backers while under interrogation.

Syafei said da Costa had revealed "about 40 names of officials working for the local government office of East Timor and private companies."

Timor Rebel Capture Denied

Excerpt from Reuter, Lisbon, Jan 27 - Guerrillas fighting Jakarta's rule over the former Portuguese colony of East Timor denied on Monday that Indonesian troops had captured their deputy leader.

The Fretilin guerrillas' representative in Australia, Borges Ferreira, said a statement by East Timor's new military commander Brigadier-General Theo Syafei that he had captured deputy leader Jose da Costa was just propaganda.

"There is no confirmation of the capture of Mau Huno (da Costa's nom de guerre)...If he had been captured, we would know about

it already," he told the Portuguese news agency Lusa.

Ferreira said the Indonesian army had probably captured Mau Laco, guerrilla commander for the eastern region.

Falantil Leader Captured (TAPOL)

Jan 29, 1992 by tapol

Our sources inside have confirmed that Falantil second-placed leader, Mau Hudu, was captured last week. He was found in his wife's home, suffering from a serious stomach wound and stricken with malaria.

Da Costa capture a blow to Timor Resistance (Reuter)

Comment: Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei starts to live up to his boast he is a tougher commander than ousted Brig. Gen. R.S. Warouw. Meanwhile, the words and practice dichotomy of Indonesian military officialdom gets bigger and bigger. Army Chief of Staff Edy Sudradjat has recently stressed the extension of "territorial operations," essential civic action programs, in East Timor. Yet the combat battalions remain as active as ever, and foreign observers returned from Dili describe the military presence even there as more intensive than in many years. Even the checkpoint system has been put back in place.

-- John

Reuter, Lisbon, Jan 29 - Guerrillas fighting Indonesia's rule in East Timor said on Wednesday that Indonesian troops had captured and tortured their second-in-command.

The Fretilin guerrillas' representative in Australia, Borges Ferreira, had previously denied a claim by East Timor's military commander Brigadier-General Theo Syafei that he had captured the Fretilin's number two, Jose da Costa.

But on Wednesday Ferreira told the Portuguese news agency Lusa that da Costa and 100 other people were rounded up by Indonesian troops in the former Portuguese colony last Thursday night.

Ferreira said he had heard that da Costa had been tortured.

Syafei had said da Costa had given him the names of 40 guerrilla sympathisers.

GUERRILLA COMMANDER CAPTURED BY INDONESIAN ARMY (IPS)

Lisbon, Jan 29 (ips) -- the Timorese national liberation front (fretilin) acknowledged Wednesday the capture of one of its leading guerrilla commanders, mau hodu. fretilin is fighting against the 1975 invasion and annexation of East Timor by Indonesia.

Mau Hudu-Jose da Costa, his official name according to his Portuguese identification, was arrested by Indonesian soldiers last Thursday in Dili, the capital of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony of Java

that was invaded by Indonesian forces in 1975.

The whereabouts of the guerrilla, said to be the second-in-command, was given away by an anonymous phone call.

According to Dili governor, Mario Carrascalao, who spoke to a Lisbon radio station, mah-hodo "was found more than a year ago in Dili" and probably organised "the most recent anti-government demonstrations."

On November 12, 1991, the Indonesian army opened fire on an anti-government demonstration leaving 183 dead, according to independent sources, and 52 dead according to the Indonesian military high command. international humanitarian organizations and the local catholic bishop believe the number of dead to be "more than 100."

Military authorities have identified Mah-Hodo as a "political operative" for the guerrilla leader, Xanana Gusmao.

Since the armed struggle against the occupation began in 1975, Gusmao, mah-hodu and commander Alex de Silva have constituted the central nucleus of fretilin.

Lisbon acknowledges Portuguese nationality of the Timorese people, basing their decision on a united nations security council resolution adopted in December 1975 following the invasion by Indonesia.

The United Nations resolution recognises Portugal as the "administrative power" of the territory until there is a national referendum regarding autonomy.

In 1975, Jakarta rejected the resolution and continued its occupation which has resulted in the death of 210,000 people out of a population of only 650,000. Portuguese politicians attribute Jakarta's military might to "powerful western countries that do a good business with Indonesia."

In light of these facts, the Timorese guerrillas who began with a Marxist orientation, are now seen as leaders of a broad liberation movement that enjoys political support from even the most conservative sectors of society.

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (UNHCR) TO MEET (REUTER)

Excerpt from Reuter, Geneva, Philippe Naughton, Jan 27 - The United States warned on Monday that it would turn the human rights spotlight onto Cuba as the United Nations began its annual six-week review of violations.

The 53-nation U.N. Human Rights Commission, bringing together some 1,500 delegates and observers, is due to debate allegations of abuse in countries ranging from Israel and South Africa to Indonesia.

With the East-West confrontation now gone, delegates said it would be the first

opportunity to examine human rights under the so-called "new world order."

The meeting has the power to pass condemning resolutions but no teeth to enforce any measures to protect human rights.

The conduct of Israel in the occupied territories will be discussed -- and almost certainly condemned -- for the 25th straight year. South Africa, despite its moves away from apartheid, remains high on the agenda.

Burma is likely to be censured on a number of counts, especially for its treatment of political opponents. Indonesia will probably face condemnation for its army's massacre of crowds mourning an independence sympathiser in East Timor in November last year.

UNHCR Politics (AFP)

Excerpt from AFP, Geneva, Jan 27 - The U.N. Human Rights Commission elected an Iranian to one of its three vice-presidential posts at the opening of its annual session Monday, prompting an immediate outcry.

One member of an international organization who declined to be named blasted the move as "shocking and scandalous," since Iran is one of the countries that could come in for public condemnation in the year's session, which runs through March 6.

The new vice-president, Cyrus Nasseri, is Iran's Ambassador to the United Nations here. But he has also been accused by the People's Mujahedeen -- the armed opposition to the regime in Tehran -- of being one of the leaders of Iranian terrorism in Europe.

He was nominated by the Asian group and won election by a consensus decision, as were the other two vice presidents, Ronald Walker of Australia and Suad Lyagubi-Uahchi of Tunisia, along with rapporteur Ligia Galvis of Colombia.

The president named for the session is Pal Solt, representing the new democracy in Hungary where he is Supreme Court head.

The commission, with representatives from 53 states, is to decide whether to publicly condemn countries accused of serious human rights violations, like Sri Lanka, Burma, Somalia, Indonesia, China, Zaire, Iraq and Iran.

One western European diplomat said he feared the "passive solidarity" of Asian countries could work not only in favor of Burma, but also prevent open discussion on the situation in Kuwait, Sri Lanka, Indonesian pressure in East Timor and Chinese repression in Tibet.

UNHCR Censure for Indonesia?

Some NGOs which lobby the UNHCR believe that Indonesia will receive some sort of censure on the torture issue despite the highly politicized nature of the UNHCR. Indonesia is a full member. There is also a conservative "Asian bloc."

-- John M.

UN CONDEMNATION THREATENS INDONESIA (NRC Handelsbald)

NRC Handelsbald. Date: 27 January 1992. Byline: Willem Offenbergh, Geneva. News item, summary only.

Indonesia is likely to be condemned at the UN Human Rights Commission now in progress in Geneva, following the publication of the report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Professor Kooijmans on Indonesia and East Timor. This alone would provide enough ammunition for a strong resolution, said Adrien-Claude Zoller, Director of the International Service for Human Rights, based in Geneva.

"This is a unique opportunity, far better than in previous years, coming on top of the Santa Cruz massacre last November," said Zoller.

Zoller has just returned to Geneva from a trip to Asia. In Macao, he spoke to two East Timorese eye-witnesses of the massacre who have just left East Timor and who told him that after the massacre, a number of persons who had been arrested at the time were taken away and shot dead in a district near the capital, Dili.

He was told that after the massacre, the Indonesian authorities in East Timor forbade fisherman to go fishing around the coast, for fear that they might find bodies of the victims.

Zoller said that NGOs which would be testifying at the Commission in Geneva were closely watching the attitudes adopted by Australia and the Netherlands. Professor Kooijmans himself occupies a double role at the Commission; on the one hand as an independent expert who has produced a report on torture but on the other hand as head of the Dutch delegation at the Commission. In the latter role, he will have to represent Dutch government policy. The Netherlands will be attending the Commission this year as a full member. Zoller criticised Holland's over-hasty decision to resume economic aid to Indonesia.

CANADA ASIA WORKING GROUP SUBMISSION TO UNHCR

Submission prepared for the 48th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights Geneva, February 1992 by Canada Asia Working Group, an agency of the Canadian Council of Churches

Background to the Current Human Rights Situation

Since Indonesian troops invaded the territory in December 1975, and illegally annexed it in July 1976, one third of the population, or at least 200,000 people have died as a result of killings, bombings and famine brought on by the war. 1 As the Montreal Gazette points out, the death toll

is even higher proportionally than in of Cambodia under Pol Pot. 2

Repeated United Nations (UN) resolutions in the General Assembly have affirmed the right of the East Timorese to a free and fair act of self-determination, and have called for Indonesia to withdraw its troops from the territory. 3 In March, the UN Secretary General reaffirmed that East Timor had the same right to self-determination as Namibia and the Western Sahara.4

Indonesia's pervasive security apparatus has kept the flow of information out of the territory limited. In 1989, Indonesia declared the territory "open" to tourism and commerce. Visitors, however, report continued restrictions. An Australian parliamentary mission was accompanied by Indonesian "protocol officers," while entry was refused this year to Japanese parliamentary group, a mission of Indonesian human rights advocates headed by J.C. PRICEN, chair of the League for Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM) and an Australian journalist.

Extensive documentation on continuing human rights abuses has been received from sources in the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor (which remains the primary social institution in the country), reports from refugees and foreign visitors, and documents produced by the active and clandestine resistance in East Timor.

Since 1975, an armed resistance has been carried on against the Indonesian military. Operations against the resistance have intensified since late 1990, when a new offensive was launched in an unsuccessful bid to capture the resistance leader, Kay Rala Xanana GUSMAO.

Beginning with the visit of Pope John Paul II to Dili in October 1989, the focus of resistance to Indonesian rule has shifted from the mountains to cities and towns. Indonesian soldiers are stationed in virtually all areas of the territory, with military presence estimated at as many as 25,000 soldiers in October. 5 In October 1991, Brig-Gen. Rudy WAROUW, armed forces commander in East Timor, announced the replacement of "Operation Smile," an attempt to win the heart and minds of the East Timorese, by "Operation Combat," which signalled an intensification of repression.

The Catholic Church has stood as the one tenuous protection from Indonesian repression, despite restrictions on its operations. Starting with an attack on a church in Dili, however, the military has begun to target the church and attempt to link it with the resistance. At least four churches were attacked by Indonesian soldiers this year, and several priests have been arrested and tortured. The personal safety of Bishop Carlos Ximenes BELO, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili, has been precarious since his appeal to the UN Secretary General in 1989. 6

Throughout the year, the UN Secretary General used his good offices to bring about an agreement for a mission of parliamentarians from Portugal, the UN-recognized administering power, to East Timor. The visit was scheduled to begin in late October, but was called off at the last minute. The visit's suspension shocked the Timorese, who had looked to it as a sign of hope.

The massacre of perhaps 200 people at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991, witnessed by foreign journalists, focused international attention on human rights violations on East Timor. Canada was one of several countries to reduce aid to Indonesia in protest at the killings. However, more massacres followed and repression seems to have intensified after 12 November. Up to 500 people may have been rounded up and executed from 12 November to 10 December.7

Arbitrary Arrest and Detention, Torture and Ill-Treatment

According to Amnesty International, more than 400 people were arrested in East Timor from the end of 1988 to 11 November 1991. "A pattern of short-term detention, ill-treatment and torture of political detainees appears to have worsened in the past year," Amnesty says. 8 Forms of torture have included beatings with iron bars, batons and fists, burning with lighted cigarettes, and immersion for long periods in fetid water. A particular favourite of Indonesian torturers is slashing with razor blades.

The fall of 1990 saw a spate of pro-independence demonstrations by mostly young Timorese, beginning with a 4 September demonstration at a Mass celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Dili Diocese, at which the Papal Nuncio to Indonesia was present. Indonesia responded with a wave of arrests which continued in 1991. many of the arrests involved torture. In January 1991, 20 Timorese were arrested for a short period, during which they were reportedly beaten and tortured. 9

The wave of arrests also took in Constancio PINTO and David DA CONCEICAO, teachers at Sao Jose high school in Dili, and three of their students: Jose Antonio GALUCHO, Talufo MONIZ, and Abilio MESQUITA. In April, six more Sao Jose students were arrested. One of them, Arnaldo MAIA, later had to be hospitalized because of wounds inflicted by torture. 10 David DA CONCEICAO was re-arrested on Oct. 28 and tortured once again. 11

In March 1991, British journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy visited East Timor and reported that Indonesian torturers were world experts in "the refined use of the razor on human flesh." One priest told him a 17-year old girl was arrested, raped repeatedly, then

had her breasts and private parts cut off and stuffed into her mouth. 12

Young people are the main targets of repression. In March, 13-year old Jose LY was arrested and held for four days for making phone calls to Indonesian settlers and asking them "Kapan Pulang?" ("when are you going home?"). He was reportedly tortured during his confinement and released only after his family paid a 20,000 rupiah bribe. 13

In February and March, soldiers engaged in a military offensive in the Ossu region arrested several villagers gathering food. On 7 February, Buanuruk villagers were arrested, ordered to dig their own graves, tied up and lined up in front of the graves as if they were to be shot. On 2 March, an elderly villager from Loihuno was tied up with his own towel for eight hours and threatened. In May, 96 civilians in Ossu were arrested, with 20 of them (all students) said to be tortured. 14

Following the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November, at least 200 were detained. At the end of 1991, at least 37 of these were still being held. Fourteen have been charged with subversion, which carries a possible death penalty. A further 18 face other criminal charges, while charges against the rest are pending. 15

A number of priests are also undergoing torture and detention. Fr. Alberto RICARDO, the pastor of Motael parish church and Vicar-General of the Dili Diocese, was repeatedly interrogated through December 1991 and January 1992. Fr. Hilario MADEIRA was detained for two days and threatened with automatic weapons. Fr. Domingos SANTOS was also detained and tortured in December. The pastor of a church in Maliana was reportedly tortured on 4 November.

Another concern is the treatment of Timorese students studying at universities in Indonesia. A military document dated 23 February listed 19 of these students at security risks and put them under surveillance. 16 At a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on 13 March, 6 students were punched and kicked as they were arrested, and held for one day. 17 On 18 September, Benjamin MARTINS was arrested in Maliana (East Timor) and accused of coordinating links between the resistance in East Timor and Timorese students in Indonesia.

Seventy Timorese students in Jakarta who participated in a demonstration to protest against the Santa Cruz massacre were arrested on 19 November. Although most were released on 26 November, they remain under house arrest. Lawyers and relatives have been denied access to the prisoners. 18 The 21 students still held at the end of the year have been charged with "publicly expressing enmity, hate or insults toward the lawful government," which

carries a maximum penalty of 7 years in prison. 19

Four Timorese studying in Denpasar, Bali, were detained on 24 November. All were tortured; one of them, Jose Pompeia Saldanha RIBEIRO, was reported as unable to walk because of the severity of his wounds. 20

Extra-Judicial Executions and Disappearances

After the Santa Cruz massacre, over 90 people were reported as missing by their families, according to the Indonesian Bishops Conference. Military authorities began a search for mass graves, tacit admission the missing people were probably killed. 21 Other "disappearances" include Moises DO AMARAL, a guerrilla captured on 16 January and still missing late in the year. In January and February, 12 prisoners were taken from Becora prison to unknown places, and a resident of Taibesse, Dili, also disappeared. On 12 February, three people who disappeared in Nov. 1990, Jose Manuel DA SILVA FERNANDES, Moises DA COSTA, and ANUCU, were apparently ordered killed.

Reported extra-judicial executions include six shepherds gunned down in the Ossu region on 10 March for allegedly supplying food to guerrillas; Jeremias FUAT, shot dead by soldiers on 17 January; a woman accused of contacting guerrillas and her baby, both reportedly shot at Muasu Lore; and two captured guerrillas said to have been poisoned by soldiers for refusing to divulge their comrades' position.

Masked gangs, rumoured to consist of off-duty soldiers, continued to roam the streets of Dili, terrorizing the population. East Timor's Indonesian-appointed Governor, Mario Viegas CARRASCALAO, spoke of "a kind of terror" pervading the streets at night. 22 In April, 200 Timorese students were said to be "missing," with these gangs suspected.

This atmosphere intensified as the scheduled visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation neared. In early summer, intimidation groups began to form, with the goal of creating an atmosphere of terror and chaos leading up to the visit. Of particular concern is the "Regu Ninja/Petrus" gang, a group of masked killers equipped with binoculars, video cameras, pistols and knives. In September, 5,000 additional soldiers arrived in East Timor.

In a plea to supporters in the Portuguese church, Bishop Belo said the Indonesian military had "once again started a campaign of terror, of threats. Anyone who approaches the Portuguese will be killed. There is no climate of freedom..." 23

On 28 October, within a day of the cancellation of the parliamentary mission, soldiers attacked a crowd of 20 youths taking refuge in the Motael parish church in Dili. Soldiers reportedly opened fire on the

group, killing Sebastiao GOMES (Rangel), 18, and Afonso HENDRIQUE, about 30. No evidence was found of the alleged presence of weapons in the church. About 50 young Timorese were arrested in connection with the attack. Some of them were later beaten and subjected to electric shocks. Until this incident, the right of sanctuary in churches had been respected.

Massacres of civilians

World attention returned to East Timor on 12 November, when soldiers opened fire on a crowd estimated at 2,000 to 4,000 people, all unarmed. 24 Fourteen days after the death of Sebastiao Gomes, mourners gathered in his memory at Motael church at 7:00 a.m. After a Mass conducted by Fr. Ricardo, the congregation set off for Santa Cruz cemetery to lay flowers on the grave, carrying pro-independence banners in Portuguese and English. En route, they were joined by many more people, including schoolchildren on their way to classes. When they arrived at the cemetery, soldiers opened fire on the crowd.

"The scene at the cemetery gate was frozen into my mind," wrote a British eyewitness. "A young man, badly wounded but still not dead, lay across the entrance. Others had tripped and fallen in the dirt. A solid wedge of people were stuck in the entrance, pressed from behind by hundreds of others desperate to escape the bullets. Then the wedge broke, and the people poured screaming through the gap, trampling over the bodies, the wounded and the whole alike. Outside in the street, the soldiers kept up a sustained volley of fire, perhaps two minutes long -- thousands of rounds poured into the crowd and down into the cemetery where I was hiding." 25

"It was a sea of blood," added Italian priest Stefani RENATO. "Hours after the massacre I saw bloodstains on the road -- even though the soldiers tried to scrub them out." 26 The military admitted to 19 killed and 91 wounded; eyewitness accounts place the number at over 100, perhaps over 200. 27 Nuns were said to have been denied entry to the cemetery to minister to the dying after the shooting was over.

One foreigner, New Zealand volunteer worker Kamal BAMADHAJ, 20, was also killed in the massacre. Red Cross workers say he died of blood loss because the Red Cross vehicle taking him to hospital was held up at an army roadblock. The driver, too, was threatened with death. 28

Three days later, on 15 Nov., another 80 young men and women were massacred at Be-Mussi, near Dili. All were said to have been present at Santa Cruz. Reports say the women were raped in front of the men, then all were forced to strip naked and blindfolded before being shot. 29

Two more massacres followed. On 17 November, ten witnesses to the Be-Mussi massacre were executed; on 19 Nov., an-

other seven were shot by masked men believed to be soldiers. The dead included two children, aged one and five, and five women.

Indonesia set up a National Commission of Inquiry which concluded that 50 had been killed at Santa Cruz but blamed demonstrators for "provoking" the soldiers. According to the report, "There was a spontaneous reaction by soldiers to protect themselves, shooting many times into the demonstrators." 30 This claim that soldiers fired in self-defence contradicts all other eyewitness accounts and filmed evidence.

In the wake of the report, East Timor army commander Brig-Gen. Rudy WAROUW and his superior, Maj-Gen. Sintong PANJAITAN, were removed from their posts. Diplomats, however, said they expected a more repressive policy from the new East Timor military commander, Brig-Gen. Theo SYAFEI. "I am not as patient as Warouw," Syafei told the Jakarta Post, seemingly heralding a new crackdown. 31

Restrictions on Freedom of Movement, Speech and Association

Fundamental freedoms of movement, speech and association continue to be severely restricted. Travel throughout the territory remains impossible without obtaining permission from authorities. Villagers forced to endure frequent curfews, prevented from freely gathering food and medicines in the countryside, and restricted from entry in zones where fighting is going on. Village markets have been destroyed, and traditional inter-village trade halted.

Almost the entire rural population of East Timor has been forcibly moved into resettlement centres. 32 Many are thus cut off from their ancestral homes and prevented from returning, even to rejoin their families. House-to-house searches in these resettlement centres and in cities like Dili remains a daily fact of life for the Timorese.

In November, there were reports of more young people being relocated against their will to camps to get them away from international journalists in Dili. 33

Mail and phone calls are monitored, especially in the cases of prominent Timorese like Bishop Belo. Reporters trying to reach Belo and other churchmen after the 12 Nov. massacre were unable to make contact, or were cut off after a short time. After the massacre, international human rights groups reported they were afraid to call their contacts in East Timor because it might put them in danger. 34

On 19 December, all protests were banned in East Timor, by government decree.

Violations of religious, cultural and collective rights

Bishop Belo has said that "we continue to die as a people and as a nation." The sheer numbers killed in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion, a third of the po-

pulation, qualify as genocide against the East Timorese people. However, they are also subjected to cultural genocide: deliberate attempts to destroy their indigenous culture and their future as a distinct people in their own land. A full generation has now grown up, cut off from their rich cultural heritage. East Timor's 30 languages and dialects today stand on the brink of extinction.

Traditional ceremonies, languages and religions are banned. In December 1991 the armed forces shut down Sao Jose High School in Dili -- the only remaining school teaching in Portuguese, English and Tetun, the Timorese lingua franca before 1975. 35

Transmigration of Indonesians from the inner islands, which threatens to swamp the Timorese demographically, continues in a scaled-down form, and the policy was reaffirmed by President Suharto this year. 36 Church sources estimate there are now 100,000 Indonesians in East Timor. 37 "They come off every boat. In ten years Dili will cease to be a Timorese town, if things go on as they are," says Bishop Belo. 38

Despite the heavy loss of life already suffered by the East Timorese, forced abortions and coercive birth control programs continue to be inflicted on Timorese women. Forced injections of Depo-Provera have been reported as a disproportionate problem in East Timor. A new form of coercive birth control is the Norplant contraceptive implant, which works in similar fashion but prevents conception for five years. The Norplant is banned in Canada pending an investigation into side effects said to include increased risk of ectopic pregnancies and possible cancer, sterility and birth defects. In 1991, two-thirds of all Norplants produced in the world were used in Indonesia, meaning a total of 500,000 women implanted with the Norplant. 39

Traditional agricultural patterns have been displaced, with the western part of the territory now devoted primarily to cash cropping of coffee, rice, cardamom and sugar rather than subsistence agriculture. 40

On 1 July, Indonesian law replaced Portuguese land regulations in East Timor, marking yet another threat to the Timorese culture. Land ownership will now require the owner to use the land, a concept alien to the traditional model. Ownership will have to be approved by local authorities. Under the new regulations, shifting agriculture will be excluded and the government will gain another means of coercion over the people. Churches will also be required to surrender their land to the state in return for possible rights to use the land. The issue of land has become a major controversy, with the Church and Governor strongly opposed to the change and one Timorese civil servant calling it "the second invasion" of East Timor. 41

Conclusions and recommendations

The Santa Cruz massacre of 12 Nov. is just the most violent of many violations of human rights exhibited in the territory in 1991, a year in which repression intensified. At the end of the year, repression seems to be intensifying still further. As Bishop Belo said in his Christmas message, "We are living in fear, not peace. We suffer, hate, cry and lose hope." 42

The report of the National Commission of Inquiry has not stopped the repression, but only made it worse. At a time when armed forces commander-in-chief Gen. Try SUTRISNO makes statements about demonstrators in Dili like "These despicable people must be shot," the dismissal of two lower-ranking officers goes little way toward overcoming gross and systematic violations of human rights. 43 An independent international investigation, as requested by the government of the Netherlands, would be more useful in examining the massacre of 12 November and other violations.

Both Bishop Belo and resistance leader Xanana Gusmao have called for the United Nations to sponsor peace talks, without preconditions, between Timorese, Indonesian and Portuguese parties. Belo has proposed a referendum on independence, a solution recently agreed to for the Western Sahara, where the UN will contribute peacekeeping forces. 44 As Xanana points out, "Indonesia is not able to integrate East Timor into the Indonesian community by military means. A solution other than military force must be found...." 45

Inasmuch as the Canadian government has recognized the de facto control exercised by Indonesian authorities in East Timor, but has not recognized the de jure incorporation of East Timor by Indonesia, we recommend that the Canadian government:

1. pursue initiatives towards the implementation of UN Resolution GA 37/30 (1982);
2. call for a withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor and demonstrate support for the right of the people of East Timor to a free and fair act of self-determination, as affirmed by repeated UN resolutions.

At the United Nations,

3. call for an independent investigation, under the auspices of the United Nations, into recent massacres in East Timor;
4. encourage the Secretary-General of the UN to include representatives of the Timorese people, including the Nationalist Convergence, in talks held under his auspices in accordance with UN Resolution 37/30 (1982);

At the 48th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Canada should:

5. under Agenda Item 9 and 12, raise the serious concerns of Canadians about the human rights situation in East Timor, taking note of the report of the Special Rapporteur's visit in October 1991 to East Timor and ensure that effective follow-up mechanisms are established.
6. under Agenda Item 10, support a resolution calling for a review of the human rights situation in East Timor.
With respect to humanitarian concerns, Canada should
7. help apply international pressure on the Indonesian authorities to give free and unrestricted access to international relief and independent human rights agencies to work in East Timor, particularly the International Committee of the Red Cross and Amnesty International.

Notes

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- 6 Pax Christi International, Statement to the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, August 9, 1990.
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- 12 Hugh O'Shaughnessy, Secret killing of a nation The Observer (London), 7 April 1991.
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- 16 Tapol Bulletin #105, June 1991.
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- 21 Jakarta Post, 9 Dec. 1991.
- 22 Sunday Age, 17 Feb. 1991.
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- 27 Dave Todd, Canada's deadly silence, Toronto Star, 3 Dec. 1991.
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- 29 Dave Todd, Terror in Timor -- Indonesian government plotting murders of witnesses to massacre, say rights workers and bishop. Ottawa Citizen, 25 Nov. 1991.
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- 32 Mark Seddon, Long-forgotten victims of an Asian invader, The Times (London), 20 April 1991.
- 33 Ottawa Citizen, 25 Nov. 1991.
- 34 Ottawa Citizen, 25 Nov. 1991.
- 35 Tempo, 7 Dec. 1991.
- 36 Jakarta Post, 14 Dec. 1991.
- 37 Hugh O'Shaughnessy, Irish Times, 27 April 1991.
- 38 The Observer, 7 April.
- 39 Sheila Ward and others, Service Delivery Systems and Quality of Care in the Implementation of Norplant in Indonesia (New York: The Population Council, 1990).
- 40 Elaine Briere and Dan Devaney, "East Timor: The Slaughter of a Tribal Nation," Canadian Dimension, October 1990.
- 41 East Timor News, Monthly Memo #6, 20 July 1991.
- 42 Jakarta Post, 26 Dec.
- 43 Jakarta Post, 26 Dec. 1991.
- 44 Jayakarta, 14 November 1991.
- 45 The Age, 14 February 1991. Belo's October plea for an international peacekeeping force to protect the Timorese has been backed by more than 50 Catholic Bishops from around the world, including Bishop Remi De Roo of Victoria and Bishop Hamelin of Rouyn-Noranda, both from the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops.

TIMOR POLICY BASED ON FALSE PREMISES, SAYS HORTA(GREEN LEFT)

By Melanie Sjoberg Green Left Weekly pm Jan 28, 1992

MELBOURNE - The November 12 Dili massacre provided the Australian government with an opportunity to correct its policy, Fretilin UN representative Jose Ramos Horta told a public meeting here on January 19.

But the government had passed up the opportunity, he added. "Instead, they have persisted with the same approach. They concoct schemes to cover up their policies and the Australian people are told to accept the idea that reconciliation [of East Timor] with the Indonesian republic is necessary."

Horta characterised Australia's signing of the Timor Gap Treaty as "a vicious stab in the back" that had cost many East Timorese lives.

The Australian policy is based on false premises. "The situation in East Timor is a result of the nature of the regime, just as the problems in West Papua and the human rights situation in Indonesia are results of that same regime.

"It is an illusion that Australia can have stable and prosperous relations with Indonesia while the nature of this regime continues. It does not allow fair and open discussion within the country. It does not allow support for individual rights, freedom of the press nor self-determination for the people."

Far from being constructive, the Australian government policy is actively destructive, Horta said. Australian officials have been lobbying the United States and the European Community to support an impossible "reconciliation" between Indonesia and Timor.

Foreign minister Gareth Evans has informed Horta that Australia will oppose any agreement in the Human Rights Commission in February if it contains any reference to self-determination.

Horta said Xanana Gusmao, leader of Fretilin in East Timor, had called more than 12 months ago for roundtable negotiations without preconditions under the auspices of the United Nations. Even after the Dili massacre, Xanana reaffirmed that position despite the fact that hundreds of people were being killed in the countryside. The offer of negotiations without precondition has been repeated in a letter from the political leadership of Fretilin to the Portuguese president.

East Timor solidarity groups around Australia are discussing a national gathering in February to coordinate activities.

EAST TIMORESE FEARFUL (REUTER)

Excerpt from Reuter, Dili, East Timor, Jonathan Thatcher, Jan 28 - Residents of East Timor say they have been living in fear since the Indonesian army massacre last November and believe the military is about to crack down harder on dissent.

The shooting on November 12 sparked international outrage. A car ferry chartered by Portuguese students left Lisbon last week to stage a demonstration in Dili but Jakarta vowed on Tuesday to ban the latest protest.

"We will not permit them to land," Armed Forces chief Try Sutrisno told reporters in Kuala Lumpur.

The students plan to lay a wreath at the cemetery where troops fired on crowds mourning the death of an independence sympathiser.

Residents said Dili, though quiet on the surface, was pervaded by a sense of fear. They said few had any trust in the army since the shooting.

Several residents say Jakarta would probably lose any independence referendum now despite the aid it has poured in.

One source said any army crackdown would only work in the short term.

The government this year has allocated more aid to East Timor than any other province.

'STOP DELAYING THE INEVITABLE' - FRETILIN (GREEN LEFT)

By Tracy Sorensen Green Left Weekly Jan 28, 1992

DARWIN - The Australian government should stop trying to delay the inevitable and recognise East Timor's right to independence, Fretilin's representative in Australia, Alfredo Ferreira, told Green Left in an interview here last month.

The Australian government is putting itself on the wrong side of international law in its negotiations with Indonesia for oil exploration rights in the Timor Sea, Ferreira said. A free East Timor would seek compensation for damages, and look to those countries which support independence for help in reconstructing the country and developing East Timor's natural resources.

Contrary to the claim by foreign minister Gareth Evans that the East Timorese would benefit through Australia's relationship with Indonesia, "their constant support for Indonesia is encouraging the Indonesians to kill more people", said Ferreira.

"Since 1975, the Australian government's relations with the Indonesians have improved quite a lot, but the human rights record in East Timor is getting worse; the two things are going in opposite directions."

Indonesia's rulers "don't think it means anything when the Australian government says you should stop this or improve that. The Indonesian government just doesn't care."

The government should "withdraw recognition of the Indonesian takeover of East Timor, and force Indonesia to accept international law, as outlined by the UN Security Council in December 1975".

Australia's negotiations with Indonesia over oil exploration rights were illegal, said Ferreira.

"Australia and Indonesia are using our national resources. Australia is not guilty because it is exploiting that area. It is guilty because it has entered negotiations with a power that is not legitimate in East Timor.

"By doing this, Australia has put itself on the wrong side of the law. We can't accept the view that Australia is right and Indonesia is wrong. Once the Australian government entered into negotiations and signed the treaty, it automatically puts them on the wrong side. We should seek compensation for all the damage caused to us.

"Australia is giving them the chance to prop up their economy at the cost of the East Timorese people, using an East Timorese resource. They are using that money, that resource, to kill our own people. That's not on, we can't accept it."

If the Australian government was in such a hurry to exploit oil in the Timor Sea, said Ferreira, an alternative would be to recognise the right to self-determination of the East Timorese people and enter negotiations with a free East Timor.

On the other hand, "if Australia keeps refusing till such a day that East Timor gets its independence with the help of other big countries than Australia, obviously we would have to turn to other countries to help us. How could we tell the Timorese people who have suffered all those years that Australia is now entitled to do such and such a thing, even though it never did anything for us at all?"

Ferreira said that the Dutch government was cutting financial aid to Indonesia, and the Danish government had already done so.

At the same time, any agreements signed by a free East Timorese government would be in the people's interests. "We are not fighting and dying in order for the multinational companies to come in and exploit the East Timorese people."

He pointed out that the Australian government's record on East Timor appeared to contradict the sympathy the Australian people had consistently shown with the national liberation struggle a few hundred kilometres to the north.

"When the November 12 massacre occurred, the impact was so great that Bob Hawke, Gareth Evans and the whole government couldn't avoid it; public opinion forced them to take some action. The Labor

caucus resolution after the massacre was quite strong, not because they wanted it to be, but because they had no choice ...

"But I think we are going to run up against the big capitalists like BHP, Esso and Santos and so on. They are quite prepared to exploit the oil in East Timor. They don't want to hear the human side of the story."

The Northern Territory's chief minister, Marshall Perron, signed a memorandum of understanding on trade and development with Indonesia's foreign minister, Ali Alatas, on January 22. In what the Financial Review described as "an unexpected diplomatic coup", Perron was careful to assure Alatas that "Australia should not apply its own standards when making judgments on Indonesia".

The Northern Territory News, Darwin's daily newspaper, is pushing a line particularly hostile to Fretilin, said Ferreira, although all progressive groups in the territory tend to get the same treatment. Darwin's East Timorese community, the majority of them Fretilin supporters, were being branded as a "ratbag element" in the letters pages. Ferreira said he knew of letters supporting Fretilin that were not published.

"The problem is a human rights problem, the right of the people to say what they want. That's what they are fighting for, and that's what Fretilin is fighting for.

"When Fretilin came into being in 1974, it said clearly that it is a front, a movement of all Timorese from every part of the political spectrum to fight for the independence of East Timor. We didn't say that only people who espouse communist ideals could enter Fretilin; we had people from one side to the other. Now, 90% of the people of East Timor support us."

The Catholic Church, said Ferreira, was now an important base of support for the independence movement, although this was not always the case. In 1974-75, Fretilin's ideas were "quite straightforward and progressive" and therefore took the church, based as it was on Portuguese colonial power, by surprise.

"They weren't used to being contested; what they said was law. But we had a different way to go. We thought the people had the right to choose what they wanted. We wanted to bring up democracy, to have discussions and change social life and a society in which a small elite force was ruling the majority of the people."

Now, said Ferreira, there are Fretilin priests. Many in the church came to see Fretilin as the saviour of the Catholic faith against the new Indonesian rulers. Meanwhile, the East Timorese people had learned to get religion and politics into perspective:

"People used to go to church every Sunday, have their lessons, and go home and pray. It's all right, but when you pray it's like salt in food. You only need so much salt

to make the food nice, but if you put too much salt in it, you spoil the food. We have to balance everything."

The East Timorese people are both optimistic and realistic, said Ferreira. "The day the Indonesians are forced to withdraw, we have to be in touch with reality. We have to look around the world and see how the world is, what sort of society we are living with. When these things happen, we'll count on international support. We'll be counting on those who have been supporting us all this time."

UK STANDS UP FOR EAST TIMOR (REUTER)

Excerpt from Reuter, London, Sue Baker, Jan 28 - Britain urged Indonesia on Tuesday to end human rights abuses in disputed East Timor and to further investigate an army massacre there last November.

The Foreign Office also supported calls for Indonesia to allow a U.N. special envoy to visit East Timor to report on the human rights and political situation in the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed a year later.

"We urge the Indonesian government to put in place policies to ensure that abuses of human rights in East Timor cease, and to pursue a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the East Timor issue," a statement said.

Referring to the November 12 army shooting of crowds mourning an independence sympathiser, the Foreign Office urged Indonesia to investigate the responsibility of the armed forces at all levels and to undertake to punish those found responsible.

"We also urge the Indonesian authorities to investigate further the continuing discrepancies in the number killed (in the massacre) and the large number of people unaccounted for."

The Foreign Office statement, while critical of the Indonesian government, was balanced by expressions of support.

"We welcome President Suharto's expression of deepest condolences to the people of East Timor and his commitment that the Dili incident must not happen again," it said.

BELO: SHIP PROTEST LEADERS HAVE 'HEADS IN CLOUDS' (REUTER)

Excerpt from Reuter, Lisbon, Jan 29 - In a move to commemorate the Dili massacre deaths, Portuguese students left Lisbon on a chartered car ferry last week to sail to Dili and place a wreath of flowers in a cemetery.

Indonesia's armed forces chief Try Sutrisno pledged the students would not be allowed to land, but Fretilin representative in Australia Alfredo Ferreira said he thought the voyage was essential.

The Roman Catholic bishop of Dili told a Portuguese radio station that the arrival of the car ferry could only make matters worse for the citizens of East Timor.

"It would be better if they did not come," Carlos Ximenes Belo told the Catholic Radio Renascenca. "The people who organised the voyage must have their heads in the clouds."

MADDENING SILENCE

(F.E.E.R.)

Lisbon blamed for muted EC response on East Timor

Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 January 1992. By Adam Schwarz in Jakarta and Peter Wise in Lisbon.

Comment: A remarkable example of the Review batting for Indonesia.

Indonesia's relations with the EC are being strained by the Community's lack of response to Indonesian efforts to ameliorate human rights abuses in East Timor, the Portuguese colony Jakarta annexed in 1976. Indonesian and European diplomats blame the inaction on Portugal, which assumed the EC Presidency on 1 January and is determined not to let the East Timor issue fade away.

An EC statement strongly condemning Indonesia was released on 13 November, a day after Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a crowd of mourners in East Timor. A second, similar statement by the EC was issued on 3 December. After an Indonesian investigative team concluded that the army had used excessive force, President Suharto dismissed two senior officers and set up a military commission to investigate wrongdoing by soldiers.

Most governments gave Jakarta high marks for taking politically difficult steps to discipline the army. But, the EC's refusal to acknowledge this is causing ill-will among many in the foreign policy establishment and does not help those in the government pushing for more sensitivity on human rights issues, analysts say.

The EC's silence is making life awkward for some European missions in Jakarta. "It would be constructive for the EC to respond to Indonesian follow-up actions in order to encourage such a trend to continue," one European diplomat said. "The longer we do nothing, the more ridiculous it looks."

"It took (the EC) hours to condemn us in November. How long will it take them to respond now?" asked one senior Indonesian Foreign Ministry official. Bilaterally, some European nations have expressed appreciation for Indonesia's handling of the 12 November incident, though always with caveats attached. Denmark and the Netherlands, which suspended aid programmes because of the shooting, as expected to resume development assistance.

But the EC as a whole has been conspicuously quiet.

A meeting of senior EC officials was held in Lisbon on 14-15 January with Portugal setting the agenda. Jakarta-based diplomats expected the meeting to produce a statement on East Timor but none was forthcoming. Diplomats said East Timor was discussed only in connection with an EC draft statement on human rights which is to be submitted to the UN Human Rights Commission in February.

A Portuguese statement on 27 December had called the Indonesian team's report "a clumsy and desperate attempt" to rebut criticism of its East Timor policy and called for a separate international inquiry to be held.

A diplomatic source in Lisbon says, "Portugal means business and will not back away." Lisbon's diplomacy has two main objectives: to elicit support for the negotiation of a solution to the East Timor issue at the UN; and to intensify international pressure on Indonesia to ensure respect for human rights in East Timor.

Portugal considers UN-sponsored talks leading to a legitimate act of self-determination for the East Timorese to be the key to a solution. Among other human rights considerations, Portugal is expressing concern over the plight of at least 60 people detained after the shooting. Amnesty is concerned that some detainees may have been tortured.

Portugal aims to use the 3 December EC statement to muster support within the Community. The statement condemns the "unjustifiable actions" by the Indonesian military and says the EC will review cooperation with Indonesia, taking into account the response of the Jakarta authorities. Portugal was also active in the formulation of a 28 November resolution by the EC Development Council to make aid conditional on respect for human rights and democracy in recipient countries. Portugal will work for the practical implementation of the resolutions in regard to Indonesia.

After a 10 January meeting in Paris, Portuguese President Mario Soares said UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was open to proposals for an international inquiry into the massacre. East Timor topped the agenda when Soares met President George Bush in Washington in early January.

For its part, Indonesia wants the other EC members to stop Portugal from setting the near-term agenda for EC-Indonesia relations. "EC members shouldn't subordinate their fundamental interests (in Indonesia) to Portugal's views on East Timor," Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on 3 January. The immediate danger for Indonesia, political analysts say, is that Portugal's Presidency of the EC will lead to a further polarisation in ties between Indonesia and the EC over

the increasingly divisive issue of human rights.

CANADIAN SOUL-SEARCHING ON TIMOR (ETAN)

Seems to be some soul-searching going on among academics and administrators at some of the Canadian universities which have had ongoing research or aid projects for some time in Indonesia. Most Canadian aid is centered in eastern Indonesia (IBT, Indonesian Bagian Timur) which from the Indonesian government point of view embraces East Timor (Tintim, Timor Timur). Sure doesn't seem to be that much soul-searching going on here in the US, though. Somebody please bring me up to date if that's not quite on target.

John

Summary report from ETAN/Canada, January 28:

Senate News, Guelph University (Ontario, Canada). Date: 16 Jan. 1992.

Comment: pressure is growing on Canadian universities to re-examine their acceptance of "development" projects in Indonesia. The University of Toronto previously declined to accept a grant from the Canadian International Development Agency for work in Indonesia, on the grounds of the East Timor situation. A divestment project has recently been initiated by professors at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, B.C.

The University of Guelph has now decided to implement a full external peer review of the Sulawesi Regional Development Project, the largest Canadian university project in Indonesia. According to the University, "The overall goal of this project is to assist the Government of Indonesia to improve the standard of living and quality of life for rural people in selected areas of the four provinces of the Island of Sulawesi."

Members of the university community, particularly Philosophy Professor John McMurtrey and the student-based Ontario Public Interest Research Group, have been pushing Guelph for several to consider removing the legitimacy it lends to the government of Indonesia by the Sulawesi project.

A peer review, considering questions of the environment and human rights as well as "possible violation of standards of academic freedom by ... cooperation or compliance with the policies of the host government." Two of the three reviewers have been named: Meyer Brownstone, formerly of OXFAM Canada and the University of Toronto and Clovis Demers, vice-president of the Montreal-based Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.

CARRASCALAO BLAMES APODETI (REUTER)

Reuter, Dili, East Timor, Jonathan Thatcher, Jan 30 - The governor of East Timor has accused rightwing extremists backed by influential military officers of inciting last November's army massacre in the Indonesian-ruled territory.

Mario Viegas Carrascalao blamed the Apodeti group, which backs Indonesian rule over the former Portuguese colony.

"They created the situation and of course they were working together with some individuals in the army," said Carrascalao, who was appointed by Jakarta.

"They couldn't do this without the backing of someone with power," he said, noting widespread speculation that a middle-ranking officer with powerful political connections was involved.

"Why is it that those who know who is directly involved do nothing?" he told Reuters in an interview on Wednesday.

Carrascalao also disclosed plans to shift a third of the population of Dili back to their villages, saying overcrowding in the capital contributed to the November 12 shooting.

The governor, appointed nine years ago, urged further action over the killings to win the trust of the Timorese, especially by punishing those soldiers responsible.

Carrascalao also called for an inquiry into reports of large-scale executions by the army soon after the shooting. The military denies the charges.

While life in Dili has returned to normal on the surface, residents say people are still terrified of the army.

Carrascalao accused Apodeti members of being behind continued threats to his life, of once terrorising his daughter and of killing three of his dogs.

"But I don't think they are brave enough to kill me."

He quoted East Timor's new military commander Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, who took over this month, as saying he would not tolerate Apodeti.

Anti-Indonesian demonstrations will also be banned.

"He (Syafei) told me that he is going to be tougher. I agree with him," Carrascalao said.

The governor said residents had moved to the safety of the capital over the past 16 years as Indonesian troops battled independence-seeking Fretilin guerrillas in the countryside. But now it was Dili that had become dangerous.

Some 124,000 of East Timor's 750,000 people live in Dili, a five-fold increase since 1975.

"Nobody saw the bad consequences of this. One of the consequences was the Twelfth of November," Carrascalao said.

"We don't have jobs for them. It creates political problems and security problems also."

The governor said many wanted to go back to the countryside but lacked the means. "I believe in Dili we can cut the population to about 80,000...it's far better if they can go back to their villages."

Carrascalao complained that he lacked the power to improve the lot of the East Timorese, the poorest of Indonesians with an average per capita annual income of under 200 dollars compared to over 500 for the rest of the country.

"I'm only a sort of coordinator...we need more decision-making power," he said. "We create expectations but we can't fill them."

KOOIJMANS TORTURE REPORT

Comment: The UN Special Rapporteur re-discovers the obvious. But now that it has become an "official" finding, perhaps more attention will be paid to it. Torture reports often appear in the Indonesian press, sometimes explicitly as such (siksaan), sometimes as brutality (penganiayaan). Like corruption, almost everybody knows the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI, includes the Police) do it.

-TFI

U.N. REPORT TELLS OF TORTURE PRACTICES IN INDONESIA (ips)

Lisbon, Jan 28 (ips) -- Torture practices are still being carried out by Indonesian security forces, "particularly in cases considered threatening to the security of the state" says a report of the U.N. commission for human rights, made public here Tuesday.

This conclusion, reached by Dutchman Peter Kooijmans, the United Nations envoy to Indonesia and the annexed territory of East Timor, is part of the general report presented to the 48th session of the commission on human rights, which opened Monday in Geneva.

The text of the document was made known Tuesday by the Portuguese international affairs analyst, Adelino Gomes.

Kooijmans spent a total of 11 days in Djakarta, the Indonesian capital, and Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia when it obtained its independence in 1975. That invasion resulted in the deaths of 210,000 citizens of East Timor, out of a total population at that time of 650,000.

A Dutch jurist in East Timor said it was difficult for a judge to determine whether or not torture does take place "since the investigation is based only on police reports and the local judge is prevented from carrying out investigations of his own".

But Kooijmans privately interviewed persons who "recounted in detail exactly how they were tortured".

Among those he interviewed were Justina Moniz, Adao da Purificacao, Agostinho Pereira Martins, Acacio Martins, Carlos da Purificacao and Abilio Mesquita - three of whom claimed they were tortured, while the others said they were only interrogated.

However, maintained Koojimans, "all of them appeared frightened, and some were afraid they would be arrested and tortured" after he left Dili (November 13).

The illegal arrests effected by the Indonesian security forces "are far from being exceptional, despite the fact that the arbitrary power exercised by these forces has been restricted," noted Koojimans.

"Torture is rather more frequently carried out when the prisoner is held incommunicado, though this type of detention is formally prohibited by Indonesian law," he said, adding: "there are no ways of preventing these illegal arrests."

This is partly due to the "kuhap" system (the Indonesian criminal code), "which virtually empowers the police (to exercise) unrestricted and uncontrolled power during the first phase of an investigation," noted Koojimans.

"The fact that the police has complete control over the first 20 days of detention makes it unlikely for a prisoner to present denunciations of torture, since it generally takes place during this stage," the report stated.

While Koojimans' was in Dili, more than 100 supporters attending a November 12 ceremony in commemoration of Timorese independence were reportedly killed. According to the opposition party, the death count was 183, although Indonesian president, Gen. Elias Suharto put the official count at 52.

Koojimans said he was "forced" to include in the report feelings of "perplexity and disappointment" for not being informed immediately by the military authorities of the incidents of November 12.

Koojimans Kept in Dark (Reuter)

Reuter, Geneva, Philippe Naughton, Jan 30 - A U.N. human rights investigator who was in the East Timor capital Dili during an army massacre there in November said he was initially kept in the dark about it by Indonesian officials.

Peter Koojimans, a U.N. Special Rapporteur into reported human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1975, said he was on his way to lunch with the local military commander when the killings took place, and therefore did not witness them.

In a report released this week to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, Koojimans said Indonesian officials kept him in the dark about the killings until "a very late moment."

Koojimans says the Indonesians turned down a request as he was leaving the Indonesian-ruled territory the following day

to visit the local hospital "in order to express sympathy with the wounded."

"This request was refused, with the explanation that a visit by the Special Rapporteur to the wounded would be interpreted as a United Nations endorsement of anti-government forces and could lead to more rioting," his report says.

His meeting with the commander was to be followed by another with law officials, then a lunch hosted by the general. He does not say whether the lunch went ahead as planned.

NEW WAVE OF TIMORESE ARRESTS (AFP)

AFP, Sydney, Jan 30 - Another 100 East Timorese, accused of being Fretilin guerrilla sympathisers, have been rounded up by Indonesian troops following the arrest of a high-ranking rebel last week, Fretilin claimed here Thursday.

He said a wave of arrests had followed Jose Da Costa's seizure in the capital Dili last Thursday.

Ferreira said many Fretilin members have been arrested in crackdowns by the authorities following the November 12 army massacre of civilians in Dili in which estimates of the death toll range from 50 to 200.

PROPOSAL FOR A CONVENTION ON EAST TIMOR (CDPM)

From CDPM, Jan 31, 1992

1. INTRODUCTION

The attention of the world has been drawn to the problem of East Timor by the events which took place on 12 November at Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili, and which were witnessed and broadcast by professional journalists.

The wave of reaction to the brutal behaviour on the part of the occupying Indonesian authorities, put pressure on the world powers to condemn the Jakarta government, leading in some cases to the partial suspension of economic aid and threats of this being reviewed.

This movement, for both cultural and historical reasons, had particular force in Portugal, effecting a wide cross-section of the public at large and young people in particular.

For these sentiments to be translated into a framework of action, at both national and international level, a group of Portuguese organizations have put forward the idea of the holding of a Convention on East Timor (CET)

2. OBJECTIVES

This initiative subscribes to the increasing general conviction that there cannot be

any solution to the problem of East Timor against the will of the Timorese themselves. The appeals of the generals in Jakarta - "separatists should give up" - can only lead to loss of life and time. It has therefore become crucial to bring pressure to bear on the Indonesian regime to sit at the negotiating table and hold "talks without pre-conditions", under the auspices of the United Nations, with all the interested parties: representatives of the Timorese People, Portugal and Indonesia, as has been proposed by the National Executive of the Maubere Resistance (CNRM).

For this objective to be achieved more rapidly, other measures capable of more immediate impact will be necessary:

- an embargo on arms sales to the Indonesian regime, thus putting into practice resolutions passed by both the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe - the arms which mowed down the defenseless in Santa Cruz were from the USA (or made under US licence) as was clearly shown in the video of the massacre,
- a blocking of economic aid to the regime - as was called for in April 1990 by Indonesia's own human rights organizations - "Stop IGGI aid until we have democracy" they told Minister Jan Pronk (Dutch Minister for Economic Cooperation and chairman of IGGI, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia).

3. TIMING AND VENUE

The CET will take place in Lisbon, over the weekend of 14 and 15 March 1992.

This date has been chosen because it comes after one event which is likely to be significant in the development of the East Timor issue - the meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva from 27/1 to 6/3 - and another which it is hoped will also be significant - the annual IGGI meeting, which will take place at the Hague in early June.

4. PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME

The CET will be based around three main themes, organized in panels:

- Panel 1: +East Timor in the light of international law: roads to self-determination;;
- Panel 2: +The Indonesian regime and human rights violations;;
- Panel 3: +Human rights, economic aid and the principle of non-interference in the state's internal affairs;;

The provisional program is as follows:

1. Opening session, with an introduction by the organizing committee and contributions from some of the participating speakers;
2. Panel discussion on the themes, each being led by specialists in that area and by members of the organizing committee;

3. Plenary session to present conclusions and agree the final document of the Convention;
4. Public closing ceremony.

From the discussion around each theme, it is intended that a proposal for action will be set out, and that this should be as broad-based as possible.

5. PARTICIPANTS

It is hoped that the Convention will include participation from:

- Portuguese and international organizations involved in solidarity work which defends the legitimate interests of the people of East Timor;
- organizations and figures who, through their knowledge and experience of human rights issues and the defence of peoples, can lead to a better understanding and presentation of the issue in the current international arena;
- organizations and figures who, through their international standing and position, can give an additional dimension and momentum to the tackling of the East Timor problem.
- Timorese nationalist organizations.

CANADA KEEPS ON HEDGING

NOW Magazine (Toronto, Canada), Jan. 30-Feb. 5, 1992. Comment: as printed. Canada continues to have "no knowledge" of Be-Mussi massacre last Nov. 15, although it was contained in the Canadian Council of Churches Human Rights in Asia report presented to External Affairs a week ago, and has been raised in media interviews with External officials several times (twice by NOW Magazine).

TIMOR JOURNALIST FIRED (ETAN/CANADA)

Three journalists of the popular Indonesian weekly Jakarta Jakarta have been fired for reporting on anti-government demonstrations that ended in the shooting deaths of an estimated 200 unarmed protesters in Indonesian-occupied East Timor last November 12.

The Toronto-based East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) says the whereabouts of the three, Seno Gumira Ajidarma, Usep Hermawan and J.J. Waskito Trisnoadi, are unknown, but their firing has been confirmed by the Committee for the Protection of Journalists and Asia Watch in the U.S.

"This is just one in a long string of human rights abuses," said David Webster, an ETAN spokesperson. "It's like this in East Timor all the time. There's a real crackdown by the Indonesian military on any kind of dissent."

According to reports smuggled to Timorese refugee communities in Australia and Austria, the demonstrators, about 4,000 strong, were part of a procession walking to the grave of pro-independence activist Sebastiao Gomes, who had been killed by soldiers two weeks earlier.

Although the incident drew widespread international condemnation, its aftermath went unreported abroad. About 80 protesters arrested after the incident were taken to a dry river bed and outside the capital. They were ordered to strip and dig their own graves before being shot, says Webster.

Denys Laliberte, an external affairs spokesperson, says the Canadian government is unaware of the later incident, but pointed out that external affairs minister Barbara McDougall has asked for a meeting in Ottawa with Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas to discuss human rights abuses in Indonesia.

Laliberte noted that Indonesia has issued an interim report of the National Commission of Inquiry into the incident and that president Suharto has publicly apologized to the families of the victims. The president has also fired two army generals said to be responsible for the shootings.

"We know there are different numbers coming from different sources, but the fact remains the government of Indonesia is taking responsibility," says Laliberte.

A spokesperson for the Indonesian consulate in Toronto declined to comment on the incidents, pointing instead to the report of the National Commission.

-- Enzo di Matteo

OZ "FOUR CORNERS" PROGRAMME ON EAST TIMOR INCIDENT

Australia's controversial current affairs TV program, Four Corners, starts its 1992 season with a report on the state of affairs in East Timor.

This program is made by the Government Broadcaster, the ABC, and has a reputation for courageous journalism (both politically and personally). It has prompted at least one Royal Commission of Inquiry. The program on the bombing of the Greenpeace vessel in New Zealand was shown repeatedly on French TV, influencing public opinion there towards their secret service.

For those in Australia, Four Corners will be shown on ABC-TV on Monday night, Feb 3rd, at 8:30, and repeated the following day at 1:00pm. Monday night's "Lateline" (ABC, 10:30pm) also looks into the issue.

CARRASCALAO SURRENDER CALL (UPI)

UPI, Jakarta, Jan 31 - The governor of East Timor Friday called on separatist guerillas Friday to come out of hiding.

Mario Viegas Carrascalao also warned East Timorese not to listen to foreign radio accounts of the international outcry over the Dili massacre Nov. 12 when Indonesian troops opened fire on independence demonstrators, killing dozens.

Carrascalao said the guerillas should come out of hiding in the jungle and help with the development of the province, joining their families who have accepted East Timor's bloody annexation by Indonesia 17 years ago.

"I am calling them to return and stop wandering in the jungle without aim, because there is much to be done to develop East Timor," he said.

He said the foreign radio broadcasts from Portugal, Australia and the Netherlands should be ignored. The reports were "only interested in cheating and misleading the people by telling lies and nonsenses," he said.

XANANA SURRENDER IMMINENT? (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta, Jan 31 - Indonesian security forces say they know the hiding place of Xanana Gusmao, commander of the Fretilin separatist movement in East Timor, the Jakarta Post newspaper reported Friday.

Quoting an unidentified security official, it said his lair was now known following the questioning of his deputy, Jose da Costa, who was arrested last week.

Gusmao, in hiding for the past 16 years, was in poor health and expected to give himself up soon, the official said.

A Fretilin spokesman in Darwin, Australia, said Thursday that the Indonesian security forces had arrested 100 people in East Timor since Da Costa's arrest, but this has not been confirmed by the authorities.

Fretilin Denies imminent Xanana surrender (Reuter)

Reuter, Sydney, Feb. 3 - Australian members of the East Timor rebel group, Fretilin, battling Indonesian rule of the former Portuguese territory, cast doubt on Monday on reports their guerrilla leader was ill and would surrender.

On Friday, the Jakarta Post newspaper, quoting Indonesian officials, reported that guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao was ill, troops had pinpointed his hideout and he would soon surrender.

But Fretilin spokesman Alfredo Ferreira said Gusmao smuggled a detailed report on the guerrillas' actions out of East Timor two weeks ago.

"They can fabricate all the lies they want, there is no indication (that he is ill)," Ferreira said from Darwin.

"Xanana has repeatedly said he will not surrender, this is just part of the psychological war. It's pure Indonesian propaganda."

Fretilin spokeswoman Ines Almeida said in Sydney Gusmao's report spoke of good progress in the guerrilla campaign and detailed a reorganisation of the clandestine support network.

She said photographs enclosed with the report showed Gusmao and his colleagues to be in good health.

"The resistance suffered a very big loss in the November 12 massacre," Almeida said. "A lot of our people in the clandestine network were killed or are missing."

"The massacre has delayed things, but network leaders survived. Xanana needs time to evaluate the situation. The (rebel) army was not affected by the massacre. He said the offensive has been boosted...and the network is being rebuilt," Almeida said.

FORMER PORTUGUESE LEADERS APPEAL TO THE U.S. (IPS)

Lisbon, Jan 30 (ips) -- two former Portuguese presidents have sent a letter to U.S. president George Bush denouncing human rights violations in East Timor by the Indonesian government, exiled Timorese leader Jose Ramos-Horta said Thursday.

Ramos-Horta told ips in a telephone interview from Australia that the letter "will have a strong impact".

He observed that U.S. public opinion "is very sensitive to its government's participation and responsibility in things that involve support of dictatorships who kill, torture, and suppress people in other countries, like what Indonesia is doing in East Timor."

The two former Portuguese presidents, Francisco da Costa e Gomes (1974-76) and gen. Antonio Ramalho Eanes (1976-85) have signed an open letter reportedly supported by 10,000 people, which they have sent to bush to inform him of the "dramatic situation in Timor".

The letter asks Bush to reconsider "all economic, financial, scientific and military assistance" to Indonesia, which invaded and annexed Timor -- a former Portuguese colony -- in 1975. since the invasion, an estimated 210,000 Timorese people, out of a population of 650,000, have been killed by the invading troops.

Costa e Gomez and Ramalho Eanes hope bush will pressure Jakarta to "take clear steps in the direction of respect for international law" which has assigned administration of the territory to Portugal "until a plebiscite on autonomy is held."

The letter points out that the bush administration was implacable with regard to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in Aug. 1990, but that "he has done nothing about Timor, which shows that there is a double standard when it comes to respect for human rights and territorial violations."

Ramos-Horta also called Britain's criticism of Jakarta "very positive although timid."

Last Tuesday, Britain called on the Indonesian government to respect international law which protects "the legitimate interests and aspirations of the Timorese people."

"British diplomacy was very much pressured by a Yorkshire television programme which showed November's massacre of 183 people by Indonesian troops when they opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in Timor's capital, Dili, said Ramos-Horta.

A delegation of 100 students from 19 nationalities are in February expected to place floral wreaths on the graves of the victims of the November massacre.

Last week the Portuguese ship 'Lusitania Expresso' sailed from Lisbon to Dili with a stopover in Darwin, Australia, where, on Feb. 27, it plans to take the students on board.

According to Ramos-Horta, the trip will be "very positive in terms of international reactions."

Indonesian armed forces commander, gen. T. Sutrisno, called the initiative "a Portuguese provocation."

Sutrisno, considered the number-two man in the regime and likely successor to Gen. Elias Suharto, announced that the 'Lusitania Expresso' will not be allowed to enter Indonesian territorial waters.

While the initiative does not have formal Portuguese government support, Lisbon considers Timor's territorial waters to be Portuguese, basing the claim on a United Nations resolution that recognises Portugal as administrator of the territory.

Timor's bishop, Monsignor Jose Ximenes Belo, is opposed to the student's trip. In statements to the Catholic radio station of Portugal, he has asked the ship to return, because if not, "the people of East Timor will suffer the consequences and there will be new victims of Indonesian repression."

Asked about the bishops's statement, Ramos-Horta said the prelate "is expressing his line of thought which is to do everything to avoid new tensions in the territory."

Throughout the entire world "there has been favourable reaction to the initiative and in that sense the organisations involved have our total support."

"Indonesia should act with prudence and permit the ship to land, its passengers to place their wreaths and to return to their respective countries after having peacefully completed their humanitarian and religious mission which no one in good faith can prevent," said Ramos-Horta.

REPORT FROM EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK / U.S.

*East Timor Action Network - U.S.
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January 31, 1992*

Dear Friend:

Thanks for your continuing support of the Timorese people. This letter includes a report on our new network, some suggestions for action, and a few recent articles. Please pass it on to anyone who might be interested.

Last Sunday, we had the initial meeting of ETAN/US, a U.S.-based grassroots network of people and organizations working on East Timor. We hope to complement work already being done in the Washington, Catholic, academic and media communities with an additional movement of activists who can educate and organize other constituencies. Many people have responded positively, showing that this initiative is needed and possible. If East Timor is ever to be free, the time to act is now.

The next meeting will be on Sunday, February 9, at 1:00 pm at 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY. The closest subway stations are Bleecker St. (#6 train) or Broadway - Lafayette (D and F trains).

A dozen people from five states came to the January 26 meeting, sharing a wide range of activities and expertise. Among the events reported:

- * A public forum at Cornell University drew over 200 people, and other meetings in Westchester (NY), Central NJ, Columbia University, Ottawa, and elsewhere have also been very effective.

- * A meeting with the President of the Portuguese Republic Mario Soares, where he was presented with 300 pages of material on East Timor and encouraged to take stronger action.

- * A picket at the Indonesian Mission to the U.N. on Human Rights Day, and another at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington on the December 7 anniversary of the invasion.

- * A wide variety of networking and contacts with the progressive, academic, religious, environmental, Portuguese-American and international communities.

- * Four hours of programming on WBAI Radio, and many articles and editorials in mainstream and alternative media.

- * Numerous books, pamphlets, videos, packets and other resources available on East Timor, including a new 55-minute video produced by the British TV company that taped the November 12 massacre.

The current increase in Congressional activity builds on a strong existing base. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold the first full committee hearings ever on East Timor in the next few weeks. In the

House, Representatives, Tony Hall (D-OH), Tom Downey (D-NY), and Frank Wolf (R-VA) will soon introduce legislation to reduce or cut off military and/or economic aid to Indonesia. The amount of such aid is much larger than the direct annual government grants of \$2 million military and \$50 million economic. Research on this continues, and we will distribute documentation when it is available. Letters from constituents to Congress are important now -- even in the absence of specific legislation -- to encourage them to follow up December's resolution with action.

We identified several constituencies to reach out to, including peace and justice groups, international organizations, the Portuguese-American community (especially in Newark and Rhode Island), Indonesians living in the U.S., Catholic and other Christian groups, environmental groups, labor groups, and human rights groups (including Amnesty International).

A variety of ideas for action also surfaced, directed at pressuring both the U.S. and Indonesian governments. This report does not imply endorsement or a promise to work on all of these items, but is a list of areas being explored. Choose what seems best to you. Please contact our Network or bring your enthusiastic ideas on February 9 if you can work on any of these:

* Write articles and letters to U.S. local and regional media.

* Show videos on East Timor, or invite speakers to community meetings. Local meetings have been very effective; they should be organized in more places -- especially New York City. We are developing resource and speakers' lists; send in your ideas for inclusion.

* Write or visit Congressional Representatives and Senators, urging them to support suspending U.S. aid to Indonesia until East Timor is allowed to determine its own political status. (The Hill and Knowlton public relations firm, which represents Indonesia and Kuwait in Washington, was responsible for concealing the Kuwaiti Ambassador's daughter's identity during the buildup for the U.S.-Iraq war. H&K is also involved with the Congressional Human Rights Caucus; Congressmen Lantos and Porter should be especially sensitive to the Kuwait-Timor double standard.)

* Write directly to Indonesian officials who may be sensitive to international public opinion. Express concern about continuing arrest, imprisonment and torture of East Timorese victims and witnesses to the November 12 massacre. ETAN/US will explore the feasibility of an action-alert telegram system. Here are a few relevant addresses:

Ambassador Abdul Rachman Ramly
Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
2020 Massachusetts Ave NW
Washington DC 20036 USA

His Excellency Nana Sutresna
Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations
325 E. 38 Street, New York, NY 10016
USA.

Minister of Justice: [Salutation: Your Excellency]
Let. Ismail Saleh
Jalan Rasuna Said, Kav 6-7, Kuningan, Jakarta
Selatan, Indonesia
Telex: 796 44404 DITJENIM IA.
Telegrams: Justice Minister, Jakarta, Indonesia
Fax: 62 21 32 1625

Personal Secretary to Jakarta Chief of Police.
[Salutation: Dear Letkol Tryono S.]
Sespri Kapolda Jaya
Letkol Tryono S.
Markus Besar Kepolisian Jaya, Jakarta, Indonesia
Telegrams: Sespri Kapolda Jaya, Kepala Kepolisian RI, Jakarta, Indonesia

Director General of Corrections
Prof Dr Baharuddin Lopa
Department of Justice
Jl. Veteran No. 11, Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia
Telegrams: Director General of Corrections, Justice Department, Jakarta, Indonesia
Fax: 62 21 32 1625

National Chief of Police
Lieutenant General Drs. Kunarto
Kepala Kepolisian RI
Markas Besar Kepolisian RI
Jalan Trunojoyo 13
Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan
Telegrams: Lt. Gen. Drs. Kunarto, Kepala Indonesia, Kepolisian RI, Jakarta, Indonesia

General Try Sutrisno
Commander of the Armed Forces
Markas Besar ABRI, Cilangkap
Telegrams: Gen. Sutrisno, Markas Besar ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia
Fax: 62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ); 62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ)

New Military Commander for East Timor
Brigadier General Theo Syafei
Markas Besar KOREM 164
Dili, Timor Timur, East Timor
Telegrams: Brig. Gen Syafei, Dili, East Timor

Governor of East Timor
Ir. Mario Carrascalao
Gubernur KDH Tk. 1 Timor Timur
Jalan Inpantai D. Hendrikue, Dili, East Timor

Send copies to the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation:

Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum
Indonesia
Jl. Diponegoro 74, Jakarta 10320, Indonesia

* Write letters to the editors of Indonesian media. We will research and provide a more complete list of addresses; here are a few. Except for the Jakarta Post, all are in Indonesian language. They may translate, but it's better if you can. Let us know if you need help.

Jakarta Post (English language newspaper), PO Box 85, Palmerah, Jakarta 11001, Indonesia. (Fax: 62 21 549 2685)

Tempo (magazine), Jl H. R. Rasuna Said Kav. C-17, Kuningan, Jakarta 12940, Indonesia (Fax: 62 21 520 0148) (Telex: 796 62797 IA)

Editor (Magazine), PO Box 2864, Jakarta 10001, Indonesia

Suara Pembaruan (Newspaper) PO Box 260, Jakarta, Indonesia

Kompas (Newspaper) PO Box 4612, Jakarta 12046, Indonesia

* Undercut Indonesia's valuable and vulnerable tourist business. Write Indonesian Consulates (in New York, 5 East 68 Street, NY, NY 10021) or tourist boards explaining why you are not going to visit Indonesia. Leaflet Garuda Airways, the Indonesian national airline, which has offices in several U.S. cities. Indonesia actively promotes tourism; you can picket artistic, cultural and other exhibits. Contact travel and tour agencies. Look up "Indonesia" in your local phone book and see what turns up.

* Research and contact U.S.-based corporations which do business in Indonesia and may be sensitive to human rights issues. We are investigating Reebok, spice companies, garment manufacturing, Celestial Seasonings, Chevron (which has a contract to explore for oil in the Timor Gap) and other oil companies, electronics manufacturing, and other industries. An Indonesian Permanent Trade Exhibition is at 4 E. 54 St., NY, NY 10022. Send ETAN your ideas and information.

* Work with U.S. and international organizations concerned with East Timor in other countries and at the United Nations. The U.N. Human Rights Commission is holding hearings on East Timor in Geneva for the next few weeks; there will be Decolonization Hearings in New York in August and October.

On February 14-16, I will attend the annual international meeting of East Timor solidarity groups in Geneva -- please send clippings or reports of activities so I can report on them. Future public meetings on East Timor are planned for February 5 at Yale University, March 2 at Lehigh University, and early March in Norwalk (CT); let us know about other events so we can publicize them.

I continue to accumulate and reprint computer information on East Timor. Since

November 12, there are eight volumes of about 35-50 pages each, including about 800 news articles and editorials, press releases, action alerts and reports, government documents, translations from the Indonesian and Portuguese media, summaries of wire service stories, and other items. Contact ETAN/US for copies at \$5/volume for xeroxing and postage. This material is also available through PeaceNet or the Bitnet SEANET-L and SEASIA-L mailing lists.

As always, this network subsists on volunteer efforts and individual contributions. Please help however you can, and give us feedback on what you find helpful and what you would like us to do. Tax-deductible contributions can be made payable to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN."

For a Free and Peaceful East Timor,
Charles Scheiner, Coordinator
East Timor Action Network, U.S.

THREE LETTERS TO EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS (AGIR POUR TIMOR)

From: kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr (Bruno Kahn) Jan 30, 1992

Agir pour Timor (France) sent yesterday letters to the Dutch, German and French governments. Copies of these letters were forwarded to the president and foreign minister of Portugal, to the president of the European Parliament, to the president of the European Commission, of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe and of the parliamentary assembly of the Union of Western Europe.

Texts of the letters follow (apologies for the bad translations!)

Mr Ruud Lubbers
Prime Minister of the Netherlands
Mr Prime minister,

We were dismayed to learn that the Netherlands have decided to resume their economic aid to Indonesia.

Press reports say that the Dutch government took this decision following the release of the preliminary report of the "independent" Indonesian enquiry commission, which was judged "encouraging".

We note that:

- 1) Your government had declared on November 21 that it would not launch new development projects in Indonesia, following the November 12 massacre in Dili.
- 2) The enquiry commission, whose head is a judge from the Supreme Court, two members belong to the foreign ministry, one belongs to the interior ministry, one to the supreme advisory council and one to the armed forces, can hardly be called "independent".
- 3) This report concludes that the massacre was "a spontaneous reaction of servicemen who, without any command

control, acted in self-defence", which is contradicted by all eyewitnesses and by the images of a film of the massacre. Moreover, reliable sources hint that the massacre had been ordered from Jakarta.

- 4) Although this report calls for "actions" and "trials" against the people responsible, no action of that kind and in particular no legal action has been taken to this day against any military. Generals Warouw and Panjaitan, who were replaced, did not suffer any sanction, whether legal or disciplinary.
- 5) By contrast, at least 56 Timorese are awaiting trials or have already been condemned, following the massacre. 14 of them are accused of 'subversion', a charge which carries capital punishment. These trials are illegal, as Indonesia has no authority on East Timor according to international law. Your government, which did not recognise the annexation, must by necessity share this position.
- 6) Asking Indonesia to "change its administrative, military, economic and social policies regarding East Timor" amounts to recognising the annexation, which again contradicts your official position.

Consequently, we urge your government:

- a) not to reestablish economic aid before Indonesia has accepted a cease-fire in East Timor and talks without preconditions with the East Timorese resistance, in the United Nations framework.
- b) to call Indonesia to stop immediately all Timorese trials and to release all prisoners.
- c) to support Portugal's efforts during the coming session of the UN human rights Commission.
- d) to call the other EC countries, the United States, Australia and Japan to act in the same way.

Mr Helmut Kohl
Chancellor of the FRG.
Mr Chancellor,

We were dismayed to learn that your government "agreed with the findings of the preliminary report" of the Indonesian enquiry commission on the massacre of November 12 in Dili.

This report concludes that the massacre was "a spontaneous reaction of servicemen who, without any command control, acted in self-defence", which is contradicted by all eyewitnesses and by the images of a film of the massacre. Moreover, reliable sources hint that the massacre had been ordered from Jakarta.

We are also amazed that your foreign minister, Mrs. Seiler-Albring, declared that "correct procedures must be guaranteed to detainees", referring to the Timorese presently awaiting trial (or already condemned). Since your government has not recognised the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia,

we do not see how it can consider these trials as legal.

In the name of the people of East Timor, that we defend, we would be grateful to you if you could clarify your government's position on these two points.

Mrs. Edith Cresson
Prime Minister
Mrs. Prime Minister,

In a letter of July 29, 1991, your diplomatic counsellor informed us that "the French government does not recognise the fait accompli in East Timor" and that France "has several times been able to convey to the Indonesian authorities its strong preoccupation regarding the human rights situation in the territory".

We are astonished of France's silence following the massacre of November 12 in Dili. This silence stands in contrast with the behaviour of other countries among which Australia, Canada, Denmark, Spain, the United States, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands, Portugal, FRG, the United Kingdom and Sweden, as well as institutions such as the European Parliament and the Parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe.

We wish to have explanations on the reason of this lack of official reaction and on the official position of France regarding the massacre. In particular:

- 1) Does the French government officially support the statements of the EC foreign ministers on November 13 and December 3, condemning the massacre and calling for a "thorough and credible enquiry realised by impartial and independent experts"?
- 2) The report of the Indonesian enquiry commission concludes that the massacre was "a spontaneous reaction of servicemen who, without any command control, acted in self-defence". Is the French government aware that this is contradicted by all eyewitnesses and by the images of a film of the massacre and that, according to reliable sources, the massacre had been ordered from Jakarta?
 - Besides, in accordance with the interview we had with an official from the Quai d'Orsay on January 9, we request your government:
 - a) to denounce, in conformity with its non recognition of the annexation, the trials presently brought by the occupying power against 56 Timorese (among which 14 face a death sentence) as being illegal, and to call for the immediate release of the prisoners by Indonesia.
 - b) to intervene near Indonesia to have the massacres, tortures and bad treatments inflicted to the Timorese by the occupation forces stop.
 - c) to immediately stop selling and delivering arms and military equipment to Indonesia, in conformity with resolutions

voted by the European Parliament and the parliamentary assemblies of the Council of Europe and the Union of Western Europe.

- d) to suspend its economic aid to Indonesia until this country has accepted a cease-fire in East Timor, as well as talks without preconditions with the Timorese resistance in the framework of the United Nations.
- e) to support Portugal's efforts during the coming session of the UN Human Rights Commission.
- f) to call the other EC countries, the United States, Australia and Japan to act in this direction.

[Comment: France is a major contributor to IGGI: this year it contributed about US \$ 110 million, third after Japan and the United States. Last year's contribution was greater than the US's. Guess why?

It's easy: on the \$ 110 million, only about 1.2 million are genuine aid. The rest is disguised subventions to the French industry: Alstom, Alcatel, Dumez...]

Bruno

BISHOP BELO INVOLVED? (EDITOR, TEMPO)

Editor. Date: 1 February 1992. News report abridged. Byline: Tatik S. Hafidz. Plus additional points from Tempo, 1 February 1992.

A sensitive and controversial issue came to the surface during the secret documents' trial in Dili last week. The accused, Afonso Rangel told the court the leaked documents which were state secrets were sent abroad by Bishop Belo. One document was an interview given by Governor Carrascalao to a Portuguese TV station and the other gave the preparations being planned for the aborted Portuguese parliamentarians visit.

The documents were stolen by Felismina dos Santos Conceicao. She then gave them to her brother-in-law Amarao Araujo who gave them to Rangel. Rangel was apparently a Fretilin member with links abroad and initiator of the scheme. All three appeared as defendants and each testified in the trials of the other two.

How were the documents sent abroad? In Rangel's interrogation report (BAP), quoted by (the newspaper) Surya, he said he had given them to an Australian tourist whom he met in Dili, but in court, he said that the documents were given to Bishop Belo. He said that on 11 June, after receiving the documents, he put them in a sealed envelope, addressed them to Jose Ramos Horta; then he went by bus to Lecidere and gave them to Bishop Belo. Rangel said the Bishop did not open the envelope but said, "Alright, I'll help to send this abroad."

Why had he done this? Rangel was asked. "Because he is the Catholic head in East

Timor and could get them more safely and quickly to Australia."

Udayana commander, Major-General Mantiri refused to say whether this meant that Belo was 'involved'. Regional assembly (DPRD-I) chairman, Guilherme dos Santos was doubtful. He said, "According to what I know, he is not anti-integration."

The strongest reaction came from Governor Carrascalao. He said the mention of Belo's name in the press was deliberately engineered. "These are double standards. Elsewhere, if the accused mentions the name of a leading personality, it will not be revealed, but it's different in East Timor. This is a deliberate move to influence public opinion and create confusion here." Belo's name was indeed reported in full, not just by his initials (as is usually the case).

People link this matter to the talk about Father Ricardo possibly facing charges in court. Others say it is meant as a warning to Bishop Belo to be more accommodating. Others think it's a test of public reaction in East Timor, in advance of the 12 November trials which are due to take place in early February. Attorney Singgih said that the trials would indeed go ahead as planned.

Whatever the case, Rangel's testimony has shaken the church. Said one spiritual leader: "If the testimony is true, it will be a severe blow for the church. The top leadership may decide to move (the Bishop) to another place." It should not be forgotten that Bishop Belo is directly under the Holy See.

Tempo, 1 February 1992.

Tempo adds that Rangel told the court he sent the documents via Belo because this meant they would not be censored.

When asked later to confirm the evidence, Bishop Belo refused to say anything. "Don't ask me. Ask the men at the top (bapak-bapak besar)," he said, and put down the phone. By that he meant government officials.

When a Lisbon newspaper reported, on the basis of the document about the Carrascalao interview, that "Indonesia spies on the Governor of East Timor," Felismina was one of those suspected of leaking the document. Security officers searched her home and found photocopies of an intelligence report about the defection of four young Timorese to Portugal and Australia.

However, Bishop Belo was not called to testify at the trials. The three defendants were not charged with subversion as the documents were not very secret.

But it is likely that Jose da Costa, Xanana Gusmao's deputy, who was captured this week, will be a different case.

WHAT HAPPENED TO GERHAN LANTARA?

The following article was written by a TAPOL reader who wishes to remain anonymous. 1 February 1992

This information may come in useful for journalists and others commenting on the KPN Final Report, expected to be published soon.

Exactly what did happen to Major Gerhan Lantara in Dili on 12 November? His alleged stabbing by East Timorese demonstrators is a key element in the Indonesian government's case that the demonstration was wild, unruly and provocative. By the same token, he is a key witness for any inquiry into the events surrounding the Santa Cruz massacre, so another question arises: what happened to Gerhan in the weeks following the massacre, when the Indonesian commission of inquiry did its work and presented its preliminary report to the President?

Gerhan has had a long and distinguished career in East Timor. He first saw service there in the late 1970s, left in 1987, and returned shortly after being appointed deputy commander of Airborne Battalion 700 (part of the Wirabuana Regional Military Command headquarters in Ujungpandang) in October 1990.

By all accounts, Gerhan, a Bugis from Sulawesi, was East Timor's favourite Indonesian, a thoroughly good bloke. Apparently he had fallen in love with the people of the territory, and could even speak the lingua franca, Tetum. The 'Tetun' clan adopted him as one of their own, his 'mama raja' being Adriana da Costa Corterial of Hataudo sub-district, Ainaro. Most important from the point of view of his latest assignment to the territory, he was close to the youth of Dili -- though in what capacity is not clear. If ever there was somebody who didn't deserve to be knifed in the middle of Dili, it was Gerhan Lantara.

Accounts of his stabbing on 12 November are confused. Either he approached a demonstrator whom he knew, tried to persuade the marchers to abandon their action, attempted to seize their banners, then was assaulted by the crowd; or he went throwing punches, before trying to grab the banners and being himself assailed. One report gives an entirely different story: he reached for his walkie-talkie as the crowd approached, they thought he was going to pull out his gun, and he was immediately stabbed [Tempo, 23.11.1991] Other witnesses maintain however that he was clutching his radio in his right hand throughout.

Just where and with what Gerhan was wounded is also unclear. He was cut with machetes or a knife, or both. It appears that the most serious wounds were to his chest - or was it his waist? He is also reported to

have been wounded in the arm, shoulder and back.

One of the most striking inconsistencies in eyewitness reports concerns the actions of other security personnel who were in the vicinity. All seem to agree that Gerhan's adjutant, Prada Domingus, a member of the Dili District Military Command, was also stabbed. One eyewitness report has it that no one else tried to help Gerhan: that other security personnel were preoccupied with escorting the increasingly unruly crowd and did not see the incident [Editor, 23.11.1991]. However, a policeman who walked beside the demonstrators gave a different story. According to him, "Several soldiers also tried to help, but were outnumbered by marchers. Myself and several colleagues were chased by demonstrators, who were intent on stabbing us" [Editor, 7.12.1991]

Whatever the circumstances of Gerhan's altercation with the demonstrators in Dili, the next day he was flown to Jakarta for "intensive" treatment at the Gatot Subroto Central Army Hospital, where he was later joined by his wife and two children. The confusion continued nevertheless. Kompas reported on 15 November that he was "in a critical condition", and he was even said to have died. But Tempo knew that Gerhan was still alive and also seemed to know something about his injuries. It reported that at the end of the massacre, he was still stretched out in hospital. "The wound to the left side of his chest... still wrapped in bandage, as was his right thumb" [23.11.1991, p. 22].

If Gerhan did arrive in Jakarta in a critical condition, he made a remarkably quick recovery: on Thursday 21 November, nine days after the bloody events in Dili, he returned to his home in Ujungpandang, together with his wife and children. Journalists from Kompas and Surya were waiting for him at his father's house in Jl Dr Ratulangi. Gerhan greeted them with a "How are you?" According to Kompas, the major, wearing jeans and a striped shirt, looked cheerful -- though stiff and a little pale. Whether his pallor had been brought on by the 900-mile journey from Jakarta or was a result of his injuries is not clear. Haji Andi Lentara, a retired brigadier-general and former member of the Indonesian parliament, had seen or heard reports about Gerhan's critical condition, so was relieved to find that his son was in one piece [Kompas, 23-11-1991, p. 16] (though one would have thought that Gerhan's wife would have kept him informed from the Gatot Subroto Hospital).

After this, Gerhan was very much out of the news -- kept out, some believed. On 27 November, Kompas reported a denial by the Commander of the Wirabuana military command, Major General Zainal Basrie Palaguna, that Gerhan had been deliberately hidden away and could not be met by journalists. "Hey, that's not true," the gen-

eral said. "Anyone can meet him. It's just that Gerhan hasn't yet fully recovered."

What Gerhan would have to do if asked, Palaguna said, was give a statement to the National Commission of Inquiry into the Dili massacre, not least because he had served in East Timor and knew a lot about the place and its people. It appears however that the Commission never did take evidence from the wounded major. The inquiry chairman, Supreme Court Justice Djaelani, told journalists in Dili on 9 December that the Commission had yet to meet Gerhan, and there is no reference to a meeting in the commission's preliminary report, published on 26 December.

This remarkable fact is all the more striking when it is noted that Gerhan returned to Ujungpandang on the very day that the commission began its work in Jakarta. He may have done sterling service for his country in East Timor, but it appears that he was too eager to "pulang kampung" [go back to his home village] to stay in the capital a few more days to give what would have been vital evidence to the commission. Presumably he wasn't rushing back to Ujungpandang to resume his duties as deputy battalion commander. The commission worked in Jakarta from 21 to 27 November, before leaving for Dili on 28th. During those first days it held meetings with Vice-President Sudharmono, Minister of Defence Moerdani, Minister of the Interior Rudini, and chief-of the Armed Forces Try Sutrisno. Gerhan's 900-mile journey nine days after the stabbing suggests that he was fit enough to testify (though perhaps not that he was well enough to meet journalists), but he was not in town. Why not?

It may be that the commission will yet meet Gerhan and include his testimony in its final report. It may also be that his assailants will be amongst those to be prosecuted for their participation in the 12 November demonstration: on 28 December President Suharto ordered the attorney-general to take firm action against those who stabbed the major and his adjutant. Whatever the mysteries of his case, one thing we do know is that Gerhan Lantara is still a good bloke. Such is his love for the people of East Timor that he bears no grudge, despite his experiences. (This reassurance was given by Major General Palaguna [Kompas, 27.11.1991].

[Based on reports in Editor, Kompas and Tempo, November 1991 - January 1992, and on the Preliminary Report of the National Commission of Inquiry into the 12 November 1991 Incident in Dili.]

INDONESIA MAY RESUME NETHERLANDS AID TALKS

(KYODO)

Kyodo, Jakarta, Feb 3 - Indonesia may have talks after the end of February with the

Netherlands on the resumption of aid, suspended since the shooting of East Timorese citizens last November by government troops, the Indonesia Times reported Monday.

The Times quoted Saleh Afiff, state minister in charge of the National Development Planning Board, as saying the government is preoccupied this month with listing projects for the coming fiscal year, which will start in April.

"So we have not fixed a definite date for the talks and the time depends on whether or not the projects list can be completed by the end of February," he said.

UN TO PROBE EAST TIMOR

(REUTER)

Reuter, United Nations, Feb 3 - The United Nations is sending Kenyan attorney-general Amos Waco to Indonesia to probe the killing of a large number of East Timor civilians by troops last November, a U.N. spokesman said on Monday.

Waco, an international authority on human rights, is going as the personal envoy of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali "to obtain clarifications on the tragic events which occurred in Dili," the East Timor capital, the U.N. spokesman said.

Waco, who will be accompanied by two U.N. secretariat officials, will begin his mission on February 8 and spend about a week meeting government officials, members of Indonesia's own commission of inquiry and others concerned.

Asked why Waco was being sent nearly three months after the shootings, the spokesman said the United Nations had always intended sending him but first needed to obtain Indonesia's consent.

UPI, United Nations, Feb 3 - U.N. spokesman Francois Giuliani said Secretary-General Boutros Ghali has decided to send Amos Waco "in order to obtain clarifications on the tragic events which occurred in Dili, East Timor, on 12 November, 1991."

Wako will arrive in Jakarta Feb. 8. Giuliani said Wako will be accompanied by two other U.N. officials, who were not identified.

It was not immediately known whether the Indonesian government has permitted Wako to visit the country. His last attempt in December, 1991, when he was appointed by Ghali's predecessor, Javier Perez de Cuellar, failed after the government there refused to see him.

AP, United Nations, Feb 3 - An exiled East Timorese nationalist, Paulo Pires, welcomed the move as "important because of the lack of credibility of the Indonesian inquiry."

Pires, the Lisbon representative of the nationalist Timorese Democratic Union, told Lisbon's TSF radio that he hopes the U.N. investigator will get to East Timor.

Pires' nationalist movement fought a brief civil war with East Timor's Revolutionary Front in 1975, but has since joined the front in supporting guerrillas fighting Indonesian rule.

U.N. DECISION TO SEND ENVOY PRAISED BY PORTUGAL AND E.C. (IPS)

Lisbon, Feb 4 (ips) -- Political and diplomatic circles here expressed general satisfaction Tuesday following the decision of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send an envoy to Indonesia to investigate the November massacre in East Timor.

On Nov. 12 Indonesian troops opened fire on Timorese protesters in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese island colony, according to independent groups over 100 were killed.

Boutros-Ghali will be sending Kenyan envoy Amos Wako as his personal representative to Jakarta, capital of Indonesia.

Portuguese politicians from all sectors applauded the decision, favourably comparing Boutros-Ghali's approach to that of his predecessor, Javier Perez de Cuellar, who was severely criticised here for having ignored the killing of over 200,000 Timorese since Indonesia invaded in 1975.

Portuguese prime minister Anibal Cavaco e Silva, as present holder of the rotating presidency of the European community (EC), raised the Timor issue Monday with Chinese prime minister Li Peng, who is here on an official three-day visit.

Despite a three hour meeting, it was reported that Li Peng was not wholly supportive of Cavaco e Silva's requests, but assured him he had not come to Lisbon "to defend Indonesian interests".

In Brussels, the EC has backed a Portuguese initiative to hold negotiations under the auspices of the U.N. on the future of East Timor, which would include all parties to the conflict, Portugal, Indonesia and the Timorese themselves.

Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas began Tuesday a European tour which includes EC headquarters in Brussels and also London. His purpose is to explain Jakarta's point of view on Timor.

By a resolution of the United Nations Security Council approved Dec. 22, 1975 Portugal is recognised as "the administering power over the (Timorese) territory until a referendum on its autonomy is held".

JAKARTA REFUSES FOREIGN INVESTIGATORS (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Feb 5 - Indonesia said on Wednesday it would not accept any foreign investigation into last November's massacre of civilians by soldiers in the East Timor capital of Dili.

"We have decided the Dili incident is Indonesia's domestic affair and that the

(official Indonesian investigation) is the highest investigation," Defence Minister Benny Murdani told reporters.

The United Nations Secretary-General is sending human rights authority Amos Wako of Kenya to Indonesia this weekend in search of clarification of what happened.

"He comes here as the private envoy of the Secretary-General and not as a rapporteur or commission of inquiry," Murdani said.

Wako, accompanied by two U.N. secretariat officials, will spend about a week meeting government officials, members of Indonesia's own commission of inquiry and others concerned.

Murdani said it was possible he would go to Dili.

U.N. ENVOY ON EAST TIMOR URGED TO SEEK ANSWERS FROM MILITARY (ASIA WATCH)

Forwarded by Asia Watch:

*February 7, 1992 For immediate release
Contacts: Mike Jendrzeczyk 202-371-6592;
Susan Osnos 212-972-8400*

Asia Watch today called on United Nations envoy Amos Wako to press the Indonesian military to account for the dead and missing in Dili and to discipline those responsible for the November 12, 1991 killings.

Kenyan Attorney-General Amos Wako, due to arrive in Indonesia on February 8, was dispatched by U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Ghali to make inquiries into the aftermath of the Dili incident. In a letter to Wako sent on February 5 and made public today, Asia Watch said his visit could be critically important in getting answers to questions which the government's commission ignored in its December 26th report.

The New York-based human rights group had earlier criticized a National Commission of Inquiry appointed by President Suharto to investigate the massacre of upwards of 75 demonstrators by Indonesian troops. Troops opened fire on demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili following a march to protest the death of a pro-independence activist. The Commission endorsed the army's position that security forces fired in self-defense, but according to Asia Watch, the commission was "fatally flawed" by its ties to the government.

The National Commission said the death toll was perhaps 50 -- though observers estimate over 100 were killed -- but was unable to determine what happened to the bodies. The letter to Wako called on him to determine as precisely as possible what steps the Indonesian military is taking to find the bodies of those killed and account for the whereabouts of 90 persons the commission said were missing. Noting that Wako is a specialist in the investigation of summary and arbitrary executions, Asia Watch urged him to give the Indonesian

government specific recommendations for how to conduct proper forensic investigations.

Asia Watch also urged Wako to demonstrate strong interest in the trials of East Timorese now underway or about to start in Dili, Denpasar (Bali) and Jakarta. More than 60 East Timorese were arrested in the wake of the November 12th killings; Wako was urged to attend one or more court sessions and to inquire about the charges and interrogations procedures.

Asia Watch also asked the U.N. representative to request concrete information on the status of prosecutorial proceedings against members of the military, including a list of individual soldiers under investigation and the charges against them.

Attorney General Wako should meet with Indonesian human rights monitoring organizations, should request permission to visit a military interrogation center in Dili (Wisma Senopati) where there have been many reports of torture, and should obtain firm and public guarantees that anyone who speaks with him will not be subjected to reprisals. Asia Watch said that in some areas of East Timor, the military was continuing to engage in intimidating methods of control and surveillance including midnight checks of houses and harassment of parish priests and others.

The United Nations Human Rights Commission, meeting in Geneva, is expected to take up the question of East Timor in the coming weeks. In Washington, DC the Bush administration has been put on notice by Congress that continuation of U.S. military assistance to Indonesia would be contingent on a thorough and impartial investigation of the November 12th killings and prosecution of those responsible.

MALAYSIAN GROUPS SUPPORT TIMORESE (GREEN LEFT)

By Colin Pemul, Green Left Weekly Feb 4, 1992

KUALA LUMPUR - Non-government organisations here are carrying out an educational campaign which involves showing the film Shadow over East Timor and organising group discussions.

In the first week after the Dili massacre, seven NGOs held a picket outside the Indonesian embassy in order to deliver a statement of condemnation signed by more than 20 organisations. After a three-hour sit-down and the arrest of one protester, an Indonesian official agreed to receive the statement.

In April, a mock UN conference here is expected to draw 40,000 students from campuses all over Malaysia. East Timor is an issue likely to be discussed.

AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT INDONESIA HEARINGS (AFP)

AFP, Melbourne, Feb 4 - A federal parliamentary inquiry began here Tuesday into Australia's political relations with Indonesia.

The Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade held its first hearing after a number of high profile civil protests about the government's attitude to a massacre in Dili, East Timor last November.

The Australia-East Timor Association (AETA) told a foreign affairs sub-committee that Australian policies towards Indonesia had breached international obligations to prevent genocide.

Members of the sub-committee, however, were critical of the AETA submission, warning it would create the impression the inquiry was an attack on Indonesia.

Melbourne barrister and AETA member Citizen Limbo said Australia had an international obligation to prevent genocide, citing a High Court judgment last year upholding the validity of Australia's Nazi war crimes legislation.

Australia had under the 1949 Genocide Convention Act agreed to prevent and punish the crime of genocide and complicity in genocide, Limbo said.

He said Australia's provision of training and equipment to the Indonesian army was also intentionally helping the commission of the crime.

Evidence of Indonesia's behaviour in East Timor, including an alleged 200,000 Timorese missing since 1975, made it "difficult to see how Indonesian government officials could escape criminal liability for offences under the Genocide Convention," according to the barrister.

E.C. BACKS U.N. TIMOR TALKS (AFP)

AFP, Brussels, Feb 4 - Portugal will call for U.N.-sponsored talks between Lisbon and Indonesia on the future of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta, Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro said here Monday.

Portugal, which holds the rotating presidency of the European Community, has won the backing of its European partners for a "political debate without conditions" to be held under the auspices of the U.N. secretary general, he said.

Pinheiro, who was speaking at a news conference after a meeting of EC foreign ministers here, said the talks would be aimed at finding a "just, global and internationally acceptable" solution for East Timor.

A Portuguese diplomatic source said the talks would involve Portugal and Indonesia but might also include East Timorese representatives.

Pinheiro also said his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas, who begins a visit to

Europe on Wednesday, had not sought a meeting with him.

"If he asks, I will consider his request as both Portuguese (foreign) minister and president of the EC Council of Ministers," he said.

Meanwhile, a U.N. spokesman in Geneva said Alatas would be in the Swiss city from Thursday to Saturday to discuss human rights issues with U.N. officials there and take part in a G-15 ministerial meeting.

The East Timor shootings are on the agenda of the U.N. human rights commission which is holding its annual session in Geneva.

EAST TIMOR UPDATE (ACTIVIST)

The ACTivist Vol8 #2, Feb. 1992

International outrage over killings in East Timor is growing fast, despite all the best efforts of Western governments, and Indonesia's lobbyists (led by US firm Hill and Knowlton, credited for fabricating evidence that encouraged the Gulf war), to bury the issue. Among the actions taken in solidarity with the people of East Timor since Indonesian soldiers massacred 200 pro-independence demonstrators last Nov. 12 in full view of Western journalists:

* A decommissioned car ferry set out from Portugal in mid-January with the aim of laying flowers at Santa Cruz cemetery, site of the massacre, next Feb. 27. The 28-year old Lusitania Expresso was brought out of retirement by a Portuguese student group, which has launched the Greenpeace-like "Peace in Timor" cruise to carry 100 activists, supporters and journalists to the former Portuguese Timor colony.

* Australia's Timorese refugee community, with support from most of the country's unions and human rights organizations, has maintained an unofficial East Timor Embassy outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra since November. Until the end of January, the front of the Indonesian embassy was adorned with 124 crosses, each bearing the name of a known victim of the Nov. 12 massacre. The crosses were removed by order of Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, who said the "dignity of the embassy was impaired" by the graphic reminder of killings in East Timor.

* The Free East Timor! coalition in Japan confronted U.S. President George Bush during his Asian trip over his inaction on East Timor, compared to his swift response over Kuwait, and forced the Japanese government to review its huge programme of economic aid to Indonesia.

* Videotaped scenes of the massacre were shown on a giant screen outside the European Community heads of government meeting in Maastricht, Netherlands, making the issue impossible to ignore. Portugal takes over the EC presidency this year, and

has promised to put East at the top of the agenda.

* A dozen people from five states met in New York in January to found the East Timor Action Network/US, which plans to raise awareness, hold activist-oriented events and pressure the American government to help East Timor. They can be contacted at PO Box 1182, White Plains NY 10602, USA.

Guelph U. rethinks aid

The University of Guelph has agreed to an external review of its CIDA-funded aid programme on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi. The Guelph programme, the largest of any Canadian university in Indonesia, has long been under attack for supporting the Indonesian military regime. The review will be conducted by Meyer Brownstone of OXFAM Canada, Clovis Demers of the Canadian Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, and a third man yet to be named.

A group at Vancouver's Simon Fraser University, another school with major Indonesian contracts, has been formed to campaign for similar consideration of human rights questions.

Massacre survivor jailed

The show trials of some of the 37 Timorese survivors of the Nov. 12 massacre have begun. On 20 January, the first of those accused of "subversion," Filismine dos Santos Conceicao, was found guilty of stealing military documents and smuggling them to the outside world. She was sentenced to seven years in prison after a one-day trial.

In a sinister twist, prosecutors are now trying to link East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo to the information-smuggling. Belo has received repeated death threats and harassment since he asked the United Nations to conduct a referendum on independence in East Timor with the words "we are dying as a people and as a nation." Supporters fear Indonesia is trying to force the Vatican to remove him.

Indonesia is also considering laying subversion charges against Father Ricardo, Vicar-General of the East Timor Diocese. More than 100 arrests were reported in the last week of January as the atmosphere in East Timor remained tense.

Journalists fired for reporting

Three journalists with the popular Indonesian weekly Jakarta, Jakarta have been fired after the magazine devoted much of its Jan. 4-10 issue to Timorese eyewitness accounts of the Nov. 12 massacre. The three are Seno Gumira Ajidarma, Executive Editor; Usep Hermawan, Domestic Editor; and JJ Waskito Trisnodi, Artistic Editor. The dismissals, which make a mockery of Indonesian claims to freedom of the press, were immediately condemned

by the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists.

Among the testimonies published in Jakarta, Jakarta, a member of the regional assembly described the actions of a local army commander at the massacre: "He shot once into the air and the troops got down from the trucks. The soldiers ... immediately began to shoot at the demonstrators. They fired from a distance of about 10 metres. The shooting went on for about 5 minutes... [Then] the soldiers, who were fully dressed and carrying bayonets, got down.... Anyone who was still alive was stabbed with a knife."

Media watch

Canada should impose economic sanctions against Indonesia if its reduction of aid to Indonesia by two thirds has no effect, say three Canadian newspapers. "If Indonesia persists in its brutal treatment of the East Timorese," editorialized the Calgary Herald, "then Canada must be prepared to apply total economic sanctions to Indonesia ... Canada talks a good game when it comes to espousing human rights. In the case of Indonesia, it's time to put its money where its mouth is."

The Montreal Gazette called Canada's review of aid to Indonesia "long overdue" and added "it should also extend to Canada's commercial and trade relations with Indonesia." Montreal's *Le Devoir* agreed that the time had come to end "business as usual" with dictators such as Indonesia's General Suharto.

Dave Todd of Southam News (writing in the Ottawa Citizen and other papers) and Toronto Star columnist Bruce McLeod have recently published hard-hitting pieces about Canada's role in the East Timor genocide.

A package of Canadian media coverage of East Timor during 1991 will be available during February from ETAN Toronto (PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 2T1). Please send \$10 to cover copying and postage.

ACTION OF THE MONTH--

Write to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, congratulating them on cutting aid to Indonesia by two thirds (\$30 million) and urge them to maintain the aid cut until East Timor's right to self-determination is respected. House of Commons, Ottawa, K1A 0A6 (postage free from within Canada).

NO MORE WEAPONS SALES -- CANADIAN ARMS EXPORTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS (ACTIVIST)

The ACTivist Vol 8 #2, Feb. 1992

On February 6, ACT for Disarmament will appear before the House of Commons

Sub-Committee on Arms Exports. Parliament is presently conducting hearings on weapons export policies, with a view to possibly revising Canada's current policies on the sales of military goods. ACT will be presenting the following brief, prepared by Maggie Helwig in consultation with other members of ACT.

A Minimal Proposal In 1986 Joe Clark, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, announced an Export Controls Policy for Canadian arms sales. The policy stated that Canada would "closely control the export of military goods" to countries which posed a threat to Canada and its allies; countries under United Nations Security Council Sanctions; countries "involved in or under imminent threat of" hostilities; and countries "whose governments have a persistent record of serious violations of the human rights of their citizens." We would like to suggest that these are reasonable conditions. But we would also submit that, for a variety of reasons, these conditions have been systematically violated every year since 1986. We would like, in our brief to the committee, to look at the possibility of the Canadian government actually abiding by its own guidelines.

It is the third and fourth conditions -- and especially the fourth, the human rights guideline -- which have been seriously violated in a regular way. Some examples:

* Canada made arms sales in throughout the 80's and 1991 to Indonesia. Indonesia is presently occupying the island of East Timor, and human rights violations in that area are persistent and flagrant. The current Secretary for External Affairs, Barbara McDougall, has expressed her concern over the human rights situation in East Timor, but has also continued to authorize Canadian arms sales to Indonesia. Military equipment of all sorts, from machine guns and tanks to helicopter gunships to napalm, have been employed against the civilian population of East Timor. Indonesia's human rights record in other areas of its territory is very poor.

* Canada made a military sale in 1990 to the government of China, which is one of the most persistent violators of the human rights of its people. The Tiananmen Square massacre should hardly need to be mentioned, and the continuing suppression of dissent is well-known. It is also important to note that attacks on peaceful demonstrators and the arrest, torture and murder of civilians are virtually everyday events in the occupied territory of Tibet.

* Military sales have regularly been authorized to Kenya -- a sale of helicopter components was made in 1990. The government of Kenya is carrying out a systematic terror campaign against the people of the country.

Other countries to which Canada has made military sales, but which are known -- on the evidence of reliable groups like

Amnesty International -- to violate the human rights of their people on a regular basis, include: Malaysia, Peru, the Philippines, Israel, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia.

As regards countries under imminent threat of hostilities: Canada has made military sales, sometimes large and frequent sales, to almost every country in the Middle East. It should be obvious to any objective person that any country in the Middle East must be considered to be under imminent threat of hostilities more or less all the time.

It is unclear how these sales were authorized. It is possible that the government was unaware (whether innocently or willfully) of the dreadful human rights records in some of the countries to which military sales were made. However, the existence of the conditions should mean that the people responsible for implementing them take the time to become fully informed, and that they consult respected NGOs such as Amnesty and Human Rights Watch, not just governmental agencies.

It is more probable that the sales were made because of the great flexibility of the phrase "closely controlled." There seems to be a sense, among Canadian lawmakers and arms-makers alike, that if we do not sell "things that go boom" we are free of responsibility -- thus the rather specious division of military equipment into "offensive" and "non-offensive." A night-vision device that is used to target a village in order that it might be bombed contributes to the deaths of the people in that village as surely as do the bombs themselves. A vehicle that carries soldiers to the site where they massacre a crowd of civilians contributes to the deaths of those people as surely as do the bullets. And certainly (as in the case of Kenya), helicopter components that can be used to make helicopter gunships, which may be used to strafe civilian targets, are hardly "non-offensive" in any real sense of the word.

A government that is known to persistently violate human rights may promise to use components only for "non-offensive" purposes, but what they promise is hardly to the point. We have to ask what they may reasonably be expected to do.

Minimally, then, in order for the Canadian government to conform to its own standards, we ask for a complete ban on weapons sales to governments known to violate human rights, and we would insist that this ban include at least: Indonesia, Kenya, China, Peru, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Turkey -- all of them countries Canada has made arms sales to in the last three years.

We would also ask for a complete ban on arms sales to any country in the Middle East, on the grounds that the whole area is under constant threat of imminent hostilities.

An Optimal Proposal

The above, then, is our minimal proposal. It must be pointed out, however, that such a proposal is far from solving all the problems.

The Canadian government has always considered itself free of responsibility for "end use" of components, and has not made any attempt to track third party sales of weapons components. This is perhaps an extremely serious abdication of responsibility. The completed weapons systems could not exist, obviously enough, without their component parts. If the completed systems are exported to countries which violate government guidelines for arms sales, then those guidelines are violated, even though the second sale was not made by the Canadian government itself. And we cannot plead ignorance -- it is not so very difficult to track third party sales. Project Ploughshares has done just this, and very admirably, for some years now, and all their information has been entirely accessible to the Canadian government. It is not possible to claim that we do not know where our weapons components are going, because we often do know. And it is not possible to claim that we have no responsibility.

In some cases, it would take only a few seconds of thought to realize where the components are going. Brazil, for instance, does not have a huge standing army. It is, however, the biggest arms exporter in the Third World, and regularly exports weapons systems to countries engaged in civil wars or blatantly and horrendously violating human rights. In 1990, Canada sold four million dollars worth of helicopter components to Brazil. It seems a fairly good assumption that not all of those were intended for domestic use.

Israel, Italy, China, Spain and Switzerland have also been the middlemen in sales of Canadian components to countries with abominable human rights records. By far the largest re-exporter of Canadian military hardware, though, is the United States. The United States has, effectively, no controls on arms sales.

To note one particularly grim example, which has been documented by Amnesty International, Canadian-made engines for military trainer planes were sold to Brazil and Switzerland. The planes, once assembled, were sold to Iraq. The Iraqi military converted them into attack planes and used them to bombard Kurdish villages with poison gas.

This story illustrates a number of points -- the possibility that sales even to such a "good" country as Switzerland can ultimately contribute to severe human rights violations, for instance. It also makes clear one of the difficulties in dividing military hardware into "offensive" and "non-offensive." We can never guarantee that a military system will be used as we intended it to be

used. Military hardware is all too flexible, and there is very little of it that cannot be used to attack and kill perfectly innocent civilian populations.

Further, it is impossible to predict where regional wars may flare up. No one expected Yugoslavia to explode into sudden, bloody civil war. But when it did, Canadian weapons were there to be used in that war, in which hundreds if not thousands of innocents have been killed, and in which all sides are blatantly violating any code of human rights.

And should be increasingly clear that the build-up of weapons in any given area does not lead to greater stability, but to greater and greater threats of war. The Middle East, which is both the most heavily armed and the most unstable area in the world, is proof enough of this.

Finally, there is only one way to ensure that our weapons and weapons components are not used in a manner that violates human rights or contributes to the likelihood of war. That one way is to stop making them.

Therefore, our optimal proposal is this: we call for a complete ban on all Canadian arms sales.

To the Third World, to NATO and other European countries, to the United States. All Canadian arms sales.

Canada has already won some international respect for first broaching the idea of an arms sales registry. If we were to take this further step, we could be a world leader in the search for a peaceful and demilitarized world. It is countries like Canada, countries not seriously economically dependent on military industries, which are best able to set an example by taking the strongest initiatives. It is time for Canada to be a model that the rest of the world can follow.

CANDU Technology

Additionally to this proposal, we submit that the CANDU nuclear reactor must be considered as a military sale. The CANDU produces a large quantity of weapons-grade uranium, and possession of a CANDU is a positive encouragement to the construction of nuclear weapons, for any country that has any nuclear ambitions at all. Indeed, the military application of the CANDU has already been demonstrated -- it was the CANDU reactor that made India a nuclear-weapons state.

We would ask, then, that the CANDU be subject to the same export controls as are sales of weapons. Minimally, this would mean that the CANDU should not be sold to any country which violates the guidelines set out in 1986, or any country which may aspire to the possession of nuclear weapons. We would ask that the CANDU sale to south Korea be cancelled, and that Canada should withdraw its support from the partially-constructed reactor in Romania. Optimally, this would mean that the CANDU should not be exported at all.

United Nations Arms Registry A few comments on the plan for a United Nations Arms Sales Registry are in order. Though this shows a welcome awareness of the problem of arms exports, it does not seem to us that simple knowledge of where weapons are going is particularly to the point. The important thing is actually to stop weapons sales to repressive countries and countries involved in wars and civil wars, and this is best accomplished by weapon-selling countries taking the initiative to stop selling weapons. As we said earlier, Canada is in a position to do this, and to set an example to other countries, because our economy is not greatly dependent on the arms industry.

We do want to suggest that if the UN Arms Sales Registry is to be effective in any way, it must make a point of tracking third party sales.

Defense Industry Productivity Program

To the extent that sectors of the economy do depend, at the moment, on the manufacture of weapons for export, the government must take responsibility for helping these industries to convert to civilian production. We would suggest that the Defense Industry Productivity Program be changed to a Conversion Incentive Program, and that the funds which currently go to subsidize the arms industry should be used, instead, to assist industries in converting from military to civilian production, and to provide the rewards and incentives that will encourage them to make this shift. This will almost surely be more profitable in the long run, especially given that the world market for weapons is now declining. And it will ultimately create much-needed jobs (the arms industry is notoriously capital-intensive, and one of the least labour-intensive industries existing).

A ban on all Canadian weapons sales is, certainly, a daring proposal. But it is chiefly the daring and 'unworkable' ideas -- like the idea of suddenly tearing down the Berlin Wall, like the idea of the Soviet Union peacefully taking itself apart -- which have actually worked, and have brought the world closer to peace than we have been for some decades. It is time for Canada to take some of the daring, unworkable steps. We are in a position to establish Canada as a country that takes the lead in creating peace. We should not let this opportunity pass us by.

BITNET DEBATE ON EAST TIMOR

The following series of articles are excerpts from a debate on East Timor which is ongoing on the Bitnet computer mailing list SEASIA-L. Flush-right, italicized paragraphs indicate that the writer was quoting a previous posting.

The discussion was initiated on February 5, 1992 by the following posting, from an Indonesian Student named Indra in Colorado:

The condition in East Timor is not as bad as you imagine. The Indonesian Troops came to East Timor when there was a civil war in East Timor and some of the parties (such as Apodeti, UDT) asked The Indonesian government for help.

The government still placed the troops there because the situation in East Timor is still not too safe. There are some violence action from the loss party (fretilin) like :murder, robbery, etc and that is also reason why East Timor still closed for visitor. Now The Indonesian Government begun to open East Timor for Visitor. There are also many development there like :school, economics, etc. The development budget for East Timor is the biggest among the other part of Indonesia. Of course now the result from the development still not appear and still not all the people there get advantage from it.

In developing East Timor the Indonesian Army also changed their program to "Smile Operation" from "Combat Operation". (not vice versa).

About the massacre in East Timor the Indonesian Government already sent a Commission to investigate about this and the commission found that the Army is guilty. The Indonesian Government already take an action about this by change all the Army personal there and also form a special commission in the Army (like military court) to handle all the Army personal that suspect guilt in that massacre. That is all about East Timor that come from the knowledge from Indonesian people.

NB: I'm not a Government worker. I'm here by my father's money and my father is not Government worker also. I made this opinion just to add some info about East-Timor. Thanks.

From: Loren Ryter, Brown Univ.

Could you please sign your name, next time?

I am glad to hear from you as someone representing the view of a typical Indonesian citizen who most likely has had very little access to information outside of official government reports about East Timor or reports in the Indonesian media which is tightly controlled.

With such constraints in mind, it is understandable that you view the situation as you do.

Since there has been a wealth of information from various sources posted online recently, I shall not bother to go into detail here, but let me respond briefly to a couple of points:

The Indonesian Troops came to East Timor when there was a civil war in East Timor and some of the parties (such as Apodeti, UDT) asked the Indonesian government for help.

The Indonesian government by no means could be said to have played a passive role in the civil war. It has been said that Apodeti was formed by Indonesian intelligence. In any case, they were not sitting by idly while the civil war unfolded, waiting to be called in for assistance. This sort of justification is one often used by colonizing powers: for example, the British said the Sultan of Kedah asked for assistance in a civil war with the Chinese, and this provided the justification necessary for the eventual British colonization of Malaya.

I would not be surprised to find something similar in the history of the VOC.

The government still placed the troops there because the situation in East Timor is still not too safe. There are some violence action from the loss party (fretilin) like :murder, robbery, etc and that is also reason why East Timor still closed for visitor.

The situation is not safe BECAUSE of the Indonesian army. They are there, in the words of General Try Sutrisno, to "crush the security disrupters." The army is frustrated and annoyed that the resistance cannot be crushed, even with supreme violence. Even though FRETILIN may be said to have "lost," it is no longer the case that Fretilin is the only resistance, as seen last November, when thousands showed their opposition to Integrasi. The East Timorese people do not want Integrasi. That is why East Timor has been closed to visitors: it would be embarrassing for outsiders to see that the official line about how East Timor wants integration is clearly a blatant lie.

Now The Indonesian Government begun to open East Timor for Visitor. There are also many development there like: school, economics, etc. The development budget for East Timor is the biggest among the other part of Indonesia. Of course now the result from the development still not appear and still not all the people there get advantage from it.

The East Timorese have repeatedly said that such development is irrelevant, if it gives them no benefit. In schools, children are only taught Bahasa and Indonesian nationalism, made to join Pramuka boy scout troops, and made to march with flags, etc. This is not education, this is called indoctrination. In the hospitals, people fear Indonesian doctors so much that they are

unwilling to go. In addition, patients are required to sign statements to the effect that they are not anti-integrationists in order to receive access to health care.

In developing East Timor the Indonesian Army also change their program to "Smile Operation" from "Combat Operation". (not vice versa).

Let me ask you a question: If I was about to shoot you with a gun, and I said, this is not "Operation Kill," it is called "Operation Happy," would this make any difference to you?

About the massacre in East Timor the Indonesian Government already send a Commission to investigate about this and the commission found that the Army is guilty. The Indonesian Government already take an action about this by change all the Army personal there and also form a special commission in the Army (like military court) to handle all the Army personal that suspect guilt in that massacre.

If the problem is Indonesian policy towards East Timor, it makes little difference to punish specific individuals. Two generals were replaced, not "all the army personnel there." Theo Syafei may be even worse than Warouw, anyway. It is a minor cosmetic adjustment.

That is all about East Timor that come from the knowledge from Indonesian people. NB: I'm not a Government worker. I'm here by my father's money and my father is not Government worker also. I made this opinion just to add some info about East-Timor. Thanks.

Again, I appreciate your comments, and it is good for you to come out in defense of what you might think are attacks on your country. We do not mean to attack Indonesians, we just regret that Indonesians are prevented from seeing the whole truth. Please do not remain silent in this!

From: Coban Tun

Indra writes: The condition in East Timor is not as bad as you imagine.

Loren answer: I am glad to hear from you as someone representing the view of a typical Indonesian citizen who most likely has had very little access to information outside of official government reports about East Timor or reports in the Indonesian media which is tightly controlled. [...stuff deleted...]

The Indonesian Troops came to East Timor when there was a civil war in East Timor and some of the parties (such as Apodeti, UDT) asked The Indonesian government for help.

The Indonesian government by no means could be said to have played a passive role in the civil war. It has been said that Apodeti was formed by Indonesian intelligence. In any case, they were not sitting by idly while the civil war unfolded, waiting to be called in for assistance. This sort of justification is

one often used by colonizing powers: for example, the British said the Sultan of Kedah asked for assistance in a civil war with the Chinese, and this provided the justification necessary for the eventual British colonization of Malaya. I would not be surprised to find something similar in the history of the VOC.

Isn't that the similar line the Russian use when they march into Afghan? Something about "being asked for help"? I believe Saddam use the similar statement when he marched into Kuwait.

Indonesian government sound very much like a Burmese government. No wonder they don't pressure their neighbor (Burma) on human rights issues. Burmese government often states that foreign media always dwells on the negatives then positives. Things are as not as bad as they seem, etc

From: David Kohr, Univ. of Illinois.

Let's not forget another example: the American "intervention" in Vietnam.

From: joseph stimpfl

Although I agree in principle with the analysis of the East Timor situation the reference to the British involvement in Malaysia and the colonization of Malaya is a bit more complicated than that. For the most part, the Sultanates in the Malay peninsula were colonized individually, each with its own justification. This contrasts significantly with the method of colonization used by the Dutch in Indonesia.

From: Indra (original poster)

Hai Guys, I'm really glad that I got many reply from my opinion about East Timor. Okay now this is my opinion:

I do not know what is the real situation there when Indonesian Troops came, but after the civil war there is a voting that done by East Timor people and the result is they are agree to integrated with Indonesia (is almost same with Irian Jaya). we should look objective that of course instead of people that want to integrated there are also people that want to separate. And this is the problem because they always tried to get their goals by doing like protest etc.

About the Santa Cruz massacre really is not only two generals was replace but all the Strategies position was replaced also. And the Indonesian Government really said Sorry to East Timor people about this and the government already tried to do the best they can to clear this problem.

Let me tell you actually what happened at that time. First there is demonstration about to reject Indonesia in East Timor than the situation get worst, some of the demonstrators try to get the army gun, and some of them also bring weapon like knife, grenade, etc.

I knew that Indonesian troops should take another action instead of kill people to

handle this but If I or you were them and in that situation may be you do not have any choice. I think the way they handled this situation almost same with in many countries, even The U.S.A. police (which known as the most democratic country in the world) use violence when they handle same situation (like when there was a demo about Vietnam War etc).

Now some of the country that cancel their loans for Indonesia because The Santa Cruz massacre (like Holland and Canada) begin to look at that again. They feel that the way Indonesian Government handled this is objective enough.

Indra

PS: how your opinion about Portugal that for long time before Indonesia inter-vened East Timor? and now they said that Indonesia did the same thing? Why don't they think about this long time ago when they still in East Timor and give them Independence so there will not be a Civil War?

From: Coban Tun

First there is demonstration about to reject Indonesia in East Timor than the situation get worst, some of the demonstrators try to get the army gun, and some of them also bring weapon like knife, grenade, etc. I knew that Indonesian troops should take another action instead of kill people to handle this but If I or you were them and in that situation may be you do not have any choice. I think the way they handled this situation

Riot police should have been sent who had been trained in crowd control, especially of angry crowd. may be use water cannon, tear gas, etc... certainly no bullets... The problem is that those dictator always like to use soldiers who only know how to obey order and shoot at anything that moves which is what happen in Burma and Timor.

almost same with in many countries, even The U.S.A. police (which known as the most democratic country in the world) use violence when they handle same situation (like when there was a demo about Vietnam War etc).

well- they are pretty fascist too. They have no excuse either.

From: "Kevin F. Gaw"

What I have not seen in the discussion is the mention of Indonesia's (the gov't) expansionist policy. Let's not forget what happened off the coast of Sarawak many years ago, and the parachuting Indonesian troopers in Johor, West Malaysia. Konfrontasi.

Indonesia invaded East Timor (yes, this interpretation is open to debate by some) immediately after East Timor received independence from Portugal. Portugal was a socialist state at that time and therefore it's "colony" was a socialist satellite, a threat to Indonesian security.

There is also the rumor that when half an island belongs to Indonesian, so should the other half (or parts there of). Witness East Timor, Kalimantan (Malaysia + Brunei), and now Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea.

Anyways, these are some thoughts.
Galijo.

From: Oliver Kortendick M.A., Köln, Germany

I couldn't believe my eyes when I saw your message concerning East Timor, Indra: It's the same old song... Injustice doesn't turn into justice because of other injustices. You spoke of elections in Irian Jaya - but who voted for what? Isn't it true that the so-called voters were immigrants who were transported to Irian Jaya especially for the "elections" and had nothing to do with the original population?

We just have few information concerning the situation in East Timor - but what we hear by eye witnesses, human rights organisations and those scientists who succeed in visiting East Timor is terrible and definitively not democratic. What you're trying to sell us, Indra, is a fairy tale - but we'll not fall asleep.

From: "Michael L. LeHoullier"

Kevin Gaw brought up the expansionist policies.

My Southeast Asian History professor (a Malaysian) discussed this in class. With Sukarno's Pan-Malayism, how much did he actually want to bring under his fold.

It's known that the Malayo-Polynesian Peoples spread from Madagascar to Hawaii (inc. the Philippines). Did he want all of this under his hegemony? He also suggested that the Indians of Central and South America may be linked to these people. See the extremes this can be carried to?

Just thought this might be interesting seeing the Konfrontasi was brought.

Salam,

From: Loren Ryster

Hi Indra, here is another brief reply:

Hai Guys, I'm really glad that I got many replies from my opinion about East Timor. Okay now this is my opinion: I do not know what is the real situation there when Indonesian Troops came, but after the civil war there is a voting that done by East Timor people and the result is they are agree to integrated with Indonesia (is almost same with Irian Jaya).

The only government on earth that claims that an act of self-determination has taken place in East Timor is Indonesia. Even the United States government, which recognizes the de facto (as a matter of fact, not de jure as in legal) possession of ET by Indonesia, officially does NOT recognize that any act of self-determination has taken place. The fact is that as soon as Indonesia invaded in December 1975, it set up a puppet government which was made up of some

members of UDT, all of Apodeti (which was created by Indonesian intelligence), and two other groups "both without a following" but which were included to make the new government look more representative. It was this "People's Assembly" which proclaimed Integrasi with Indonesia. No direct vote was ever made, and in fact couldn't have been made since a large portion of the population were busy fighting the Indonesians.

we should look objective that of course instead of people that want to integrated there are also people that want to separate. And this is the problem because they always tried to get their goals by doing like protest etc.

Yes, but you must recognize that there would not be a need for desperate protest if the East Timorese were given the chance to freely express their will without threat of violence.

And the Indonesian Government really said Sorry to East Timor people about this and the government already tried to do the best they can to clear this problem.

In the face of international attention, what else could they do other than make insincere apologies? If they were truly repentant, we wouldn't hear Ali Alatas making statements like, "East Timor? Why? For us the matter is finished. There will be no international conference on East Timor. That isn't possible." Clearly, the Indonesians did the very minimum they could do in order to escape further action in international circles.

Let me tell you actually what happened at that time. First there is demonstration about to reject Indonesia in East Timor than the situation get worst, some of the demonstrators try to get the army gun, and some of them also bring weapon like knife, grenade, etc. I knew that Indonesian troops should take another action instead of kill people to handle this but If I or you were them and in that situation may be you do not have any choice.

No one except the army claims that any of this happened. Several foreign and independent journalists who witnessed the massacre testified that the demonstration was peaceful, that there were not grenades or knives, and that the Indonesian troops fired deliberately and in formation as if they had been given their orders well before. It was clearly not in response to any perceived threat from the East Timorese. Please read some of the journalist's reports for a fuller description of what happened.

almost same with in many countries, even The U.S.A. police (which known as the most democratic country in the world) use violence when they handle same situation (like when there was a demo about Vietnam War etc).

Yes, Kent State happened at a time in US history that was not all that unlike Indonesia's. Governments have a tendency

to resort to fascist violence when it is clear that the people who they govern no longer see the government as legitimate. What happened in Kent State is as deplorable as what happened in Dili, the only difference being that violence in East Timor is constant.

PS: how your opinion about Portugal that for long time before Indonesia intervened East Timor? and now they said that Indonesia did the same thing? Why don't they think about this long time ago when they still in East Timor and give them Independence so there will not be a Civil War?

If you're implying the standard line the Portugal impoverished East Timor while it was a colony, that is arguable. What can be said is that the East Timorese, for better or worse, feel an affinity with the Portuguese that they do not feel with the Indonesians, and generally still consider that Portugal must resume the decolonization process.

Also, no one, including the Portuguese, is happy with the way Portugal handled the situation in 1974 with its colonies. Fortunately, they are trying to make up for past mistakes now, which is more than can be said for Indonesia.

Salam, Indra, dan teman-teman Indonesia.

From: Anton H Gunawan

I just want to make short comments to the posting by Kevin Gaw:

1. "konfrontasi" happened long time ago, when I was a kid, but to my understanding, Indonesian Government under the late President Sukarno at that time was much under the influence of the resurgence of Nationalism of developing nations (which Indonesia among others was one of the leaders of developing countries movement - remember Bandung Asia-Africa Conference 1955), and also President Sukarno in his way of governing Indonesia was very much pressed/influence by PKI (the Indonesian Communist Party), which were leaning towards the Communist Bloc (Soviet and PRC). On the other hand, Malaysia, in their policies, was very much influenced by Western Bloc (British, USA etc). I remember very clearly when President Sukarno told Western Countries "Go to Hell with your aids", reflecting Indonesia political side at that time. In one of the propaganda used during the "Konfrontasi" was referring that Malaysia was "Antek-Antek NEKOLIM" (pawn of Neo-Colonialism). Yes I remember vaguely that at that time also there was a movement/idea of building a new united nations/country called "MAPHILINDO" (Malaysia-Philippines-Indonesia).

2. I want to ask to members of this network, whether anybody knows when East Timor received independence from Portugal. As far as I know, Portuguese left East Timor in chaos, very poor and undeveloped, and there was civil war. (correct me if I am

wrong). Was there any country in this world acknowledged the East Timor Independence (from Portugal)?

3. As an Indonesian, I was also very sorry about the November 12 1991 killings, whatever the reason is. It was a mistake. It could have been avoided by not using those unnecessary forces. Like in 1978/9 when the Indonesian Army went in to several campuses in Indonesia, using unnecessary forces (the troops used to "invade" Indonesian campuses, according to rumors, were the one that just got back from combat in East Timor.....).

4. I also want you guys to look these whole thing in historical perspectives and not only at the Nov. 12 alone, and please use same standard of "terms" (Democracy in Western Countries can't be applied exactly as it is in many developing countries, including in Indonesia, because we have different sets of value). But, I know this does not mean that people/government can do whatever they like to do. And I hope the Nov. 12 incident (which was also acknowledged as a mistake by the Indonesian Government) is not used to diminished the development in East Timor.

5. Information is a very expensive thing, and people will try use it for their own benefit (as much as possible), and the way people use the information they know will depend very much on their way of thinking, philosophy, and other individual backgrounds. This thing applies to either the Indonesian Government, Indonesian People, East Timor people, Portuguese, Americans, Asia Watch, Human Rights International etc. So, I respect your point of views and I hope you can also respect mine. What I am saying is that the news that we heard from any sources should be used carefully. Not because the news come from Asia Watch, Reuter, International Human Rights movement, Portugal, etc. is far more reliable than the news heard from Indonesian Government, Indonesian Newspaper etc. ; and vice versa.

Thanks for your understanding,

-- anton

AMNESTY CRITICIZES KPN REPORT (REUTER)

Reuter, London, Sue Baker, Feb 5 - The London-based human rights organisation Amnesty International, in a new report, criticised as "fatally flawed" an Indonesian official inquiry into the deaths of at least 50 people when the army opened fire on a crowd of mourners.

A British official said Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, on a one-day visit to Britain, had assured Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd that Jakarta was determined to "take action against all those who had violated the law, including members of the armed forces."

Alatas also promised that people still missing following the November 12 killings

would be accounted for and steps would be taken to ensure that a similar incident could not happen again.

"On November 12 a tragedy happened. It shocked the world but equally it shocked us," Alatas told a news conference.

Amnesty's new report said the Indonesian inquiry commission gave undue credence to military accounts of the incident and ignored or misconstrued eyewitness testimony.

It said the report accused East Timorese participants in the funeral procession of provoking the incident "while keeping criticism of the police and military to the barest minimum."

Amnesty said the report reached a figure of "about 50" killed in a "seemingly arbitrary way." And East Timorese had been afraid to testify before it, it said.

AMNESTY REPORT: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following is the official summary and recommendations of Amnesty International's 19-page document: "Indonesia/East Timor - Santa Cruz: The Government Response", Document ASA/21/03/92, released by Amnesty International in London on 5 February 1992.

SUMMARY

This report evaluates the Indonesian Government's response to the 12 November Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. It concludes that the mandate and methods of work of the government-appointed National Commission of Inquiry were fatally flawed and that its findings are unacceptable. It finds other aspects of the government and military response to the massacre to have been inadequate and inappropriate; rather than preventing future human rights violations and ensuring that those responsible are brought to justice, the response has been accompanied by further violations against East Timorese. The report concludes with a set of recommendations to the Indonesian Government and to member states of the United Nations, for addressing the current human rights crisis in East Timor.

Amnesty International continues to urge the international community to ensure that a thorough and impartial investigation under UN auspices be conducted into the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath.

The National Commission of Inquiry

* The findings of the Commission of Inquiry give undue credence to military accounts of the incident while ignoring or misconstruing independent evidence, including eye-witness testimony, which contradicts the official version. Such evidence suggests that the actions of the security forces were not a spontaneous reaction to a riotous mob, but a planned military opera-

tion, conducted according to normal operating procedures.

* The report accuses East Timorese participants in the funeral procession of "provoking" the incident, while keeping criticism of police and military to the barest minimum. It suggests that the expression of political dissent may be a justification for security forces to use lethal force or other unlawful measures against civilians.

* The Commission did not obtain an accurate picture of the number or the identity of the victims, nor did it seek to establish the cause of death in any instance. The seemingly arbitrary way in which the Commission arrived at the figure of "about 50" killed suggests that it may have been driven more by political expediency than investigative rigour or available evidence.

* The Commission did not meet the criteria of independence, impartiality, and credibility required by the United Nations' own "Principles for the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions". One result was that East Timorese were afraid to testify before the Commission.

* Members of the Commission did not possess the necessary technical expertise to conduct an investigation which required a thorough search for mass burial sites, full exhumations and the performance of autopsies.

Other aspects of the Government's Response

* Far from putting an end to human rights violations, the official reaction to the incident has been accompanied by the commission of further serious violations, including arrest for political reasons, torture, ill-treatment and extrajudicial executions.

* Not a single member of the security forces has been charged or brought before the courts for the Santa Cruz killings and subsequent human rights violations. Yet, more than 60 East Timorese have been imprisoned in connection with the incident, some or all of them may be prisoners of conscience.

* Since 12 November, government and military authorities have taken measures to ensure that witnesses, human rights activists and independent observers are not in a position to dispute the official version of events, and restrictions on access to East Timor have been tightened.

* The Government and the Commission have wrongly portrayed the Santa Cruz massacre as an isolated incident, an aberration in an otherwise acceptable pattern of behaviour by the security forces. Neither the Commission nor the Government has addressed the long-standing and continuing pattern of human rights violations in East Timor and Indonesia.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the shortcomings of the Commission's finding, the inadequacy of the government's response, and reports of continuing human rights violations in East Timor, Amnesty International believes that the need for an international and impartial investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath is an urgent one. Amnesty International also believes that additional steps must be taken to address the human rights crisis in East Timor. Amnesty International therefore offers the following recommendations which, if implemented, it believes would contribute toward the future protection of human rights in East Timor and Indonesia.

Amnesty International urges the Indonesian Government to:

* Cooperate fully with all UN human rights initiatives, including an international investigation of the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath;

* Bring promptly to justice all members of the security forces responsible for human rights violations, in particular those committed during and after the Santa Cruz massacre;

* Permit the free and regular monitoring of human rights in East Timor and Indonesia by domestic and international human rights organisations;

* Welcome international trial observers at political trials, in particular those of East Timorese arrested in connection with the Santa Cruz massacre;

* Release immediately all those imprisoned solely for their non-violent political activities or beliefs.

Amnesty International urges the UN Commission of Human Rights to:

* Seek a full report to the UN Commission on Human Rights by the UN Secretary-General in the event that he sends an emissary to Indonesia and East Timor to look into the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath;

* Seek a systematic follow up through the UN Commission on Human Rights to the January 1992 report of the Special Rapporteur on Torture on his visit to Indonesia and East Timor;

* Establish effective means whereby the regular monitoring of the human rights situation in Indonesia and East Timor under UN auspices can be assured.

AMNESTY SHOCKS INDONESIA (REUTER)

Reuter, Brussels, Brian Love, Feb 7 - Indonesia said on Friday it was shocked that the human rights group Amnesty International had attacked its inquiry into a massacre in East Timor last November, when troops shot dead scores of civilians during a procession.

"It's a sweeping rejection of everything we've been trying to do," Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said.

"We are deeply disappointed," he told a news conference in Brussels, his last stop in a tour of Europe.

Alatas said the incident was a tragic event and he wanted to put the record straight. Unfair reports and accusations implied that Jakarta condoned the military's violence and had done little to find the culprits, he said.

He accused Portugal of backing a smear campaign.

"(We are) concerned that one government and one certain country...insist in their anti-Indonesian campaign with deliberate misrepresentation and exaggeration," Alatas said.

Portugal had been "playing the role of white angel round the world (and) depicting Indonesia as a black devil," he said.

Despite saying the military was far from free of blame, Alatas denied claims that the Dili procession had been peaceful.

"Contrary to press reports of a peaceful procession...there were elements of provocation and premeditated agitation," he said.

He said the government was satisfied with the results of the inquiry and would now take action against all those responsible.

Alatas said soldiers involved would be tried by a military council and civilians would be brought to justice in accordance with the law.

London-based Amnesty has urged U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali to order a report by the Commission on Human Rights.

PROTEST DEMONSTRATION PLANNED AS ALATAS VISITS LONDON (BCET)

*Press Release 3 February 1992 by the
British Coalition for East Timor:*

A large number of people are expected to attend a demonstration outside the Indonesian Embassy on Wednesday, 5 February, in protest at a visit to London by Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas.

The protestors will carry seventy-five crosses in memory of the many East Timorese who were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on mostly young East Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of occupied East Timor, on 12 November 1991. Each cross will bear the name of one of the victims who are known to have died. The death toll is estimated at around 180. None of the victims has been named by the Indonesian authorities. Bereaved families have received no news about missing relatives and were not permitted to visit hospitals where the wounded were being held. Most of the bodies were burnt or were buried in secret mass graves.

The Alatas visit to London is part of a tour to a number of European and North American capitals to counter criticism and protest that followed in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre, leading to the suspension of aid from the Netherlands, Denmark and Canada. The Netherlands chairs the international aid consortium which meets annually to allocate economic assistance for Indonesia. Last year, US\$4.7 billion was allocated. The next meeting is in June.

Indonesia also fears that the UN Human Rights Commission, now meeting in Geneva, will censure Indonesia because of the massacre and because of a strongly critical report submitted to the Commission by the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture who visited Indonesia and East Timor in November 1991.

Many organisations in Britain have called on the British Government to press for a UN commission of inquiry to visit East Timor without delay to investigate the massacre and interview Timorese eye-witnesses. They have also called for a suspension of aid to Indonesia, an arms embargo and speedy action to bring about a UN-supervised act of self-determination in East Timor in accordance with 2 UN Security Council and 8 General Assembly resolutions.

Place: Indonesian Embassy, 38, Grosvenor Sq, W2

Time: 2.30 - 4.00 pm, Wed 5 Feb 1992

For more information, ring 081 771-2904 or fax 081 653-0322.

LORD AVEBURY ON AFTERMATH OF MASSACRE (LETTER TO THE TIMES)

*The Times of London 4 February 1992
Letter to the Editor, given the most prominent position on the letters' page.*

February 2

Sir,

On February 5 Mr Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, is to meet his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Ali Alatas. It may be surmised that Mr Alatas will try to reinforce the message of his new year statement, reported by the Indonesian Embassy in London, that "the National Investigation Commission's report on the November 12 incident in Dili . . . was final, and he hoped countries friendly to Indonesia would understand Indonesia's sincerity in handling the case".

The "incident" referred to here was the cold-blooded massacre of more than 100 young people at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, on November 12 1991.

The victims had been demonstrating against Indonesia's invasion of the territory, formerly a Portuguese colony, and Jakarta's

defiance of ten resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly, calling for the withdrawal of the Indonesian army of occupation and the holding of an internationally supervised plebiscite.

Television viewers who saw the First Tuesday programme on January 7 will know that the demonstrators were peaceful and unarmed, and that the massacre was a premeditated and carefully planned operation, rather than a "spontaneous reaction by soldiers to protect themselves", as the commission declared.

Mr Alatas no doubt hopes to make excuses for the commission, and to pretend that the replacement of the local commander was an adequate response to mass murder by his troops.

Mr Alatas should be told that an essential component of the new world order is that violations of article 2(4) of the UN Charter, which prohibits forcible acquisition of territory, whether in Kuwait or East Timor, will no longer be tolerated and that severe economic penalties will follow if Indonesia continues to defy the rules of international law.

The solution to the human rights catastrophe which has engulfed the people of East Timor for 16 years, costing the lives of a third of the population, is for the imperialists from Java to get out. The people who were killed in the Santa Cruz cemetery were prepared to sacrifice their lives if that meant freedom for their people, and the United Nations must not let them down.

Yours faithfully,
LORD AVEBURY
(Chairman, Parliamentary Human Rights
Group)
House of Lords

INDONESIA FACES U.K. DISPLEASURE OVER TIMOR (INDEPENDENT)

By Ray Whitaker, Asia Editor.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, meets British ministers today during a visit widely seen as an attempt to repair the country's image after the massacre of demonstrators in East Timor last November.

The governments of Indonesia's main Western allies, including Britain, have accepted the findings of an inquiry set up by Indonesia's military government, which blamed soldiers for over-reacting and firing without orders, but accused demonstrators of provocation. Senior officers responsible for East Timor were later removed.

Labour's shadow minister of overseas development, Ann Clwyd yesterday called for an embargo on British arms exports. According to the Stockholm International Peace Institute, Britain was close behind the US as Indonesia's main arms supplier between 1986 and 1990, with sales worth 290m, making the country the third largest

market for British weaponry. The Government argues that none of the arms can be used for counter-insurgency.

Ms Clwyd said British aid, worth 22.7m in 1991 [sic - this figure is for 1990], should also be suspended under the government's policy of linking assistance to "good governance". Indonesia was not one of the poorest countries in the world, nor a Commonwealth member, nor a nation with which we had historical links. "The main reason for the growing volume of aid is that it is seen as a key market for British exports."

Human rights will be raised during Mr Alatas's meetings with the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, and his minister responsible for the region, Lord Caithness. Mr Alatas goes on to Geneva tomorrow, but will not be received in other European capitals.

LABOUR DEMANDS JAKARTA ARMS BAN (GUARDIAN)

By Nikki Knewstub

A big demonstration is expected outside the Indonesian embassy in London today in protest against a visit by the country's foreign minister, Ali Alatas. One of his aims is to counter criticism of the massacre in East Timor in which an estimated 180 died.

Labour's shadow minister for overseas development, Ann Clwyd, urged the government yesterday to suspend aid to Indonesia and impose an arms embargo in the wake of evidence of continuing human rights abuses in East Timor.

Indonesia's governor in East Timor has accused the army of inciting last November's massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the capital in Dili. The action attracted widespread condemnation. Canada, Netherlands and Denmark suspended aid. Ms Clwyd said the massacre was "the latest chapter in one of the most appalling histories of human rights abuses."

"And yet Britain gave 22.7 million of aid to Indonesia in 1990", she added.

The Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, and the overseas development minister, Lynda Chalker, were both on record as saying Britain always stood up for human rights. "If Britain is serious, it must tell Mr Alatas that it must suspend aid."

She also urged the government to support the United Nations resolution which calls for East Timor to decide its own future.

Mr Alatas will be in London for a day. He will see Mr Hurd this morning for talks which will include human rights. He will also see the Foreign Office minister Lord Caithness.

HURD-ALATAS MEETING IN LONDON (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 5 - Foreign Minister Ali Alatas arrives in London Wednesday for a brief Western European tour aimed at

improving Indonesia's international image, badly tarnished by the bloody East Timor shooting.

On his first stop, Alatas will begin trying to "obtain the understanding of the European Community (EC), despite the opposition of Portugal," a European diplomat said.

After leaving the British capital, Alatas will travel to Geneva, where the annual meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission will be taking place. The commission is expected to raise the question of East Timor.

He is to return to Jakarta on Sunday, but preceding him here will be Amos Wako, a special representative of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Before travelling to Geneva, Alatas may visit Brussels, the home of the European Commission, but the trip could not be confirmed by officials.

Alatas is scheduled to return to Europe in late February to visit various EC capitals, including Rome, Madrid, Paris and The Hague, before travelling to Washington.

The EC is the only one of Indonesia's major partners not to comment on the November 26 publication of a preliminary official report on the Dili shooting.

Portugal used its position as EC president to block any community declarations on East Timor.

"Lisbon believes that the Indonesian report is for appearances only and that only an impartial commission of enquiry under U.N. auspices is acceptable," said another European diplomat.

"Even if they are not in favour of going as far as Portugal, the EC countries, in the name of political cooperation between the 12 (EC members), cannot ignore the Portuguese veto," he added.

HURD URGES JUSTICE FOR MAS-SACRE (REUTER)

Reuter, London, Feb 5 - British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd sought assurances from Indonesia's foreign minister on Wednesday that Jakarta would bring to justice those responsible for last November's massacre in East Timor.

Hurd also told Ali Alatas that Britain hoped Indonesia would search for people still missing and "take measures to prevent a recurrence" of the army killing of at least 50 civilians in the East Timor capital of Dili, a Foreign Office statement said.

"The foreign secretary took the opportunity to raise human rights issues in Indonesia...He recalled Britain's condemnation with its EC (European Community) partners of the killing of civilians in East Timor," it said.

But British officials rejected opposition Labour Party calls for the government to suspend aid and impose an arms embargo to protest at alleged human rights abuses in Indonesia.

Alatas, making the first official visit to Britain by an Indonesian foreign minister in four years, said Indonesia welcomed the U.N. secretary-general's decision to send an envoy to East Timor and he would be granted full access.

ALATAS PLEDGES ACTION AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE (AFP)

AFP, London, Feb 5 - Visiting Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Wednesday his country would take action against those responsible for the massacre in the East Timorese capital Dili on November 12, the Foreign Office said.

Alatas promised his British counterpart Douglas Hurd that Indonesia would "take action against all who had violated the law, including members of the armed forces as necessary," a spokesman said.

He said the Indonesian Government also would "carry through a full review of policies in East Timor," a former Portuguese colony seized by Indonesia in 1976.

During their meeting, Hurd "sought assurances" that Indonesia "would complete the next stages" of an investigation underway and "bring to justice those responsible, search for the missing and take measures to prevent a recurrence," the spokesman said.

He said British arms exports to Indonesia would be examined on a case-by-case basis, adding that Britain "did not allow the export of arms and equipment likely to be used for repressive purposes against civil populations."

"In the case of Indonesia this criterion extended to possible repression of the civil population of East Timor," the spokesman added.

KAUFMAN WARNS ALATAS ON HUMAN RIGHTS (LABOUR PARTY)

U.K. Labour Party News Release, 5 February 1991.

Comment: Gerald Kaufman, Shadow Foreign Secretary, will be Britain's Foreign Secretary if the Labour Party wins the general election which is due to be held this spring.

At a meeting in London with Mr Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister, the Right Honourable Gerald Kaufman MP, Shadow Foreign Secretary, protested in the strongest terms at the massacre in Dili in East Timor last November and also at breaches of human rights in East Timor. He called for the punishment of all those involved in the massacre and for assurances that firm measures would be taken to end the breaches of human rights in East Timor.

Mr Kaufman drew the attention of Mr Ali Alatas to the policy of the Labour Party, which is that economic aid is linked to human rights and that arms sales cannot be made to countries with bad human rights records or those which might use armaments for internal repression or external aggression.

Mr Kaufman told Mr Alatas that the state of human rights in East Timor and in Indonesia would have an important effect on the relationship between a Labour government and Indonesia.

HURD RESISTS JAKARTA LINE OVER KILLINGS (GUARDIAN)

The Guardian, 6 February 1992. By John Gittings in Lisbon and Michael Simmons in London.

The opening of Indonesia's diplomatic offensive in the West to improve its image after the November massacre in East Timor was met in London yesterday with a long discourse on human rights from the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd.

In a meeting at the Foreign Office, Ali Alatas, Indonesia's foreign minister, sought to defend the equivocal results of the Indonesian government inquiry into the army's slaughter of pro-independence demonstrators in the East Timor capital of Dili on 12 November.

Mr Hurd reiterated Britain's and the European Community's condemnation of the killings and sought assurances that those responsible would be brought to justice, and that the search for the missing would be stepped up and steps taken to prevent any recurrence. More than 50 East Timor have been arrested following the incident but none from the military which according to the Jakarta report, was guilty only of 'over-reacting'.

Mr Alatas will now visit Brussels and Geneva. Observers in Lisbon regard him as a skilled diplomat who will do his best to defuse European anger. Portugal has gained the support of EC foreign ministers for its proposal to hold tripartite talks between Lisbon, Jakarta and representatives of the East Timorese.

[The second half of the news item deals at length with Amnesty's report released on 5 February, posted earlier.]

BRITAIN CONTINUES ARMS SALES AND AID TO INDONESIA (INDEPENDENT)

The Independent, 6 February 1992. By Raymond Whitaker, Asia Editor

Britain yesterday called on Indonesia to bring to justice those responsible for the killing of demonstrators in East Timor last November, and to take action to prevent a recurrence but made it clear that no cut-off of aid or arms sales is envisaged.

The Foreign Office said the visiting Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, had described the shootings as a tragedy during his meeting with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. The Indonesian government would take action against all those who had violated the law, including members of the armed forces, and carry out a full review of policies in East Timor. Mr Alatas also

promised that the UN Secretary-General's personal envoy, who arrives [in Jakarta] at the weekend, would be given full access.

Mr Hurd welcomed the action already taken on the basis of the [Indonesian] inquiry and sought assurances that the authorities would complete the investigation, bring the perpetrators to justice, search for the missing and take measures to prevent a recurrence.

[Several paragraphs reporting Amnesty's highly critical report follow.]

Mr Alatas last night called the Amnesty study "biased" and said Indonesia should not be pre-judged. A military commission was still investigating the conduct of the security forces on the day in question.

UK SEEKS ACTION ON TIMOR DEATHS (TIMES)

The Times, 6 February 1992. By Michael Binyon, Diplomatic Editor

Britain yesterday sought assurances from Indonesia that it would complete its promised investigation into the killing of civilians in East Timor last November, bring to justice those responsible, search for those still missing, and take measures to prevent a recurrence of the massacre.

In what were officially described as friendly talks between Douglas Hurd and Ali Alatas, the foreign secretary raised the issue of human rights in the region, including Burma.

He repeated the condemnation by Britain and its European Community partners of the killings in Dili by Indonesian soldiers on November 12, and welcomed the actions already taken by Jakarta. Mr Alatas emphasised his government's promise to take action against those who had broken the law, including the armed forces as necessary, to carry out a full review of policies in East Timor and to welcome Amos Wako of Kenya, the personal envoy of the UN Secretary-General and offer him access.

The shootings cast a shadow over Mr Alatas's visit. His invitation to come to Britain was of long-standing. Among the other issues discussed was a continuation of the dialogue between the EC and ASEAN. Britain is proposing a high-level meeting between the EC and ASEAN during its presidency of the Community later this year.

Indonesia's sensitivity to the world outcry over East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was reflected at a press conference given later by Mr Alatas to which no Portuguese correspondent was admitted.

Indonesia emphasised on Wednesday that it would not accept any foreign investigation into the massacre. "We have decided that the Dili incident is Indonesia's domestic affair," General Benny Murdani, the country's defence minister, said.

The official Indonesian investigation was the highest there would be, he said. General Murdani added that Mr Waco would come as a private UN envoy and not as a rapporteur of any commission of inquiry.

Reports from Dili have indicated that the Indonesian army later murdered many of the witnesses to the massacre.

On the eve of the visit by Mr Alatas, the Labour party criticised the government's failure to press for an end to human rights abuses in East Timor.

JOURNALISTS EXCLUDED FROM ALATAS PRESS CONFERENCE (TAPOL)

TAPOL report, 6 February 1992

The press conference given in London on 5 February by Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, was overshadowed by a furious and mostly unsuccessful attempt by a number of journalists to seek access to the event.

All Portuguese journalists in London, including some who had come from Lisbon especially to cover the Alatas visit, were refused access. A journalist from Portuguese TV managed to waylay Alatas at the Foreign Office after his meeting with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in the morning and complained of his exclusion from the conference later that day. Alatas feigned ignorance of the policy excluding Portuguese journalists and told the journalist to attend. He was thus the only Portuguese journalist to be present at the conference. But his camera crew were not allowed in.

Portuguese journalists who earlier rang the Indonesian Embassy asking for invitations were told that "all the space had already been allocated". The conference was held in one of the most prestigious of London's hotels, the Dorchester.

One victim of this exclusivism was the Australian journalist, Jill Jolliffe, the journalist whom Indonesia refused to accept as part of Portugal's team of foreign journalists covering the aborted parliamentary visit to East Timor.

Jolliffe was in London for several days before Alatas arrived and sought unsuccessfully to interview him in London. Two London newspapers, The Sunday Times and The Guardian appointed Jolliffe to represent them at the conference, but this was refused, also due to "lack of space". (John Gittings was out of the country.) Hence, the two newspapers were not represented at the conference.

Jolliffe managed to corner Alatas as he came out at the end of the press conference and proceeded to plough him with questions which he was unable to evade. A sharp interchange took place in the presence of a number of Portuguese journalists who had been hanging around in the hotel lobby, trying to get in. A report of this interchange is likely to appear in the Lisbon newspaper, Publico, on Friday, 7 February.

DR CAREY QUESTIONS U.K. ARMS SALES

(LETTER TO THE GUARDIAN)

*The Guardian. Date: 8 February 1992.
Letter to the Editor.*

ARMS TIE

This week the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, visited London as part of a North American and European tour designed to deflect criticism of his country's human rights record (February 5). Top of the agenda was East Timor where on November 12 Indonesian troops shot dead between 75 and 100 mourners. This massacre came after 16 years of Indonesian military occupation which has resulted in the deaths of a quarter of the original 688,000 population.

As action has yet to be taken against those directly responsible for the shootings, Britain's role as one of Indonesia's major arms suppliers should come under close scrutiny. Between 1986 and 1990, Britain sold 290 million worth of military equipment to Jakarta. Much of this was accounted for by Britain Aerospace which in September signed an agreement with Nusantara Aircraft Industries (IPTN), Indonesia's main avionics firm, for the production of between 20 and 70 Hawk fighter/trainer, 15 are already in service from earlier deals and although it may be true that they cannot easily be converted for strike operations, they still free other military aircraft for combat missions. Other British military supplies - including Ferret scout cars and Saracen armoured personnel carriers - are available in the East Timor battle zone.

While over 80 East Timorese are awaiting trial in Java, Bali and East Timor on anti-integration charges, it is appropriate to ask whether Britain should continue to replenish Indonesian military arsenals and play such a key role in the establishment of an independent Indonesian avionics industry.

*Dr Peter Carey, (Fellow and Tutor in
Modern History)
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STUDENT KILLED IN DILI BRAWL (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 5 - A brawl in the East Timor capital Dili has left one university student dead and a second man seriously injured, the Jakarta Post said here Wednesday.

The student died of a stab wound while the one seriously injured was rushed to a local hospital, the daily said, adding that four people were detained by police in Dili following the fight Sunday.

The daily quoted the East Timor police chief as saying the violence was triggered by

a misunderstanding among individuals and was not factional.

INDONESIA TO PROMOTE TOURISM IN LOS ANGELES

Business Wire, Los Angeles, Feb 6 - Indonesia's Trade, Tourism and Investment Promotion Program (TTI) will hold a free forum on business opportunities in Indonesia Monday, Feb. 24, at the Westin Bonaventure Hotel.

It is the final presentation of TTI forums offered in 11 U.S. cities over the past year to acquaint American business leaders with investment and trade opportunities in Indonesia.

The day-long conference, organized by the Indonesian Consulate General and sponsored by private sectors, will offer American business people the chance to meet with high-ranking Indonesian government officials and leading Indonesian businessmen to discuss two-way trade, joint ventures and investment.

The Indonesian delegation, led by the vice minister of trade, will consist of senior government officials: chairman of the Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board, chairman of the National Agency for Export Development, the Director General of Tourism, and businessmen from 55 Indonesian companies.

Business men and women may make appointments to hold one-on-one meetings with Indonesian representatives on Monday afternoon, as well as during Tuesday, Feb. 25. The Republic of Indonesia is offering U.S. businesses opportunities in foreign investment and trade in the many industries and sectors including textiles, wood products, leather, rubber products, sporting goods, electronic parts, food processing, mining, chemicals, rattan, ceramics and toys.

His Excellency Abdul Rachman Ramly, Indonesian ambassador to the United States, will welcome attendees. Dr. March Fong Eu, California secretary of state, will give an overview of the business relationship between the United States and Indonesia: Indonesia exports \$3.36 billion to the United States annually, and buys \$2.52 billion worth of U.S. imports.

Kathleen Brown, California state treasurer, will also speak. Dr. J. Soedradjad Djiwandono, Indonesia's vice minister of trade, will discuss trade and investment opportunities in his luncheon keynote address.

El Segundo-based Mattel Toys operations director Joseph Gondolfo will be among panel guests to discuss doing business with Indonesia. Mattel has recently concluded an agreement to invest in Indonesia. The panel will be moderated by two former presidents of the Indonesia American Chamber of Commerce of the West: Dr. Richard Drobnick, director of the IBEAR Program at USC and Bruce Baker,

managing director of Pacific Corporate Group.

An exhibit, "Made in Indonesia," will feature displays of clothing, leather, wood products, furniture components, ceramics and handicrafts manufactured in Indonesia. There will be a fashion show of wedding gowns. A dinner to mark the closing of the entire TTI Promotion Program in the United States will feature a musical cultural presentation.

Indonesia, the world's fifth largest country with a population of 180 million people, has the largest economy in Southeast Asia. Once dependent upon agricultural commodities and petroleum products, Indonesia has now become a low-cost manufacturer of products ranging from toys to aircraft components. Jakarta, on West Java, is the capital and center of government, business and industry.

Indonesia's tourism industry is developing steadily; 2.3 million visitors discovered Indonesia in 1991 and a number of new hotel and resort projects are underway throughout the archipelago.

For reservations to the TTI Forum by Feb. 18, please call the Indonesian Consulate General at 213/365-9452; facsimile number is 213/365-1094.

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CHINA WAFFLES ON TIMOR (IPS)

IPS, Lisbon, Feb 6 - Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco e Silva, as present holder of the rotating presidency of the European Community (EC), raised the Timor issue yesterday with Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng, who is here on an official three-day visit.

Despite a three hour meeting, it was reported that Li Peng was not wholly supportive of Cavaco e Silva's requests, but assured him he had not come to Lisbon "to defend Indonesian interests."

INDONESIA & GATT (UPI)

UPI, Washington, Steve Gerstel, Feb 6 - Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, leader of the Senate Finance Committee, warned Thursday that the Senate will not ratify the international trade agreement as now drafted by the director general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Agreements are at a critical stage and GATT Director General Arthur Dunkel has released his draft of a pact. He has set April 15 as the target date for countries to initial the final agreement.

Bentsen, a key player in the Senate as chairman of the Finance Committee, said he still believes that the Uruguay Round (the current negotiations) "offers an opportunity

to get the biggest bang for our buck -- negotiating with over 100 countries in one comprehensive negotiation, instead of trying to eliminate all their barriers through a piecemeal, country-by-country approach.

He said countries -- such as Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Brazil, Argentina, Indonesia and Thailand -- were "free riders" in the last round of negotiations because they were not major trading nations.

"They are in the big leagues now," he said. "And it's time that they assumed the responsibilities that go along with that."

E.C. SAYS INDONESIAN INVESTIGATION OF EAST TIMOR MASSACRE INSUFFICIENT (AGENCE EUROPE)

Agence Europe, 6 February 1992 and AP, 7 February 1992. Abridged.

Comment: Did Alatas really say that soldiers had been sentenced for the massacre, and if so, why has it not been reported in Indonesia?

Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, will have a working breakfast, at his request, with Abel Matutes, European Community Commissioner in charge of relations with Asia, and lunch with EC vice-president, Andriessen.

At his meeting with Alatas, Abel Matutes criticised the Indonesian Government's investigation of last November's massacre in East Timor as insufficient.

Alatas, who is touring Europe, told Matutes that several members of the Indonesian military had been sentenced for the killings [!], according to a spokesman for Matutes. But Matutes said that the 12-nation trading bloc wanted all military responsible for the killings to be tried and punished.

Matutes also appealed to the Indonesian government to provide all the necessary assistance to a special United Nation's envoy sent to the area, the spokesman said.

E.C. OFFICIAL PRESSES ALATAS (AFP)

AFP, Brussels, Feb 7 - A top European Commission official met Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas here Friday and called for punishment for those behind the November 12 massacre in the East Timor capital Dili, a spokesman said.

Abel Matutes, responsible for relations between the EC and Asia, welcomed the official Indonesian investigation into the shootings, the spokesman said.

But the EC official told Alatas that the creation of a panel to investigate the shootings was not sufficient and that those

found responsible should be punished, the spokesman said.

Matutes also called for protection of the rights of persons arrested and that the situation of persons missing following the shootings be cleared up.

Alatas said he would return to Indonesia on Saturday to meet the U.N. special envoy, Amos Wako, who is to arrive in Jakarta on Sunday to seek "clarifications" about the Dili shootings.

He said that Indonesia will "offer our full cooperation" to the United Nations.

SUHARTO PROMISES TRIALS (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 7 - Indonesian President Suharto told a group of German politicians that soldiers responsible for killing scores of people in East Timor in November would be brought to justice, the German Embassy said Friday.

Suharto told the five-member German delegation led by Bundestag vice president Hans Klein that "no matter who they are, those found responsible for the shooting will be dealt with by the courts," according to a communiqué issued at the end of the group's six-day visit to Indonesia.

Klein said he respected "the personal initiative by President Suharto to investigate the events of November 12, 1991, in Dili and to clarify the still unanswered questions," it said.

EAST TIMORESE IN JAKARTA CHARGED WITH SUBVERSION (ACFOA)

Media Release by ACFOA Human Rights Office, Melbourne. 7 February 1992. Summarised.

Two East Timorese detained in Jakarta since 19 November 1991 have been formally charged with subversion. The Director of ACFOA's Human Rights office, Pat Walsh, was contacted from Jakarta yesterday and "is deeply concerned at the impact of the news on the mental and physical health of the two, one of whom is already very weak and ill".

One is Joao Freitas da Camara who has been held in Jakarta's Metropolitan Police Station (Metro Jaya) since he led a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November. His colleague, Fernando de Araujo, was arrested in Bali in November and transferred to Jakarta. The two are held in isolation from 20 other Timorese detainees. They do not have adequate food, medical attention or support from family and friends. They refused to sign a statement accepting Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor and apologising to President Suharto.

Pat Walsh has called on the Australian Government to instruct diplomats in Jakarta to visit the students and observe the trials.

"They are political prisoners," he said. "Australia, which is currently participating in the UN Commission of Human Rights in Geneva, should call for their immediate release. It is a total perversion of justice that peaceful protestors should be threatened with the death sentence when the Indonesian troops who committed mass murder in Dili on 12 November have so far escaped any penalty."

UPDATE

1. 22 East Timorese continue to be detained in the Metro Jaya station in Jakarta. 21 were arrested following the peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November and have been detained for 80 days. Araujo was transferred to Jakarta.
2. Camara and Araujo have been formally charged with subversion and are said to be deeply shocked and upset by this new development, which carries a maximum penalty of death. Both have been charged with criminal offences under articles 154 and 155 of the Criminal Code and police have completed preparation of evidence against them under these counts. A second investigation has now commenced by the Public Prosecutor, under the subversion law. They are receiving visits from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH).
3. Araujo is very weak and sick. He and Camara are detained together in a cell separate from the others with whom they are denied contact. They receive three meals a day but the food is "very bad". Having refused to sign statements recognising East Timor's integration with Indonesia, it is possible that the charge of subversion is being used to bring extra psychological pressure to bear to sign this apology. They are receiving no attention from the prison doctor and have had no visits from a priest though they are both devout Catholics. They get no family visits, distance from Dili being the main factor and it is obviously difficult for Timorese in Jakarta to be seen to be taking an interest in them.
4. 15 of the rest are said to be ill mainly because of poor food and lack of vitamins and medical attention.
5. 16 of the group have revoked the apologies they signed on 18 January when they were promised they would be released without conditions if they signed. They feel cheated. They want to return to their studies. The other 6 refused to sign any apologies.
6. It appears that the group can be detained legally until 24 February, which suggests that trials could commence before or on that date, unless there is political intervention to release some or all of them, which cannot be discounted in view of the international interest in the cases.

REQUESTS

- a. Australian diplomats in Jakarta should visit the detainees and observe the trials, and encourage diplomats from other countries to do so.
- b. The Dutch mission which represents Portugal's interests in Indonesia should take a special interest in the case of Camara who has a Portuguese passport, issued to him (though not handed to him) when he took refuge in the Dutch embassy in Jakarta in 1985. He voluntarily left the Embassy when told by Dutch diplomats that his wish to leave Indonesia would be acted on.
- c. The Japanese government should be urged to take an interest in Araujo who says that when he took refuge in the Japanese embassy in 1987, a diplomat named Shirota said that if he left the embassy, the Japanese government would see he came to no harm.